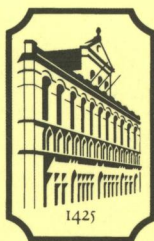


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SEVENTH ANNUAL JOZEF IJSEWIJN LECTURE

(LEUVEN, 26 SEPTEMBER 2012)

George Hugo TUCKER

FROM RAGS TO RICHES: THE EARLY MODERN *CENTO* FORM

1. What is, what was, a *cento*?

In the 16th century, the *cento* form experienced a spectacular renaissance. Understood to be a Greco-Latin verse genre associated with parody, it had been a technique of Greek comedy, and in its Virgilian Latin verse form had become by the 4th century the vehicle of Biblical narrative in the *Cento* (on the birth and ministry of Christ) of Falconia Proba.¹ It had also constituted parody of epithalamic poetry in Ausonius's *Cento Nuptialis*, composed for the Emperor Valentinian, and prefaced by a letter to the rhetor Assius Paulus in which Ausonius set out rules for composing Virgilian *centones*.² By the late 16th century, the *cento* embraced prose as well as verse, in Latin and the vernacular. Yet from a modern literary-historical perspective it was an oddity at the margins of literary culture. I wish to suggest, however, that the *cento* was no peripheral curiosity, however unfamiliar today. Indeed, it furnishes us

¹ See Octave Delepierre, *Tableau de la littérature du centon, chez les anciens et chez les modernes*, 2 vols (London: Trübner, 1874-1875), I (1874), 68-90; Martin Bažil, *Centones Christiani: métamorphoses d'une forme intertextuelle dans la poésie chrétienne de l'Antiquité tardive*, Études Augustiniennes: Moyen Âge et Temps Modernes, 47 (Paris: I.E.A., 2009), pp. 109-197; id., 'Principio cælum ac terras... la création de l'univers dans le *Cento Probae*', *Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Philologica I Græcolatina Pragensia*, 22 (2007), 49-59; Filippo Ermini, *Il centone di Proba e la poesia centonaria latina* (Rome: Lœscher, 1909); David V. Meconi, 'The Christian *Cento* & the Evangelization of Christian Culture', *Logos: A Journal of Catholic Thought and Culture* 7/4 (Fall, 2004), 109-132; Alessia Fassani, 'Alterazioni semantiche ed espedienti compositivi nel *Cento Probae*', *Incontri triestini di filologia classica*, 5 (2005-2006), 261-272.

² 'Ausonius Paulo S.', *Cento nuptialis*, in Ausonius, *Opuscula*, ed. Rudolf Peiper, Bibliotheca Teubneriana (Leipzig: Teubner, 1886 [ed. Sesto Prete, 1978]), pp. 206-219 (pp. 206-208); see Delepierre, *Tableau*, I (1874), 49-67; Ann Blossier-Jacquemot, 'Le *Cento Nuptialis* d'Ausone ou le mariage de Virgile', in Séverine Clément-Tarantino – Anne Maugier-Sinha (dir.), *Le Virgile des autres: journée d'étude, Université Charles-de-Gaulle Lille 3, 10 juin 2006* [http://halma-ipel.recherche.univ-lille3.fr/fichierspdf/pub_enligne/2006jevrigiledesautres/5blossier.pdf], 26 pp.

with an extreme paradigm for the composition of verse and prose (and artistic composition in general), as part of the dialogue between form and content, expression and thought, 'words' (*verba*) and 'arguments' (*res*).

Drawing its origins from Antiquity as a compositional technique, the *cento* was by name and composition a 'patchwork' of multicoloured 'rags', a text 'stuffed' with, or 'stitched together' from, the disparate parts and fragments of one or more prestigious source-texts. Recombined, such mini-extracts would be invested with altered meaning in the new overall context, yet would still be identifiable as originating from elsewhere. A pauper parasite of literary or artistic forms, the *cento*, analogous to *collage*, manifested itself in verse and prose, in Latin and Greek, and in various European vernaculars, notably Italian.³ In the late 16th and

³ See Ireneo Affò di Busseto (1741-1797), *Dizionario precettivo, critico, ed istorico della poesia volgare* (Parma: Carmignani, 1777), pp. 128-131; Delepiere, *Tableau*; Ermini, *Il centone*, pp. 19-55; Eduard Stemplinger, *Das Plagiat in der Griechischen Literatur* (Leipzig – Berlin: Teubner, 1912), pp. 193-195; Rosa Lamacchia, 'Dall'arte allusiva al centone (a proposito di scuola di poesia e poesia di scuola)', *Atene e Roma*, 3 (1958), 193-216; id., 'Centoni (*centones*)', in Umberto Cozzoli (ed.), *Enciclopedia Vergiliana*, vol. I (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Vergiliana, 1984), pp. 733-737; Roland G. Austin, 'Cento', in N. G. L. Hammond – H. H. Scullard (eds), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 220-221; Giovanni Salanitro (ed.), 'La poesia centonaria greco-latina', in Osidio Geta, *Medea*, Bibliotheca Athena, 24 (Rome: Ateneo, 1981), pp. 9-60; José-Luis Vidal, 'La technique de composition du centon virgilien *Versus ad gratiam Domini sive Tityrus* (Anth. Lat. 719a Riese)', *Revue d'études augustinienes*, 29/3-4 (1983), 233-256; Gabriella Carbone (ed.), *Il centone De alea*, Studi Latini, 44 (Naples: Loffredo, 2002), pp. 7-34; Giovanni Polara, 'I centoni', in Guglielmo Cavallo, et al. (eds), *Lo spazio letterario di Roma Antica*, 6 vols (Rome: Salerno, 1989-), III (1990), 245-275; George H. Tucker, 'Mantua's "Second Virgil": Du Bellay, Montaigne and the Curious Fortune of Lelio Capilupi's *Centones ex Virgilio* [Romæ, 1555]', in Dirk Sacré – Gilbert Tournoy (eds), *Ut granum sinapis: Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Honour of Jozef IJsewijn*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, 12 (Leuven UP, 1997), pp. 264-291; Hélène Cazes, 'Le Livre et la lyre: grandeur et décadence du centon virgilien au Moyen-Âge et à la Renaissance' (doctorate, Paris X-Nanterre, 17 Jan. 1998; 2 vols, Lille: ANRT, Sept. 2003); Marie Okáčová, 'Centones: Recycled Art or the Embodiment of Absolute Intertextuality', *Kakanienrevisited*, 11/3/2009 [http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/graeca_latina/Mokačova1.pdf], 7 pp.; Francesco Erspamer, 'Centoni e Petrarchismo nel Cinquecento', in Giancarlo Mazzacurati – Michel Plaisance (eds), *Scritture di scrittura: testi, generi, modelli nel Rinascimento*, Biblioteca del Cinquecento, 36 (Rome: Bulzoni, 1987), pp. 463-495; Christoph Hoch, *Apollo Centonarius: Studien und Texte zur Centodichtung der italienischen Renaissance*, Romanica et Comparatistica: Sprach- und literaturwissenschaftliche Studien, 26 (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 1997); Jean Lafond, 'Le Centon et son usage dans la littérature morale et politique', in id. – André Stegmann (eds), *L'Automne de la Renaissance 1580-1630*, De Pétrarque à Descartes, 41 (Paris: Vrin, 1981), pp. 117-128 [= id., *Lire, vivre où mènent les mots: De Rabelais aux formes brèves de la prose*, Lumière Classique, 22 (Paris: Champion, 1999), pp. 69-83].

early 17th centuries, when it knew its richest flowering, it served as the vehicle of many areas of artistic or intellectual expression. After a long chequered history, the *cento* had passed from rags to riches, from 'patch-work'-pauper to magnificently appavelled prince. It still raises questions about the nature of writing and reading and related issues: literary or artistic imitation; but also plagiarism, now a sharply focused notion, which had a Renaissance (and Ancient) pre-history linked to the literary notion of 'theft'⁴ and to juridic ones of 'theft' and 'kidnapping'.⁵

As a loose term the word *cento* could also be used pejoratively in the Renaissance to designate artistic failure or aesthetic crudeness⁶, reflecting anxieties about *imitatio* and how to achieve independent artistic identity in spite of, and resulting from, imitation. As a literary form, the *cento* encapsulated the marginalisation or absence of an authorial 'voice' or 'subject' characteristic of Early Modern textuality (caught between the authority of ancient 'authors' and the inscription of newly-'authored' text

⁴ See Paulina Kewes (ed.), *Plagiarism in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke – New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003); Hall Bjørnstad (ed.), *Borrowed Feathers: Plagiarism and the Limits of Imitation in Early Modern Europe* (Oslo: Unipub, 2008), esp. pp. 235-243; Terence Cave, 'Epilogue: The Prehistories of Plagiarism', p. 236: 'it is clear that plagiarism at that time did not occupy a specific domain of writing or rhetorical theory [...] in [...] the 'literary' domain, the possibility of transgressive borrowing most often arises in the interstices between the practices most widely cultivated during the humanist period: translation, paraphrase, imitation, quotation and 'borrowing' (acknowledged or unacknowledged). [...] at one end of the scale are texts that submit themselves to the authority and superiority of the source-text; at the other, one finds texts that assert their difference [...]'. This is no less true of the *cento*'s overt linguistic, poetic, rhetorical debt and 'transgressive' transformative 'borrowing'. Cf. Marie Couton, et al. (eds), *Emprunt, plagiat, réécriture aux XV^e, XVI^e, XVII^e siècles. Pour un nouvel éclairage sur la pratique des Lettres à la Renaissance*, CERHAC (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses de l'Univ. Blaise Pascal, Maison de la recherche, 2006).

⁵ 'Plagiarism' already knew juridic linkage via the Roman *Lex Fabia de Plagiariis* on thieves and kidnappers (*plagiarii*) in François le Douaren (1509-1559; Law Professor at Bourges & Paris), 'De Plagiariis et scriptorum alienorum compilatoribus, aliisque rebus cognitu dignis... ad Franciscum Balduinum Iureconsultum epistola' [Jan. 1549] ('On thieves & plunderers of other people's writings', to jurist friend François Baudouin on being plagiarised by a jurist 'Autolycus' [Homer's thief, *Iliad* 10.267]) in *D. Francisci Duareni I.C. celeberrimi Omnia... opera* (Frankfurt: hæred. A. Wecheli, Cl. Marnius – Io. Aubrius, 1592), pp. 1105-1108 (pp. 1106, 1108). Le Douaren's letter is one of the earliest Early Modern sources to use the term; see Kevin Perromat Augustín, 'Algunas consideraciones para el estudio del plagio literario en la literatura hispánica', *Especulo. Revista de estudios literarios* [Univ. Complutense de Madrid], 37 (2007), 15pp. [<http://www.ucm.es/info/especulo/numero37/coplagio.html>].

⁶ See Tucker, 'Mantua's "Second Virgil"', pp. 267-275, 290, *pace* Bažil, *Centones Christiani*, p. 45, deeming *cento* 'pour désigner un texte incohérent ou peu original' as a 17th-c. development.

in a multifaceted, multi-lateral socio-textual relation with editors and printers, patrons and readers).⁷ Nowhere is the 'voice', status and identity of the 'author' more ambiguous than in a *cento*, where the 'author', if not anonymous or pseudonymous, was designated in Early Modern editions as one who had 'collected' (*colligere*) or 'woven together' (*contextere*) texts of another as an 'assembler' of *centones* 'from Virgil', 'from Homer', 'from Ovid', 'from Petrarch' etc.⁸

Moreover, in early Cinquecento Italy the controversy about exclusive imitation of Cicero in writing Latin prose, Ciceronianism, was often linked pejoratively to the term. A prime example of this usage is the poisonous *elogium*-portrait of the Hellenist-Ciceronian Petrus Alcyonius (1487-1527?) sketched by Paolo Giovio (1483-1553) in his *Elogia* of 1546, where Giovio recounted the common suspicion that Alcyonius had stolen and plagiarised, then destroyed, a unique manuscript of Cicero's *De Gloria*, so as to fashion his own two Ciceronian dialogues *Medices legatus de exilio* (Venice, 1522), whose purportedly uneven Ciceronian Latin Giovio highlights to lend credence to this rumour.⁹ For Giovio, Alcyonius's uneven work (and uneven 'plebeian') character constituted a vulgar 'patchwork', a clumsy *cento* of ill-assorted threads of bright and dull colour:

Sed luculento opere [Petri Alcyonii] de toleranda exilii Fortuna, ita eruditionis ac eloquentiæ famam sustentabat, ut ex libro de gloria Ciceronis, quem nefaria malignitate aboleverat, multorum iudicio confectum crederetur. In eo enim, tanquam vario centone, præclara excellentis purpuræ fila, languentibus cæteris coloribus intertexta notabantur.¹⁰

⁷ See Malcom Walsby, 'La voix de l'auteur? Autorité et identité dans les imprimés français au XVI^e siècle', in Rosanna Gorris Camos – Alexandre Vanautgærdén (eds), *L'Auteur à la Renaissance: l'altro che è in noi*, *Nugæ humanisticæ* sub signo Erasmi, 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), pp. 65-81 (cf. Jeanine De Landtsheer, 'Le Privilège: un droit de l'auteur ou de l'éditeur?', *ibid.*, pp. 101-121), and Carlo Vecce, 'La "mort de l'Auteur" à la Renaissance', *ibid.*, pp. 83-99 (adapting to a Renaissance context Roland Barthes's formulation [*Manteia* 1962 / *Le Bruissement de la langue* 1984] of 'La Mort de l'Auteur' and 'La naissance du lecteur').

⁸ As the *cento* form became an increasingly established vehicle for religious or political discourse in the late 16th and early to mid-17th centuries, however, the 'authorial' status of the centonist did sometimes come into sharper focus, ousting the source-'author'.

⁹ Petrus Alcyonius, *Medices Legatus de exilio* (Venice: æd. Aldi – A. Asulani, 1522). On this work, see George H. Tucker, 'Exile exiled: Petrus Alcyonius in a Travelling-chest', *Journal of the Institute of Romance Studies*, 2 (1993), 83-103.

¹⁰ Paolo Giovio, 'Petri Alcyonii [*elogium*]', in *id.*, *Elogia veris clarorum virorum imaginibus apposita quæ in musæo Ioviano Comi spectantur* (Venice: M. Tramezinus, 1546), fols 70^{vo}-71^{ro}.

[But through his [Petrus Alcyonius's] brilliant work on enduring the Fortune of exile such was the reputation of erudition and eloquence that he was building up for himself, that it was believed, in the judgment of many, that that work was put together from the book *De Gloria* of Cicero, which he had with wicked malice destroyed. For in that work [*or*: in him], as in a variegated patchwork, could be noted brilliant threads of outstanding purple interwoven with all the rest, colours that were dull by comparison.]

The Ciceronian controversy had come to a head over the Roman and Ciceronian credentials in the Roman Academy of the ambitious but (in 1519) repudiated Flemish orator Christophe de Longueil (Longolius, c. 1488-1522), satirised as 'Nosoponus' in Erasmus's *Ciceronianus* (1528).¹¹ Longueil, an acquaintance of Alcyonius, was later defended by the Professor of Rhetoric at Ferrara Bartolomeo Ricci (1490-1569), in his *De imitatione* (1545 [1557/1559; 1563])¹², as a legitimate imitator of Cicero's Latin, not an inept Ciceronian prose-centonist as was claimed by Longueil's enemies, who dubbed him 'Cicero's crow' (Longueil's alleged Ciceronio-*cento*-nism being rolled up in this allusion to Horace, *Epistles* 1.3.15-20, and via the use there of Aesop's falsely feathered, coloured crow who is plucked and shamed, with the failed *imitatio* of poets, attacked by Horace):

isti [adversarii] id huic crimini dant, quod ex Cicerone tam palàm Centones consuere, furemque manifestum agere non dubitarit. Qui vero cum eo lenius agunt, eum Ciceronis Corniculam appellant, ut omnino in sua elaborata oratione, ac illo dictionis genere perpurgato furti notam, ac mali consarcinatoris nomen vitare potuerit. [...] quod tam male de latino sermone sit meritis, qui Ciceronem etiam (si diis placet) in Centones puditissime consuere nihil sit veritus, quod hunc unum tam fœde coinquinarit, atque tam palàm totum compilarit. [...] cupio equidem isti [accusatores] mihi tandem ostendant, qui sint in Longolio isti tam putidi Centones, nam ego illos ex me nondum potui deprehendere, nam si Centones consuere, est dedita opera, atque de industria pars integra cum parti integræ suitur, ubi ne verbum

¹¹ See Luca d'Ascia, *Erasmus e l'umanesimo romano*, Biblioteca della Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa. Studi, 2 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1991), pp. 36-37. In 1519 Longueil, proposed by Bembo and his allies, was denied Roman citizenship because a 'barbarian', guilty of having slurred Rome, and so deserving punishment or exile; see Théophile Simar, *Christophe de Longueil, Humaniste (1488-1522)*, Recueil de Travaux des Conférences d'Histoire et de Philologie, 31 (Louvain – Paris – Brussels: Bureaux du Recueil, 1911), pp. 62-74.

¹² Bartolomeo Ricci (b. Lugo; educated Ferrara, Bologna, Padua, then Venice [1513], where he was taught Greek by Musurus, to become Professor of Rhetoric), *De imitatione libri tres* (Venice: Aldi filii, 1545 [Paris: B. Turrisanus, 1557/1559 – Lyons: hæred. Seb. Gryphii, 1563, with *Christophori Longolii Epistolarum libri IIII.*]), fols 75^{ro}-84^{ro}.

quidem nostrum interponitur, sed ex alieno totum opus conficitur, ubi ad eum modum ridicule orationem suam conglutinet Longolius, nunquam equidem potui deprehendere [...] O crassam hominum stultitiam [...] qui in quo tota est & loquendi, & imitandi ratio, & via id esse Centones facere, tam inepte insimulant, ut nihil mirum sit, si hosce ego Centones nunquam animadverterim, qui imitandi virtutem omnem in eo scribendi genere omnino mihi constituerim [...] Sic faciet scriptor, qui ex Cicerone magistro aut singula verba singulis verbis, aut etiam locutiones item integras, aut etiam singula verba conglutinans apte orationem suam componet, atque constituet. Quod vero ad Ciceronis corniculam attinet, ego censeo canorum illum cycnum si appellent, istos multos rectius facturos. Concinit enim ad eius locutionis harmoniam suavissime Longolius, ac componit aptissime, nec denique plumam unam ex eo se se induit, aut quicquam furatus est, nisi quod sit omnium commune, si id quis, cum opus est, in suum usum converterit, id ei furti loco recte ascribi possit, quis enim nescit linguam nihilo magis Ciceroni propriam quàm Longolio, quàm nobis, quàm qui futuri ultimi sunt homines, esse posse?¹³

[these [enemies] accuse him of not hesitating to stitch together centos so openly from Cicero and to act as a manifest thief. But even those who treat him more leniently call him 'Cicero's crow', as if he could altogether have avoided the stigma of a thief, or the reputation of being a bad author of patchworks in his elaborate speech and that refined form of expression. [...]] [they maintain] he had ill served the Latin language by not in the least fearing to patch together, shame of shames, Cicero (of all authors) into centos, sullyng him alone so horribly and so openly plundering him entirely. [...] Forsooth, I would like these [accusers] finally to show me which are the oh so rotten centos in Longolius; I for my part have not yet been able to find any. For if to stitch together centos is for one entire fragment to be deliberately and expressly sewn to another, with not even a word of one's own being set inbetween, and with the whole work being composed from another's — and with Longolius cementing together a speech in that ridiculous fashion — , I have never indeed been able to detect that. [...] O crass stupidity of men [...] who pretend so ineptly that where resides the entire technique and method of speaking and imitation, there resides the composition of Centos! No wonder then that I have never noticed these Centos, I who have utterly constituted for myself every virtue of imitation in that form of writing [...] Such will be the practice of the writer who, when combining individual words with individual words (whole expressions or single words) from his model Cicero, will aptly compose and construct his speech. But as far as 'Cicero's crow' is concerned, in my judgment they would do better to call that man a melodious swan. For Longolius sings most sweetly to the harmony of his [Cicero's] expression, and composes most aptly, nor has he donned a single feather from Cicero,

¹³ Ricci, *De imitatione* (1545), fols 75^{ro}-77^{ro}.

nor stolen anything that is not the common property of all; if anyone has, as need arises, turned such a thing to his own use, it should rightly be ascribed to him as his own instead of theft. Who is not aware that language is no more Cicero's property than it is Longolius's or mine, or that of the last men of the future?]

Significantly for our understanding of *imitatio* in the period, the crowning point of Ricci's defense of Longueil's supposedly *cento*-like imitation of Cicero was comparison with compositional issues in painting and music:¹⁴ in particular, the choice of a privileged model (the painterly or musical equivalents of a Cicero) the better to paint or compose one's work yet be free from concerns about influence and transparent use of a key model — for painters, the renowned Venetian artist Titian (Tiziano Vecellio, c. 1485-1576), and for composers the 'great' Flemish-born *Maestro di Capella* at St Mark's Venice, Adrian Willaert (1490-1562).¹⁵ For Ricci, such was the superiority of this single model approach over the jumbled, jarring imitation of multiple models that its critics would do better to compose centos (drawing likewise from one major author-model):¹⁶

¹⁴ A comparison anticipated in the above by the metaphor of Longolius's swan-like Ciceronian melody, 'sung' to the harmony of Cicero's language and style.

¹⁵ Ricci's comparison with imitation of Titian or Willaert in painting or music is underpinned by a Ferrara connection: Titian had painted *The Worship of Venus* [1516-1518], *Bacchus and Ariadne* [1520-1522] and *Bacchanal of the Andrians* [1523-1524] for Duke Alfonso I's Camerino d'Alabastro; Willaert had held a post in Ferrara (1520-1525) under Alfonso I, and his *Musica Nova* (Venice: Ant. Gardano, 1559 [composed c. 1539 - c. 1545]) was dedicated to Ricci's pupil-dedicatée Prince Alfonso (Alfonso II from 1559), son of Ercole II d'Este. The musical score in the foreground of Titian's *Andrians*, said to be by Willaert, suggests the same linkage of Titian and Willaert. For Martha Feldman and Dean T. Mace Ricci's pro-Ciceronian parallel with Willaert reflects an association of the austere, elegant style of the latter's music (and of the early 16th-c. Venetian madrigal) with Ciceronian (and Horatian) views of rhetoric and poetry mediated in Venice by Bembo (1470-1547; *Prose della volgar lingua* [Venice: G. Tacuino, 1525]) and other theoretical/polygraphical successors (Bernardino Daniello, Sperone Speroni, Bernardino Tomitano; Francesco Sansovino, Lodovico Dolce, Girolamo Muzio): see Feldman, 'Venice and the Madrigal in the mid-Sixteenth Century' (Doctoral thesis, Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1 Jan. 1987 [<http://repository.upenn.edu/dissertations/AAI8725158>]), & id., *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice* (Berkeley – Los Angeles – Oxford: Univ. of California Press, 1995), developing Mace, 'Pietro Bembo & the Literary Origins of the Italian Madrigal', *The Musical Quarterly*, 55/1 (1969), 65-86.

¹⁶ Compare the parallel between Virgilian verse-*cento* composition and music drawn in the preface 'Benigno proboque lectori' ('Cal. Jan. 1589') of Andreas Fabri Wethulensis (André Le Fèvre de Vêtheuil), *Centones, cum Diana, et iuvenilibus* (Paris: D. Douceur, 1609), pp. 3-7 (p. 6): 'Verum meminerit is [qui nostrum (non nostrum) hoc viderit opusculum] nos Ausonium quasi secutos imitatore[m], Virgilium authorem, ex cuius operibus (ceu ex musica) aliquod factum potest elici aliquando iuxta sensum illius, aut plerumque

Si vero unum alienum ex omnibus sibi delegerit [Longolius], ad cuius orationis genus ipse suum quoque instituat, ac id assequatur, continuo sentietur in alieno ore quasi aliena loqui lingua, eoque etiam magis sentietur, quo id is verius facere didicerit, quemadmodum in pictoribus, ac musicis, quorum illi quoad coloribus suis suo utuntur arbitratu, ac lineas suas circumducunt in proprias formas, hi quandiu ad numeros suos concinunt, nullam in illis cuiusquam imaginem deprehenderis, nullum in his numerum unquam senties alienum, si vero illi ad Titiani, hi ad Adriani imitationem sese addixerint, ac utrique suum conatum non eluserint, continuo in iis Titianus pingere, in his Adrianus concinere videbitur. Idem in scriptoribus evenire constat, itaque etiam quia Longolius ab uno Cicerone loqui didicit, [...] neque omnia commiscuit, sed in uno eo se suaviter condivit, facile in eo Cicero quasi loqui sentitur, quem isti quoque multo rectius facerent, si in dicendo eundem magistrum sequerentur, ac ad Longolii incitationem huiusmodi centones consuere studiosius discerent, ac Ciceronis corniculam agere, suos autem istos nescio quos de plebe infima auctores prorsus dediscerent.¹⁷

[But if he [Longolius] has chosen one other man's work alone of all other models for the cultivation of that form of speech, that he might make it his own and attain to it, straightaway his tongue will be perceived to be speaking as it were another's words in another's mouth, and that impression will be all the greater, the more truly the tongue has learned to do that, just as with painters and musicians. The former use their colours according to their own judgment, and draw their lines to form shapes of their own invention; the latter sing all the while in accompaniment to their own measures. In the former you may not discern any image of a particular individual; in the

citra mentem authoris penè mirabile & ultra plurium opinionem.' [But he [who has seen our little work (which is not ours)] will speak of us as if we had followed Ausonius as the imitator, but Virgil as the author, from whose works (as from music) can be drawn some composition which sometimes does not coincide with that author's meaning, or which for the most part respects the author's intention almost amazingly, beyond most people's conception (*pace* Cazes, 'Le Livre et la lyre', pp. 607-612 [p. 611], interpreting *ceu ex musica* as 'comme d'une inspiration poétique')]

¹⁷ Ricci, *De imitatione* (1545), fols 77^{ro-v}. My thanks to Dr Catherine Deutsch for identifying 'Adrianus' and similar mention of Willaert in the *Cortigiana* ([Rome, 1525]; Venice, F. Marcolini, 1534/1535 – A. Bindoni, 1550) of Titian's friend Aretino (Flaminio's praise of Venice, contrasted with Rome): 'secondo che dice il grande Adriano padre della musica, ella [Vinegia] è l'Arca di Noè' (*Cortigiana*, 'Atto terzo' [1550, fol. E[viii]^{vo}]). On *cento* techniques in music (Gregorian chant and later polyphony, the *motet enté*), see Mark Everist, 'The Refrain Cento: Myth or Motet?', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 114/2 (1989), 164-188. Cf. Delepierre, *Tableau*, I (1874), 9-10 on *opera-centone*; Catherine Deutsch, *Carlo Gesualdo*, collection *horizons* (Paris: bleu nuit, 2010), pp. 57-58 on Gesualdo's *cento*-like appropriation in his *Madrigali a cinque voci. Libro secondo* (Ferrara: V. Baldini, 1594; 1603, 1607, 1613, 1616) of 'de nombreux contours mélodiques' of the setting by the Ferrara court-musician Luzzasco Luzzaschi (1545-1607; *Il terzo libro de Madrigali* [Venice: Gardano, 1582]) of verses (*Dalle odorate spoglie*) by Orsina Cavaletta celebrating the Ferrara court-singer Laura Peverara (1550-1601).

latter you shall not ever perceive any measure that is another's. But if the former have dedicated themselves to the imitation of Titian, and the latter to Willaert, and each has not failed in their attempt, then straightaway in the former the painting of Titian will be apparent, and in the latter, the vocal music of Willaert. It is recognised likewise that the same happens with writers. Therefore, since Longolius also has learned to speak from Cicero alone, [...] nor has he mixed up all models together, but has sweetly steeped and perfumed himself in that author alone, Cicero is easily perceived to speak as it were in him. Indeed, they would also do much better to imitate that same model, and, at the instigation of Longolius, learn studiously to stitch together 'centos' of this kind and play 'Cicero's crow', but completely unlearn that nondescript rabble of authors drawn from the dregs of the common people.]

Just as importantly, Ricci stressed about writing, painting and music the spontaneity and naturalness of execution despite technical artificiality. For Ricci, Longueil's supposedly *cento*-like writing or speaking of Latin is deemed to flow through the pen (or mouth) and so not constitute slavish copying. Ricci compares this with a musician playing a stringed instrument, the bars of music directly stimulating his fingers in contact with the strings of his instrument; or else, with a painter's felicitous representation of a human face, the result not so much of his art, as of a chance natural feature or blemish:

Non equidem id dico Alfonse Princeps, ea tamen Longolium ad litteram observasse, cum scriberet, quæ nos ad Ciceronis rationem scripta esse facile comprobamus [...], sed id asseveranter affirmo, tam scriptionem ex eo usu, quam sibi contraxerat ex assidua Ciceronis lectione, illi ad eum modum in os [...] in calamus venisse facillime, quemadmodum & tibi, & omnibus cum scribimus evenire videmus, quibus ad quasque vocis nostræ literas singulas ex universo literarum ordine perquirendas nullus est labor, nullum est studium, quæ sua sponte ex usu, quem in eis legendo, ac scribendo confecimus, quasi in postremo calamo constitutæ sint, nobis præsto adsunt, atque cadunt cum atramento citissimæ. Neque item ei, qui in fidibus usum habeat fidelem, semper is nervus, qui ad numerum respondeat, digito prius erit tentandus, atque explorandus, cum canat, sed is ex veteri consuetudine illi quasi in digitos incurrere videtur, quin etiam aut oculis aliò conversis aut etiam clausis id continuare non dubitabit. At quid mirum, si ex universo Cicerone Longolius pauca quædam membra sibi delegit, quæ in suam orationem cum mutando, tum imitando commodissime transferret? ita enim illi accidit in isto suo artificio, quemadmodum pictori, qui artem suam in exprimendis hominibus exercet, qui in iis id egregie præstiterit, qui separatim aliquid adiumenti ad os suum facilius exprimendum habebunt [...]¹⁸

¹⁸ Ricci, *De imitatione* (1545), fol. 83^{ro-vº}. Cf. Joachim Du Bellay (contrasting *imitatio* with *cento*-like stitching together of verses), *Œuvres poétiques*, ed. H. Chamard, et al.,

[I certainly do not say, Prince Alfonso, that, when writing, Longolius reproduced nonetheless to the letter those passages which we easily recognise as written after the manner of Cicero [...]. But this I categorically do maintain: from that practice, the writing which he acquired for himself from the assiduous reading of Cicero came as easily by that method into his mouth and pen as we see happens with you and with all of us who write, for whom it is no toil or conscious effort to seek and find each single letter of our speech in the whole series of letters, which, of their own accord, from the practice we have acquired of them through reading and writing, as if they were established at the very tip of the pen, come readily to us and swiftly flow with the ink. Likewise, he who has continual practice of a stringed instrument will have no need, when he plays, always to try out and explore beforehand with his finger the string that corresponds to the measure he is playing; rather, out of long habit that string will seem as it were to come itself into contact with his fingers, indeed it will not hesitate to continue so even when his eyes are turned away or shut. What wonder then if from the whole of Cicero Longolius selects for himself a few phrases to transpose most felicitously to his own speech through both alteration and imitation? For what happens to him in his recourse to this expedient is like what happens to a painter, who practices his art in the execution of portraits of men, and who will have displayed it remarkably in the case of those subjects who, quite independently, possess some feature that might be of help in the representation of their faces.]

The *cento* is thus linked by Ricci to questions about composing Latin in an appropriate style (and how we learn and manipulate language itself), and to any artistic imitation of a key model, not simply cynical, dishonest, inept plagiarism, as argued by Longueil's enemies.

A similar argument, from a purely musical (but more eclectic) perspective is to be found in the theoretical-practical manual *El Melopeo y Maestro* (1613) of Pietro Cerone (b. Bergamo c. 1561 – d. Naples 1625; priest-musician at the Chapel Royal in Naples), who employed the *cento* metaphor of 'patched' rags to describe the art of heavily (or entirely) imitative 'composers'. In the 'patched clothes' 'worn' by such seeming

8 vols, S.T.F.M. (Paris: Cornély – Hachette – Droz – Didier – Nizet, 1908-1985), I [*L'Olive. L'Anterrotique. XIII Sonnetz de l'Honneste Amour* (Nizet, 1982)], 11-25: 'Au Lecteur' [*L'Olive*, 1550] (pp. 19-20): 'Si, par la lecture des bons livres, je me suis imprimé quelques traictz en la fantaisie, qui apres, venant à exposer mes petites conceptions selon les occasions qui m'en sont données, me coulent beaucoup plus facilement en la plume qu'ilz ne me reviennent en la memoire, doit on pour ceste raison les appeller pieces rapportées? Encor' diray-je bien que ceulx qui ont leu les œuvres de Virgile, d'Ovide, d'Horace, de Petrarque, & beaucoup d'aultres, que j'ay leuz quelquefois assez negligement, trouverront qu'en mes escriptz y a beaucoup plus de naturelle invention que d'artificielle ou supersticieuse imitation [...]'.

'paupers', the introduction of 'the old' is 'more' apparent in the 'patchings' than in the 'basic cloth' of the 'garment', and such 'addition' of 'the old' is to be considered legitimate conscious *imitatio*, indicative 'of the talent and learning of the imitator', not 'carelessness' or 'theft', and based on 'looking at many compositions', just as a wise 'learned' man consults and learns from many 'writers' rather than relying on 'habit':

Mas adviertan que la imitación en los passos, fugas, y contrapuntos hà de ser hecha con mucha consideración, y ha de ser de manera que de satisfacion à los buenos Compositores; y con la qual se venga en conocimiento del ingenio y saber del imitador: y claramente se vea que aquel tal contrapunto, fuga, ò passo à sido imitado no urtado. Ciertamente yo conozco à unos Compositores, los quales no saben componer otra cosa mas, que la que hazen à imitacion de otros: y caso no puntan solfa que sea del todo suya dellos; mas à cada passo sirvense de las invenciones ajenas. [...] Estos mesmos [Compositores] por lo mas son como los pobres que traen ropas muy remendadas, que son mas los remiendos que añaden de viejo, que no el paño principal de que se hizo la ropa: [...] Nadie se burle de ver muchas composiciones, ni se desdeñe de leer diversos escritores para saber dar razón de lo que obra, pies dize Salomon; *Audiens sapiens sapientior erit*. El Sabio que oye será mas prudente: y badie se contente con solo uso, porquanto muchas cosas se hacen por uso, que del todo están fuera de razón y arte.¹⁹

At the same time, the *cento* form and the critical term associated with it were bound up with an æsthetic and (sometimes questionable) ethic of transposition, juxtaposition, incongruity, transformation and downright 'betrayal' or misappropriation.²⁰ Yet the term *cento* also designated, quite precisely, a compositional technique or form with its own rules, aesthetic

¹⁹ Pedro Cerone, *El Melopeo y Maestro. Tractado de Musica Theorica y Pratica... esta repartido en XXII. Libros... Conpuesto por el R. D. Pedro Cerone de Bergamo: Musico en la Real Capilla de Napoles* (Naples: J. B. Gargano – L. Nucci, 1613 [Bibliotheca Musica Bononiensis, Sez. II, 25 (Bologna: Forni, 1969)]), pp. 89-91, Lib. I. Cap. 33 'A quales Compositores praticos podremos imitar seguramente, y sin peligro' (p. 91), drawn to my attention by Catherine Deutsch.

²⁰ A trait of the interpolational-citational *Digests* and *Codex* of Justinian (6th c.), influenced by the *Homerocentra* of Eudocia, wife of Theodosius II (5th c.), whose *Codex*'s compilation involved *cento*-like transformation of ancient quotations in a new legal context; see David Daube, 'Interpolations in the *Centos* and Justinian', *Collected Works*, ed. Calum Carmichael, 4 vols (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1992-2008), III (2003), 1263-1266 [= *Flores Legum H. J. Scheltema antecessori Groningano oblatis*, ed. Robert Feenstra, et al. (Groningen, 1971), pp. 45-48], stressing (p. 1263) the proximity of Justinian's *omnia nostra facimus* ('we make everything our own', *Constitutio* 'Deo auctore' [15 Dec. 530 A.D.], par. 2; *Const.* 'Omnem', 6) to Ausonius's *de alieno nostrum* ('from another's work, but our own' [letter-preface to his *Cento Nuptialis*]).

and conventions. Taken in this sense, it could exemplify (just as imitative 'patchwork'-like music did for Cerone) the highest degree of compositional ingenuity and wit. Moreover, this depended as much upon any reader's (or listener / beholder's) ability to read and decode such a *cento*, as it did upon an author's (or artist's) technical abilities and powers of memory to compose or 'compile' it. The *cento* form could thus be viewed as an Early Modern precursor of intertextuality, of which it is an extreme illustration in that it overtly patches together fragments of still recognisable canonical texts so as to form new text, whose radically different meanings (*res*), generated by the words (*verba*) of those text-fragments, are informed by an implicit dialogue with the original contexts and meanings of those lifted fragments.²¹ From a 16th-century perspective, however, with the *cento*-form, *verba* and *res* are understood to be set in a quasi archaeological relation to each other. The *cento*-author (or rather, 'compiler'), often described as comparable to the creator of a mosaic, is deemed to search (from memory) through a pre-existing canonical author's works for the various *verba* (comparable to differently coloured stones) that might best suit his new arguments and subject matter, the *res*, of his intended *cento* poem (which, like a mosaic, displays a new picture as a kind of textual-optical illusion).

2. A Renaissance example: the *Centones ex Virgilio* (1555-1556) of Lelio Capilupi (1497-1560), Mantua's Second Virgil

Such was the explanation of the compositional process in the creation of Latin (Virgilian) verse centos outlined by the future Jesuit and literary historian Antonio Possevino (1533-1611) in his preface to the most accomplished collection of Latin verse centos of his time: the *Centones ex Virgilio* (Rome, 1555) of his fellow Mantuan, the neo-Latin and

²¹ See Theodor Verweyen – Gunther Witting, 'The Cento: A Form of Intertextuality from Montage to Parody', in Heinrich F. Plett (ed.), *Intertextuality* (Berlin – New York: De Gruyter, 1991), pp. 165-178 ['Der Cento. Eine Form der Intertextualität von der Zitatmontage zur Parodie', *Euphorion*, 87 (1993), 1-27]; Hélène Cazes, 'Centon et collage, l'écriture cachée', in Bertrand Rougé (ed.), *Montages / Collages. Actes du second colloque du Cicada, 5-7 déc. 1991*, *Rhétoriques des Arts*, 2 (Pau: Publications de l'Univ. de Pau, 1993), pp. 69-84; Anna L. Coviello, 'El Centón: *Opusculum... de alieno nostrum*', *Emerita: Revista de Lingüística e di Filología Clásica (EM)*, 70/2 (2002), 321-333; Bažil, *Centones Christiani*, esp. pp. 59-71; Okáčová, 'Centones'.

vernacular²² poet Lelio Capilupi (1497-1560)²³, who, with his younger brother Ippolito (1511-1580)²⁴, was an agent at the papal court of the pro-Imperial Gonzagas of Mantua. In this Roman *cento* volume, dedicated to the French vernacular and neo-Latin poet Joachim Du Bellay (1522-1560)²⁵, secretary in Rome (1553-1557) to Cardinal Jean Du Bellay, Possevino had as editor drawn together Lelio's previously published *centones*, including the satirical, partly obscene *De vita monachorum* ('On the life of monks') of 1543 and the parodic, entirely obscene *Gallus* which prefaced it (is title alluding to the name of Virgil's Roman elegist friend, whose love elegies had been lost, their amatory content

²² Capilupi authored three Petrarchan sonnet-*centoni* ('Donne, che ragionando ite per via', 'Questa bella d'Amor nemica, & mia' ['A la Sign. Donna Geronima Colonna. Per Papa Giulio Terzo'] & 'Tu che dentro mi vedi, e'l mio mal senti' ['A M. Lodovico Ariosto']), published in *De le Rime di diversi nobili poeti toscani*, ed. Dionigi Atanagi [Venice: L. Avanzo, 1565], fol. 142^{ro-vo}, and [latter 2 sonnets] *Rime del S. Lelio, e fratelli de Capilupi* [Mantua: F. Osana, 1585 – Padus, 1973], pp. 61, 78 / 93, 109); see Hoch, *Apollo Centonarius*, p. 59ff, on 16th - early 17th-c. Italian *centoni*. Lelio's *rime* appeared in anthologies such as Atanagi's (1565) and Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari (ed.), *Rime diverse di molti eccellentiss. autori nuovamente raccolte. Libro primo* (Venice: G. Giolito, 1545), pp. 341-342, 359 / *Libro terzo de le rime di diversi...* (Venice: B. Cesano, 1550), fols 108^{vo}-113^{vo} / *Libro quinto delle rime di diversi...* (Venice: G. Giolito de F. & fratelli, 1555), p. 307.

²³ On Lelio Capilupi, see, notably, Delepierre, *Tableau*, I (1874), 170-223 ('Les Capilupi'); Claudio Mutini, 'Capilupi, Lelio', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1960-), 18 (1975), pp. 542-543; Dennis E. Rhodes, 'Lelio Capilupi and the "Centones ex Virgilio"', *The Library*, 16/3 (September, 1994), 208-218; Tucker, Mantua's "Second Virgil", *passim*; Reinhold F. Glei, 'Vergil am Zeug flicken: Centonische Schreibstrategien und die *Centones ex Virgilio* des Lelio Capilupi', in id. – Robert Seidel (eds), *Parodia und Parodie: Aspekte intertextuellen Schreibens in der lateinischen Literatur der Frühen Neuzeit*, Frühe Neuzeit, 120 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2006), pp. 287-320, on Capilupi's *cento* 'Gallus' (*De vita monachorum et Gallus*, Venice, 1543 – [Lyons: G. Pullon da Trino], 1550).

²⁴ On Ippolito Capilupi, secretary to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, see Gaspare De Caro, 'Capilupi, Ippolito', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1960-) 18 (1975), pp. 536-542; Giovanni B. Intra, 'Di Ippolito Capilupi e del suo tempo', *Archivio Storico Lombardo, giornale della Società Storica Lombarda*, 2nd series, 10, Anno XX (Milan: Sede della Soc. – Dumolard, 1893), 76-142. Ippolito's collected *Rime*, like Lelio's (and Camillo's) are to be found in the *Rime del S. Lelio, e fratelli* (1585); see above, n. 22.

²⁵ On the relation of Lelio Capilupi's *Centones ex Virgilio* to Possevino and Du Bellay in Rome, see Tucker, Mantua's "Second Virgil"; Pierre de Nolhac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études: sciences philologiques et historiques, 64 (Paris: F. Vieweg 1887), pp. 6-7. Already in *L'Olive* (1549, s. 46 / 1550, s. 52 'Mere d'Amour & fille de la mer' [Du Bellay, *L'Olive*, ed. Ernesta Caldarini, T.L.F. 214 (Geneva: Droz, 1974), p. 106 / id., *Œuvres poétiques*, ed. Chamard, et al., I (*L'Olive. L'Anterotique. XIII Sonnetz de l'Honneste Amour* [1982]), 71]), Du Bellay imitated Lelio's sonnet 'Figlia di Giove e madre alma d'Amore' from reading it in Giolito de Ferrari (ed.), *Rime diverse... Libro primo* (1545), p. 359.

being putatively reconstructed here in Capilupi's erotic *cento*). The *De vita monachorum* had even been pirated in 1545 for use as anti-Roman Catholic propaganda by Calvinist or Lutheran reformers, leading to publications that year in Wittenberg, Basel, and Zurich, but also leading, in 1557, to the placing of Capilupi's anti-monacal *cento* on the Universal Roman *Index of forbidden books*. Possevino also included in his volume Capilupi's misogynistic *cento In foeminas* ('Against Women', of c. 1545-1550), dedicated to Paolo Giovio and inspired by Girolamo Fracastoro's medical-didactic poem *Syphilis sive morbus Gallicus* ('Syphilis, or the French Disease', Verona, 1530).

Possevino's collection combined these already notorious *centones* of Capilupi's with others more recently published, or as yet unpublished, on Mantuan dynastic topics or Roman antiquarian, politico-religious-military ones, reflecting events leading up to 1555. Other *centos* were added in 1555-1556, and the structural order of the original volume changed, reflecting changes in the papacy and in papal-Imperial politics. For 1555 was the year of three popes: the hedonistic Julius III (d. 23 March; celebrated, together with his Villa Giulia, in Capilupi's *Centones* as originally conceived by Possevino); the ascetic Marcellus II (r. 9 April – 1 May; reputedly poisoned by his cardinals, as Du Bellay records in the Roman sonnets of his *Les Regrets*); finally, the belligerent, anti-Spanish Paul IV (r. 23 May 1555 – 18 August 1559), responsible in 1557 for instituting the Universal Roman *Index* and launching the Counter-Reformation (in the spirit of Marcellus II). Paul IV's anti-Imperial strategy (the butt of Du Bellay's satire) almost provoked in 1556-1557 a second sack of Rome, and led to the arrest of Lelio Capilupi's brother Ippolito and others of the Curia's pro-Imperial faction, notably Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, for whose liberation Lelio pleaded in one of his *centones* of 1556 addressed to Paul IV.

Such was the stuff of Lelio Capilupi's Roman *Centones* of 1555-1556, later reproduced, with modifications and censorship, in a later Roman volume of 1590, which also drew together the Latin verses of the various Capilupis: the *carmina* of his younger brothers Ippolito²⁶, Camillo (1504-

²⁶ Not *centones*, Ippolito's *Carmina* were religious or occasional pieces first published in his *Ad excellentiss. Iacobum Boncompagnum Hippolyti Capilupi versus, cum epistola Pauli Manutii* (Rome: Io. De Angelis, 1573) & *Hippolyti Capilupi Carmina* (Antwerp: ex off. Chr. Plantini, 1574), then gathered as 'Epigrammata. Odæ. Elegiæ. Epistolæ. Endecasyllabi. Iambi' in *Capiluporum* [Hippolyti, Lælii, Camilli, Alphonsi, Iulii] *carmina*, ed. Iul. Capilupus & Io. Castalio, letter-postface of Giulio Rossi (Rome: ex typogr. hæc. Io. Liliotti [Giov. Gigliotti], 1590).

1548) and Alfonso (1500-1519), and the *centones* of Ippolito's illegitimate son Giulio Capilupi (b. 1544), joint-editor of the volume.²⁷ In this sanitised Counter-Reformation volume of 1590²⁸, *Capiluporum Carmina*, the Capilupis' Latin verses were crowned by lengthy explanation of the Latin verse *cento* form in a letter-postface by Giulio Rossi (Julius Roscius Hortinus, poet-orator of Orte, fl. 2nd half of 16th cent.)²⁹ providing a detailed prosodic commentary upon the 'rules' for verse-*cento* composition originally set out in Ausonius's similar letter-preface to his *Cento nuptialis*. Addressed to the youths Camillo and Prospero Capilupi, grandsons of Lelio and Ippolito's brother Camillo ('Camillo ac Prospero Capilupis clariss. adolescentibus Julius Roscius Hortinus S.P.D.'), this pedagogic commentary upon Ausonius's 'rules' also served implicitly as a commentary upon Lelio's and Giulio's *centones* contained in the volume.³⁰

In this 1590 volume Lelio's *De vita monachorum* was notably absent, however, just as it had been from Lelio's collected but expurgated *Centones* appearing in Toscano's Parisian *Carmina illustrium poetarum*

²⁷ On the Capilupi brothers and 'nephew' Giulio, see Cazes, 'Le Livre et la lyre', pp. 506-521; Tiziano Ascari, 'Capilupi, Giulio', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 18 (1975), pp. 535-536. Giulio's *Centones* appeared separately – *Ad S. D. N. Sixtum pont. Max.... Cento ex Virgilio* (Rome: hæ. Ant. Bladii, 1588); *Cento ex Virgilio. Ad... Scipionem Gonzagam cardinalem amplissimum* (Rome: Iac. Ruffinellus, 1588); *Cento ex Virgilio. Aegle una ex nymphis S. Casciani* (Rome: hæ. Ant. Bladii, 1588); *Cento ex Virgilio. P. Virgilius Maro. Ad serenissimum Vincentium Gonzagam Mantuæ ducem* (Rome: Io. Ang. Ruffinellus, 1588 – Mantua: F. Osana, 1588); *Cento ex Virgilio ad... Franciscum Maria e marchionibus Montis card. Amplissimum* (Rome: excud. Iac. Ruffinellus, 1589); *Cento ex Virgilio in diem coronationis Greg. XIV. pont. opt. max.: Iosephi Castalionis I.V.C. Epistola ad Paulum Camillum Sfondratum cardinalem amplissimum. Eiusdem De Gregorio XIV. p. m. carmina* (Rome: ex typogr. V. Accolti, in Burgo, 1591); *Cento ex Virgilio ad Philippum regem Hispaniæ, &c. Europæ prosopopeia* (Mantua: ex off. F. Osanæ, 1595) – then collectively in this 1590 volume, as in *Antonii Massæ Galleii I.C. De Origine & rebus Faliscorum Liber. Ad Ludovicum Madruccium... Cardinalem amplissimum. Et alia aliorum opuscula... R.P.F. Damiani Granæ Veronensis... opera in lucem edita* (Rome: ex Typogr. Sanctii, 1588 [A. Bladus, 1562]), 2nd pt: *Probæ Falconiæ... Cento ex Virgilio In vetus ac novum testamentum*; Giulio Capilupi, 6 *Centones ex Virgilio* (fols 63^{vo}-76^{vo}); Latin verses of G. Rossi] (see below, n. 29), then in the *cento* compilations of H. Meibom (2 vols, 1597 & 1600; re-ed. 1601 (see nn. 111-112).

²⁸ See Cazes, 'Le Livre et la lyre', pp. 524-531.

²⁹ Rossi's Latin verses had featured with some of Giulio Capilupi's *Centones* in the 1588 edition by Damianus Grana (theology professor of Verona, d. 1596) of Proba and other centonists, appended to the *De origine et rebus Faliscorum liber* of jurist Antonio Massa di/da Gallese (1500-1568); see above, n. 27. On Rossi's publications, see Cazes, 'Le Livre et la lyre', pp. 724-728.

³⁰ See Cazes, 'Le Livre et la lyre', p. 120, nn. 1-2. Rossi's letter-postface would re-appear in vol. 2 (1600) of Meibom's compilation of *Virgilio-centones* (1597 & 1600); see below, n. 111.

italorum of 1576-1577.³¹ For Lelio's infamous *cento*³² had placed the entire (Latin, Virgilian) verse *cento*-form in bad odour, not helped by the fact that Lelio's prohibited *cento* also appeared in Henri Estienne's *Parodiæ morales... Centonum veterum & parodiarum... exempla* of 1575 together with two extracts (unattributed, and previously suppressed) from Pierre Viret's Protestant Virgilian-Ovidian (pseudo-) *cento* of 1553 *De theatra Missæ saltatione cento* (sic) *ex veteribus poetis latinis consarcinatus* (unusually cast in elegiac distichs), which satirised the sacrament of the Mass, borrowing from Lelio's *De vita monachorum* and from Proba in addition to Virgil and Ovid.³³ Of some small comfort, however, after Lelio's inclusion in the 1557/1559 Roman *Index* (and in other *Indexes* from then on) was a small 'relaxation' was afforded by the proviso of expurgation introduced in the Tridentine *Index* of 1564, thanks to the manoeuvrings in 1562-1563 of Lelio's brother Ippolito (papal Nunzio in Venice from May 1561), who had enlisted the Patriarch of Venice to argue before the Commission of the Index (Council of Trent, 18 Jan. 1562 – 4. Dec. 1563) for this modification of the original total ban upon his brother Lelio's *cento*.³⁴

³¹ Giovanni Matteo Toscano (ed.), *Carmina illustrium poetarum italorum*, 2 vols (Paris: Ægidius Gorbinus, 1576-1577), II (1577), fols 308^{ro}-340^{vo}.

³² See Tucker, 'Mantua's "Second Virgil"', pp. 284-288; Stephen Murphy, 'The Metamorphoses of *De vita monachorum*', in Rhoda Schnur (dir.), with Jean-Louis Charlet, *et al.* (eds), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Cantabrigiensis. Proceedings of the 11th International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Cambridge 30 July - 5 August 2000*, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 259 (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval & Renaissance Studies, 2003), pp. 377-382; Cazes, 'Le Livre et la lyre', pp. 522-524, 1058-1095.

³³ Henri Estienne, *Parodiæ morales... In poetarum vet. sententias celebriores, totidem versibus Gr. ab eo redditas... Centonum veterum & parodiarum utriusque linguæ exempla* (s. l.: H. Estienne, 1575), 2nd pt: *Centonum et parodiarum exempla*, pp. 104-118, 124-126. Pierre Viret's anti-Catholic *cento* *De Vero Verbi Dei, Sacramentorum et Ecclesiæ ministerio*, lib. II. *De adulterinis sacramentis*, lib. I. *De adulterato baptismi sacramento, et de sanctorum oleorum usu et consecrationibus*, lib. I. *De adulterata cæna Domini, et de tremendis sacræ missæ mysteriis*, lib. VI. *De theatra Missæ saltatione cento* [*cento*] *ex veteribus poetis latinis consarcinatus, autore Petro Vireto* ([Geneva]: R. Estienne, 1553), deemed unusual by Estienne for its elegiac distichs (and un-*cento*-like *bricolage*, filtering Virgil through Capilupi and Proba, in combination with Ovid); see Cazes, 'Le Livre et la lyre', pp. 567-568, 645-653, 733, 1103-1108. On Viret (1511-1571), see Melchior Adam, *Decades duæ continentes Vitas theologorum exterorum principum, qui Ecclesiam Christi superiori seculo propagarunt et propugnarunt: coactæ à Melchior Adamo Silesio* (Frankfurt: sumpt. J. Rosæ viduæ, 1653), pp. 120-123.

³⁴ Tucker, 'Mantua's "Second Virgil"', pp. 287-288; J. M. De Bujanda, *Index de livres interdits*, 10 vols (Sherbrooke: Centre d'études de la Renaissance – Geneva: Droz, 1984-1996), VIII, *Index de Rome 1557, 1559, 1564* (1990), 107, with Jose I. Tellechea Idigoras, 'La Aprobación del Catecismo de Carranza en Trento con noticias sobre la Comisión del Index (1563)', *Scriptorium Victorienense*, 34 (1987), 397-402.

In 1590, in Rome, Lelio's *Centones* therefore required skilful presentation by his editor-'nephew' Giulio and the latter's co-editor, close to papal circles, the poet-humanist Iosephus Castalio (Giuseppe Castiglione of Ancona, whose commentary on Symphosius's *Ænigmata* was often juxtaposed with the *Cento Proba*);³⁵ Castalio's editorial apologia for Lelio's *cento*-poetics is highly indicative of the changed Counter-Reformation climate of 1590 and the problematic status therein of the re-use of a pagan poetic language:

LÆLII Capilupi viri doctissimi Centones quos diu desiderari necesse fuit, ad te tandem revertuntur. Vtinam ille aut ad Virgilii versus non ita se adstrixisset, aut non tam soluto seculo florisset. Multa scripsit ut illa tempora ferebant licenter, poetarum etiam more. Centonum quoque coactus legibus nonnulla Virgiliana usurpavit verba, quibus nobis interdictum est. Hæc quamquam non essent Lælii ipsius sed temporis, & facultatis vitia, tamen nostri sæculi gravitas minime ferenda esse censuit. Quare opus

³⁵ On Lelio's rehabilitation, see Tucker, 'Mantua's "Second Virgil"', pp. 289-290; Cazes, 'Le Livre et la lyre', pp. 524-531 (esp. 526-530 on Castalio 'connu pour ses liens avec la papauté'; cf. Javier Pizarro Sánchez, 'Notas críticas del humanista Iosephus Castalio a los *Ænigmata Symphosii*', *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios Latinos*, 17 [1999], 219-228). Cazes (pp. 597-599, 722-723) indicates that Castalio's *Ænigmata Symposii poetæ cum scholiis Iosephi Castalionis Anconitani* (Rome: F. Zanettum, 1581 [A. Zanettus, 1597]) were bound (in Paris, Bibl. Mazarine A 10848) with Proba's *Cento*, works of/on anagrams, acrostichs & palindromic verses, Estienne de Pleurre's *Sancti Victoris Victoria Virgiliocentonibus descripta* (see below, n. 86), and pseudo-prophetic Virgilian *centones* on Henri III's assassination & Henri IV's accession: *Cassandra, sive Præconium anni 1589 bellorumque in Gallia sequentium... Carmen... separatim depromptum ex sola Æneide Virgiliana. Ad Henricum II. Regem Navarrae futurum Francorum... 1588; and Cento lugubris vel Cenotaphium Henrici Tertii... depromptum ex sola Æneide Virgiliana... Ad Henricum Quartum... 1589* (& onomastic anagrams, acrostichs, prophetic *Carmen figuratum*), in Fabri, *Centones, cum Diana, et iuvenilibus* (1609); see Cazes, pp. 596-613; Sylvie Bazin, *et al.*, 'Apollon Tisserand: la poésie figurée en France à l'époque moderne', *mémoire de recherche*, dir. F. Dupuigrenet Desroussilles [ENSSIB]: *Dipl. conservateur de bibliothèque*, juillet 2003), p. 30. As Cazes (p. 604) highlights, translating Fabri's 1589 preface 'Benigno proboque lectori', *Centones, cum Diana*, pp. 3-7 [pp. 4-5] (see above, n. 16), Fabri distances himself from the term *Virgilio-cento* used by Estienne (*Parodiæ*, 1575; cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, 1506) and St Jerome (*Epist.* 53.7 'Ad Paulinum'; see below, n. 47) because of its association with Protestant hijacking of Capilupi's *De vita monachorum* and the Virgilian *cento* form; he defends himself against those who, 'despising the easy elegance of Cicero and the grave eloquence of Virgil' ('spreta Ciceroniana eleganti facilitate, aut Virgiliana gravi facundia'), both associated with *cento*-writing (see below n. 64), accuse his *cento*-text of 'theft' (see also below, n. 70): '& literas ipsas calumniantes furti falsique incusabunt, scripturam trahendo repugnantem criminabuntur, [...] obtrecentes at vertice (ut aiunt) usque ad extremum unguem Virgilio centonem vocitabunt.' [slandering the very letters themselves, accusing them of theft and dishonesty; they will claim that the text's sense has been forced in transposition; [...] denigrating it from the top of the head to the tips of the toe-nails (as they say), they will declare it a *Virgiliocento*.]

illud cæteroquin ingeniosissimum [...] Iulii Capilupi eius nepotis [...] opera & studio quàm maximè fieri potuit expurgatum est. Si qua in eo verba sunt reliqua à nostræ religionis more quæ aliena esse videantur ut fata, fortuna, Dii, Divi, Iuppiter, Mars, Venus, & alia huiusmodi meminisse nos oportet Virgilii esse verba, deinde posse per allegoriam aliter accipi.³⁶

[Long missed perforce, the *Centones* of that most learned man Lelio Capilupi return to you at last. Would that he had not enslaved himself thus to the verses of Virgil, nor lived in such a dissolute age! He wrote much after the fashion of poets, certainly, when those times freely accepted such writings. Constrained also by the rules for centos, he made use of several Virgilian words now forbidden us. Although these were not Lelio's own faults, but those of the time, and of eloquence, nevertheless the seriousness of our own age has deemed them unacceptable. Therefore, that work of his, for the rest most ingenious [...] has been expurgated as much as was possible through the care and efforts [...] of his nephew Giulio Capilupi. If there remain in it any words which seem foreign to the usage of our religion, such as *fate*, *fortune*, *gods*, *divinities*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Venus*, and others of this type, we should remember that these are the words of Virgil, and that they can be understood differently, allegorically.]

In fact, the initial cause of the problem, Lelio's proscribed *cento* on monks, had discreetly resurfaced in Giulio Capilupi's and Castalio's 1590 volume (pp. 231-247) albeit in a different guise, re-cycled and re-centonized now by Giulio as the more edifying *Cento XVIII De Ætate aurea, et ferrea* ('Cento 18, On the Age of Gold, and of Iron') on the decadence of humanity and the liturgical salvation of youth.³⁷ It would be reproduced in this new guise in volume 2 (Helmstedt, 1600, fols H[4]^{ro}-K[2]^{vo}) of the compendium of Latin *Virgilio-centones* compiled by Heinrich Meibom (1555-1625; Professor of Poetry [1583] then History [1596] at the Academia Julia of Helmstedt), and later in that volume's Cologne re-edition (1601; *Cento XVI*, pp. 67-76), even if the original ironic and satirical anti-monastic version had also been paraded by Meibom under

³⁶ Io. Castalio (ed.), 'Lectori' ('Lælii Capilupi Centones ex Virgilio'), in id. – Iul. Capilopus (eds), *Capiluporum carmina* (1590), pp. 153-250 (p. 154).

³⁷ See Murphy, 'The Metamorphoses of *De vita monachorum*'. The two poems (*De vita* 7 *De Ætate*) are in Delepierre, *Tableau*, I (1874), 203-213. Cf. Cazes, 'Le livre et la lyre', p. 550, for whom this *ré-écriture* of Lelio Capilupi's poem is no less a form of *censure* than Possevino's subsequent 'selection' and partial re-writing of Lelio's *centones*, previously edited by him, in his *Bibliotheca selecta. Qua agitur de ratione studiorum in Historia, in Disciplinis, in Salute omnium procuranda*, 2 vols (Rome: ex Typogr. Apost. Vat., 1593; [1603]), bk 17, ch. 16 (Cazes, 'Le Livre et la lyre', pp. 544-555).

its original title *De vita monachorum* in his *cento*-compendium's first volume (1597), where the offending *cento* had featured as an authoritatively restored text, based on all the previous Italian, French and German editions of Lelio's censored biting satire.³⁸

But to return to mid-16th-century Rome, in Possevino's dedicatory preface heading Lelio Capilupi's collected *Centones* of March 1555, deftly addressed by Possevino to Du Bellay (and through the poet-secretary to Cardinal Jean Du Bellay, soon to become Dean of the Sacred College of Cardinals after Paul IV's accession in May), this young editor friend of Lelio's was at pains to make clear the technique for compiling Virgilian *centones*: Lelio, like previous authors of Latin verse *centones*, had taken his primary textual matter (the *verba* of his *Centones*, arranged in hexameters or half-hexameters) from the poetic corpus of his fellow Mantuan Virgil (whose verses he knew off by heart), and in so doing he precisely resembled the maker of a mosaic when choosing his stones:

Ut perfectus factor, qui ex diversissimis lapidibus opus egregium fingit, emblemâque componit, sic ille ex omnibus Virgilio locis, quæ ad suam sententiam in primis facerent optima quæque excerpserit, atque libavit, unumque hoc corpus confecit.³⁹

[Just like the perfect artist who fashions an excellent work out of the most divers stones, composing it in the manner of a mosaic, so also has he drawn and extracted from the whole of Virgil those elements that might above all best serve his argument, and from these has made this single whole work.]

This now needs to be set against the backdrop of the ancient origins of the *cento* form and of the term *cento*, and the evolving understanding of these in the Renaissance.

³⁸ 'Lælii Capilupi Mantuani Cento Virgilianus De vitâ Monachorum, quos vulgo Fratres appellant. Post æditiones Italicas, Gallicas & Germanicas recensuit, & margini numeros apposuit Henricus Meibomius Lemgovienensis. Helmæstadii', in Heinrich Meibom (ed.), *Virgilio-centones* etc. [vol. 1] (Helmstedt, 1597), fols G[1]^{ro}-H[4]^{vo}; 'Testimonia Clarorum Virorum De Lælio Capilupo', 'Liber de Poëtis Germaniæ &c. De Lælio & Hippolyto Capilupis [distich referring to their Mantuan teacher Giov. Battista Spagnoli] / 'Henricus Stephanus in Centonum & parodiarum exemplis' / [Ippolito Capilupi,] 'Epitaphium Lælii Capilupi, quod exstat Mantuæ in æde Divi Francisci', fol. G[1]^{vo}; 'Lælii Capilupi Cento De vitâ Monachorum, quos vulgo Fratres appellant', fols G[2]^{ro}-H[4]^{ro}; 'Lælii Capilupi Mantuani Cento ex Virgilio In effigiem Francisci Gonzagæ Mantuani Principis', fol. H[4]^{vo}. On Meibom's *Virgilio-centones*, see nn. 111-112, 116.

³⁹ Antonio Possevino, 'Ioachimo Belaio Antonius Possevinus Mantuanus S.P.D.', in *Lælii Capilupi Patritii Mantuani Centones ex Virgilio*, ed. A. Possevino, postface by Fulvio Orsini ([Rome: V. Doricus, 1555]; augm. V. & A. Doricus, 1555-1556), fols [i]^{vo}-[ii]^{vo} (fol. [i]^{vo}).

3. Ancient origins, early definitions and etymologies

The Latin noun *cento*, derived from the Greek κέντρον ('patchwork', 'rag', 'goad', or a similar pointed implement), denotes literally a quilt or blanket, curtain, garment or other covering, stitched together from different pieces of cloth of various colours. It came by extension to designate (like the Greek) a textual composition of ancient origin, 'stitching' together disparate 'scraps' from another author, whose fragments are 'patched' together through a kind of 'needlework'.⁴⁰ This is broadly the definition of a textual *cento* given by Isidore of Seville (7th cent.) in his *Etymologiae*: a verse-form composed through 'patching' together of disparate verse-fragments culled from the Homeric or Virgilian corpus 'for the expression of each and any subject', to compose 'one's own' new 'works':

Centones apud grammaticos vocari solent, qui de carminibus Homeri seu Vergilii ad propria opera more centonario ex multis hinc inde compositis in unum sarciant corpus, ad facultatem cuiusque materiæ.⁴¹

[Usually termed 'centos' by the grammarians are those that derive verses from the poems of Homer and Virgil for their own works and, after the fashion of a 'patchwork', patch these together into one single body made up from many verses assembled from here and there, for the expression of each and any subject.]

Moreover, Isidore was condensing a definition given by Tertullian in the 2nd-3rd century.⁴²

Such a textual 'patchwork' might also have been assembled, according to Lilio Gregorio Giraldi (1479-1552) in his *De Historia poetarum... dialogi decem* of 1545 through 'pointing' of source-fragments (the marking of verses for excerption by an author-reader stylus in hand), as suggested by an etymology to be drawn from κεντάω [κεντέω] ('I prick'; 'goad'; 'stab'; 'sting'; 'puncture'; 'dot'), which follows the botanical one κεντριζειν ('I ingraft') also given in Giraldi's 'history' (of Greek-Latin poetry):

⁴⁰ On the etymological link 'needle'-'patchwork' see Scott McGill, *Virgil Recompiled: The Mythological and Secular Centos in Antiquity*, American Philological Association: American Classical Studies, 48 (Oxford – New York: Oxford UP, 2005), pp. xv, 153 (n. 1).

⁴¹ *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX*, ed. W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols, Oxford Classical Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), I, 39-40 (*Etymol.*, 1.39.25); cited by Salanitro, 'La poesia centonaria greco-latina', p. 11, and Bažil, *Centones Christiani*, p. 20, n. 7.

⁴² Tertullian, *De Præscriptione hæreticorum*, 39.3-6, discussed in more detail below; see n. 46.

at verò alii quidam παρὰ τὸ κεντρίζειν, quod est inserere, derivari volunt: alii παρὰ τὸ κεντάω. quippe ferunt centones ita compositos, ut liber ex quo cento conficiendus est et coagmentandus, totus prius perlegatur, punctoque si qua pro materia proposita reperiuntur, annotentur, quæ mox collecta in poematis corpus redigantur coagment<ent>urve: atque ab ea, ut sic dixerim, punctuatione ex nostris quidam nominari centonem voluere.⁴³

[Yet others would have the term derived from κεντρίζειν, which is 'I ingraft'; others from κεντάω ['I prick']/'dot' with a point], maintaining that centos are composed in such a way that the book from which the *cento* is to be made up and glued together must first be read in entirety, and any passages found for the proposed subject-matter marked by a point; once collected, these should soon be transposed or stuck together to form the body of the poem. It is from that 'pointing', so to speak, that some in our time have had the *cento* derive its name.]

Giraldi's inclusion of the Greek verb κεντάω [κεντέω] recalls the 12th-century Byzantine commentator on Homer, Eustathius (Metropolitan Bishop of Thessalonika, c. 1175) and his linkage of κέντρων with παρακεντέω ('pierce', 'poke at the side'; 'embroider') and so with *cento* as 'embroidery'.⁴⁴ It also echoes the definition of the word *cento* as 'point or pricking' (*punctus, sive punctatio*) offered, with the Greek equivalent in mind, at the opening of Giovanni Marchesini's Biblical commentary of circa 1300 (still published and read at the beginning of the 16th century), the *Mammotrectus super Bibliam* (and the explanation there that a *cento*, Homeric or Virgilian, constitutes *compilatio* or 'pillage'):

Hic *homerocento. onis.* et hic *virgiliocento. onis* sunt libelli de libris Homeri et Virgilii ad laudem Christi compositi. quia illi poetæ in versibus suis prolixis multos versus posuerunt qui videntur in superficie convenire Christo. quos percurentes quidam punctaverunt et in unum collegerunt. Et quia hic *cento. onis* est *punctus* sive *punctatio*. hic *virgiliocento. onis.* est *compilatio* facta de versibus Virgilii. et hic *homerocento. onis.* de versibus Homeri.⁴⁵

⁴³ Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, *De Historia poetarum tam Græcorum quam Latinorum dialogi decem* [1st edn *Historiæ poetarum*... Basle: Isingrinus, 1545], in id., *Opera omnia*, ed. J. Faes, et al. (Leiden: Hackius, 1609), II, 1-260 (cols 47-48); cf. Cazes, 'Le Livre et la lyre', pp. 73-74, 166-167. Tertullian's definition of the *cento* was also known to Giraldi, who cited it in his *De Historia poetarum* of 1545, ed. cit. (1609), II, col. 47 (cf. Cazes, pp. 73, 166).

⁴⁴ See below, nn. 68, 95.

⁴⁵ Giovanni Marchesini, *Mammotrectus super Bibliam* (c. 1300; s.n. 1478), fols a[i]^{ro}-[a5]^{ro} (fol. a3^{ro}) partly reproduced in Heinrich Bebel (1472-1518), *Liber Hymnorum in Metra* (Haguenau: ex Acad. Anshelmiana, 1517 [Tübingen: Jo. Otmar, 1501]), fol. I vi^{ro} ('Annotationes et emendationes in Mammotractum'), and cited by Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis* (1678; 1883-1887) on *Punctare*.

[Here *homerocento*, *-onis* and here *virgiliocento*, *-onis* are small books composed from the books of Homer and Virgil for the praise of Christ, because those poets, in their long poems, wrote many verses which on the surface seem to be relevant to Christ; certain others, on reading through them, marked them with a point, and collected them together. And since this *cento*, *-onis* is [means] 'point' or 'pricking', this *virgiliocento*, *-onis* is pillage from the verses of Virgil, and this *homerocento*, *-onis* is pillage from the verses of Homer.]

This passage of Marchesini's is a lexical commentary on St Jerome's 'Letter to Paulinus [of Nola]' (*Epistola ad Paulinum*, c. 395 A.D.), which had, like Tertullian's *De praescriptione haereticorum*,⁴⁶ compared the arbitrary misinterpretation of Scripture, upon which new meanings were foisted, with Homeric or Virgilian centos, in which the original meanings of Homer in Greek and Virgil in Latin were radically altered:

Sola scripturarum ars est, quam sibi omnes passim vindicent [...] hanc universi præsument, lacerant, docent, antequam discant [...] Taceo de meis similibus, qui forte ad scripturas sanctas post sæculares litteras venerint et [...] quicquid dixerint, hoc legem Dei putant [...], sed ad sensum suum incongrua aptant testimonia, quasi grande sit et non vitiosissimum docendi genus, depravare sententias, et ad voluntatem suam Scripturam trahere pugnantem. Quasi non legerimus Homerocentonas et Vergiliocentonas, ac non sic etiam Maronem sine Christo possumus [possimus] dicere Christianum [...] Puerilia hæc sunt et circulatorum ludo similia.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Tertullian, *De Præscriptione*, 39.3-6 (mentioning the Virgilian *cento Medea* of Hosidius Geta [2nd cent.] and one composed as a paraphrase of the late-Stoic *Pinax* [*Tabula*] *Cebetis* [1st cent.]): 'Vides hodie ex Virgilio fabulam in totum aliam componi, materiam secundum versus et versibus secundum materiam concinnatis. Denique Hosidius Geta Medeam tragædiam ex Virgilio plenissime exsuxit. Meus quidam propinquus ex eodem poeta [...] Pinacem Cebetis explicuit. Homerocentones etiam vocari solent qui de carminibus Homeri propria opera more centenario ex multis hinc inde compositis in unum sarcium corpus. Et utique fecundior divina litteratura ad facultatem cuiusque materiæ.' [Nowadays you see compositions made up from Virgil on an entirely different topic, with the subject-matter composed according to the verses, or indeed with verses arranged according to the subject-matter. Hosidius Geta has drawn his tragedy *Medea* from Virgil completely sucking him dry. A neighbour of mine has also extracted from the same poet a *Tabula Cebetis* [...] Usually called 'Homeric centos' are those that derive [verses] from the poems of Homer for their own works, as in a 'patchwork', patching these together into one single body made up from many [verses] assembled from here and there. Certainly Holy Scripture is an even more fertile source for the expression of each and any subject.] See Salanitro (ed.), 'La poesia centonaria', pp. 11, 63; McGill, *Virgil Recomposed*, pp. xvi, 155, n. 17; Bažil, *Centones Christiani*, pp. 19, 43.

⁴⁷ St Jerome, *Epistolæ*, 53.7 'Ad Paulinum presbyterum' (Paulinus of Nola, in 395 A.D.), transl. M. D. Usher (adapted); see Delepierre, *Tableau*, I (1874), 16-17; Mark D. Usher, 'Prolegomenon to the Homeric Centos', *American Journal of Philology*, 118/2 (470) (Summer, 1997), 305-321 (pp. 316-317); McGill, *Virgil Recomposed*, pp. xvi, 155, n. 17 (on Jerome's parallel, similar to Tertullian's, between Scriptural exegesis and *cento* writing); Bažil, *Centones Christiani*, p. 19.

[Skill in the Scriptures is the only thing everyone everywhere arrogates to himself [...] one and all they claim this skill as their own, tear it to shreds, and teach before they learn [...] I say nothing of people like me who happen to have come to the Holy Scriptures after studying secular literature [...]; they reckon whatever they have said is the law of God [...], but they fit to their own sense passages that are incongruous with that sense, as if it were some great feat (not a depraved method of exposition) to twist meanings and make Scripture conform to their own will, though in fact Scripture resists. As if we have not read the Homeric and Virgilian centos, though there is no way we can claim that Virgil was a Christian without Christ [...] These things are childish — like a game for busy-bodies [...]]

As St Jerome and Tertullian implied in their comparisons of Scriptural exegesis with *cento* composition, the nature of a *cento* is to transform the meaning of its 'source', whose fragments it 'pillages', in order to re-constitute itself as an utterly different work. This paradox, central to the ancient verse *cento* form, was particularly well expressed by Jerome's contemporary St Augustine in the *City of God*, where Augustine debated about his own exegetical and textual method (as reader and writer) in re-interpreting the *Psalms* (as prophesying the coming of Christ and the establishment of the Christian Church):

[Vereor] deinde, quia testimonium, quod profertur, de contextione totius psalmi debet habere suffragium, ut certe nihil sit quod ei refragetur, si non omnia suffragantur, ne more centonum ad rem, quam volumus, tamquam versiculos decerpere videamur, velut de grandi carmine, quod non de re illa, se de alia longaque diversa reperiatur esse conscriptum.⁴⁸

[Because the evidence adduced must be supported by the composition of a whole psalm in its entirety, so that there should be nothing to contradict it, even if not all elements support it, my second [fear] is that, after the fashion of centos, in order to treat a subject of our own choosing, we might appear, as it were, to be excerpting verslets as if from a great long poem that may be found to have been written not about that particular subject, but about a far different one.]

Moreover Augustine's view of the selective and transformational *cento* form as providing an exact analogy with a willful, potentially abusive exegetical method, based on a misguided or heretical re-interpretation of the Bible, echoed the misgivings about the *cento* and any *cento*-like

⁴⁸ St Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, 17.15: 'An omnia, quæ in psalmis de Christo et ecclesia prophetantur, ad contextum huius operis coaptanda sint' ('Whether everything in the *Psalms* prophesying about Christ and his Church should be fitted into the composition of this work'), ed. B. Dombart, 2 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1863), II, 205-206; see Hoch, *Apollo Centonarius*, p. 21.

misinterpretation and misappropriation of the Bible that had also been expressed by the theologian Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons (2nd cent. A.D.)⁴⁹

Yet such a boldly transformational, intricately composite *cento* text, compiled ('pillaged') from the poetic corpus of a prestigious author such as Homer or Virgil, would most probably have been pieced together from memory, and so was far less laborious or self-conscious than is suggested by Giraldis's and Marchesini's reductive etymological explanations, based on Eustathius: viz., that relevant passages of such source texts were 'pricked' or 'pointed' for marking and future incorporation into a *cento* by its 'compiler'-'pillager'. Ausonius in his letter 'To Paulus' prefacing his *Cento nuptialis* had highlighted the 'task of memory' ('memoriæ negotium') in the *cento*-writer's (re)'collection' of such 'scattered' and 'mangled' verse-scrapes so as to re-combine and 're-make' them into a new whole ('sparsa colligere et integrare lacerata'). He had thus ascribed to *cento*-composition an improvisatory dimension, not merely a derivative one of borrowed invention (and certainly not the fruit of painstaking study and laborious textual 'pointing'), and, together with its improvised nature, he also saw the *cento* as being essentially a ludic literary form, 'which you might laugh at rather than praise' ('quam ridere magis quam laudare possis').⁵⁰

In Antiquity and the Renaissance such a process, hitting upon and re-combining verse fragments from an internalised yet collectively shared memory of a major canonical text, would have been at the heart of the reader or listener's understanding and appreciation of the wittily ingenious, significantly derivative workings of such a *cento*-text. This would also have been the case in the antique origins of the Greek *cento*-form, found in Greek comedy (notably, in parodic passages of Aristophanes' *Pax* and *The Frogs*), using both Homeric and non-Homeric (Aeschylean or Euripidean) verses.⁵¹ As a compositional technique it may even be

⁴⁹ Irenæus, *Adversus Hæreses*, 1.9.4 (on a Homeric Christian *cento* which drew a parallel between Hercules' descent to the Underworld and Christ's harrowing of Hell); see Salanitro (ed.), 'La poesia centonaria', pp. 26-27; McGill, *Virgil Recomposed*, p. 155, n. 18 (the parallel between the *cento* form and misreading of the Bible); Bažil, *Centones Christiani*, pp. 43-45.

⁵⁰ 'Ausonius Paulo S.' (ll. 5-7), *Cento nuptialis*, in Ausonius, *Opuscula*, ed. Peiper (1886 [ed. Prete, 1978]), pp. 206-208 (p. 206). On this emphasis by Ausonius, see Okáčová, 'Centones'.

⁵¹ Aristophanes, *Pax*, vv. 1089-1093, 1270-1274, 1282-1287 (parodying Homer as *pastiche*), and also *The Frogs*, vv. 1285-1295 and to a lesser extent 1126ff. (as an Aeschylean *cento*), and 1309-1322 (as a Euripidean one); see Stemplinger, *Das Plagiat*, p. 194;

detected (as a form of *non*-parodic verse composition) in the verses of Homer, as had been noted by Homer's Byzantine commentator Eustathius.)⁵²

In the Italian Quattrocento, Giovannantonio Campano (1429-1477), orator, poet and biographical historian, observed in his correspondence (in one of the earliest Renaissance descriptions of the *cento*) that the *cento* was in essence a secondary form (not a matter of coming 'first' in the literary 'race'): a light (poetic) 'pass-time' or 'game', indulged in in the rare moments available for such writing after other more serious writing (Orations, Biographies, Latin Poetry) and public business. It was the metaphorical equivalent for Campano of the humble, rag-like *cento*-garment /-covering /-curtain of soldiers, farmers, or prostitutes mentioned by Caesar in his *Bellum civile*, Columella and Varro [actually Cato] in their agricultural works *De Re rustica*, and Petronius in his *Satyricon*;⁵³ in the wake of the ancient definitions of Tertullian and his post-Classical or Byzantine successors (and well before the comparable views of Erasmus, Aldus Manutius or Julius Caesar Scaliger discussed below), it constituted for him a veritable textual 'patchwork'. Whereas, for Campano's contemporary Niccolò Perotti (1429-1480), in his encyclopædic lexical commentary on the *Epigrams* of Martial, *Cornucopiæ sive Commentarii latinæ linguæ* ([1478?]; 1489; Aldines 1499, 1513), the word *cento* was held to denote literally a rough, 'shaggy' blanket or mantle, uncomfortably 'pricking', in accordance with its etymology in Greek (from the verb 'I prick', noted later by Giraldis [1545]). Anticipating Montaigne,⁵⁴ Campano was

Austin, 'Cento', p. 220; Salanitro (ed.), 'La poesia centonaria', pp. 21-22, 31-32; Bažil, *Centones Christiani*, p. 50, n. 29.

⁵² *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam / Iliadem. Ad fidem exempli Romani editi* [ed. Johann G. Stallbaum], 2+4 vols (Leipzig: J. A. G. Weigel, 1825-1826; 1827-1830); *Index in Eustathii Commentarios in Homeri Iliadem et Odysseam. Ad fidem exempli Romani correctior editus*, ed. Matthæus Devarius (Leipzig: Weigel, 1828) [Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1960]. Eustathius's Homeric 'remarks' [παρεκβολαί] with index were published by Froben: *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicae: in Homeri Iliadis et Odysseæ libros παρεκβολαί*, 3 vols (Basle: Froben, [1559-] 1560) and Bladus: *Παρεκβολαί εἰν τὴν Ὀμήρου Ἰλιάδα / Ὀδύσσειαν*, 3 vols (Rome: A. Bladus, typis Io. Honorii, 1542, 1549, 1550).

⁵³ A basic etymological-intertextual point later stressed also by Giraldis, *De Historia poetarum* [1545], ed. cit. (1696), II, col. 47 (cf. Cazes, 'Le Livre et la lyre', pp. 73, 166).

⁵⁴ Montaigne (on his 'vain' [*cento*-like] *Essais*, 'des excréments d'un vieil esprit'), *Essais* III.ix 'De la vanité', *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Albert Thibaudet – Maurice Rat, La Pléiade (Paris: Gallimard, 1962), p. 923. Cf. George H. Tucker, 'Déchets, déchéance et recyclage – corps, corps du monde et corps-tex – chez Joachim Du Bellay et Michel de Montaigne', in David L. Rubin (ed.), *Strategic Rewriting*, EMF: Studies in Early

quick to describe his own writings, and (by implication) his own dabbings with the *cento*, as the 'refuse' (or 'flotsam and jetsam') 'of an old mind':

Revocas me ad veteres iocos nostros. De Centone quid sentiam perconctaris[.] Poscis aliquid ex meis scriptis: fuimus enim mi Aloysi: fuimus olympiones: currimus in stadio: ad metamque contendimus: nosti laberianum illud[:.] non possumus primi esse omnes in omni tempore: magnam partem nostri tempus: maiorem morbus: maximam negocia corraserunt: minimum relictum est: eiectamenta sunt veteris ingenii: quæ postulas. Centones ego linc<ell>os existimo esse concinnos & lacera lineæ: quibus chartæ confi-ciuntur: auctorem habeo mihi videor Cæsarem in oppugnatione Massiliæ sæpe in eam ut videtur significationem repetentem etiam libro Columellam. etenim Varronem utrumque in re rustica. Petron[i]um quoque qui meretricem affert centonem exerta veste proferentem: sunt qui existiment sagum villosum significari: a græco verbo κεντέω id est[.] pungo[.] translatione ducta, quod paulo sit asperius: potest tamen esse de utroque coniectura: de prior potior: tu si aliter sentias non est cur me excites hæc omnia iam pridem obdormientem. Scripta mea utinam tam elegantia quam multa: sed plurimum refert quo potissimum genere [Orationibus, Historia, Poematis] delecteris:⁵⁵

[You summon me back to my old pastimes. You press to know my opinion about the *Centone*. You request something from my own writings. I was indeed, my dear Aloysius, an Olympic athlete, running in the stadium, racing to the winning-post [cf. St Paul 1 Corinthians 9.24]; you know the

Modern France, 8 (Charlottesville, VA: Rookwood Press, 2002), pp. 1-24 (esp. pp. 4-6); id. 'Montaigne et les néo-latins: "Capilupus" et l'art du centon dans les *Essais*', in Catherine Magnien (ed.), *Montaigne et les Anciens, Montaigne Studies: An Interdisciplinary Forum* 17/1-2 (2005), 163-174 (esp. pp. 173-174) – pace Alexandre Tarrête, 'Centons', in Philippe Desan (ed.), *Dictionnaire de Michel de Montaigne*, Dictionnaires et Références, 14 (Paris: Champion 2004), pp. 148-150.

⁵⁵ Giovannantonio Campano, *Omnia Opera... Campani vita per Michaellem Fernum* ([Rome, 1495]; Venice: B. Vercellensis, 1502): *Epistolarum libri IX*, fols 30^{ro}-31^{ro} (*Epist.* IV.5: 'Campanus [A]Loysio suo S.') [*Jo. Antonii Campani, episcopi Aprutini, Espistolæ et Poemata*, ed. Jo. B. Menckenius (Leipzig: J. F. Gleditsch, 1707), pp. 209-211]. I thank Dr Susanna de Beer for alerting me to the definition of the *cento* by this Neapolitan Professor of Rhetoric at Perugia, a Latinist-Hellenist protégé (like Perotti) of Cardinal Bessarion (1403-1472). Member of the first Roman Academy of Giulio Pomponio Leto (1427-1498) under Pius II (1458-1464) and Paul II (1464-1471), Campano taught at the Florentine Academy after Pius II's death, renowned for his Latin orations, poetry, *Vite* and letters. See John F. D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome: Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation*, The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical & Political Science, 101st series (1983), 1 (Baltimore – London: The Johns Hopkins UP, 1991 [1983; 1985]), pp. 14-15, 53, 91-97; Eric Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago – London: Chicago UP, 1981), pp. 43 (n. 35), 52-53, citing Flavio Di Bernardo, *Un vescovo umanista alla corte pontificia: Giannantonio Campano (1429-1477)* (Rome: Gregoriana, 1975); Riccardo Fubini, 'Umanesimo Curiale del Quattrocento: nuovi studi su Giovann'Antonio Campano', *Rivista storica italiana*, 88 (1976), 745-755. See also S. de Beer, *The Poetics of Patronage: Poetry as Self-Advancement in Giannantonio Campano*, *Proteus*, 6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

saying of Decimus Laberius: 'we cannot all be first all of the time'. A large part of me is taken up by the demands of the moment, an even greater part by illness, the greatest part by public affairs; only the smallest bit is left. What you ask for is the flotsam and jetsam of an old mind. My own view of Centos is that they are cloth-like artifices, torn up pieces of cloth from which texts are produced. I appear to have as my authority Cæsar [*Bellum Civile*, 2.10.6; cf. 3.44.6], who in the siege[s] of Marseilles [*B.C.*, 2.1] often revisits that meaning it would seem; Columella [*De Re rustica*, 1.8.9] also, and Varro [Cato *De Re Rustica*, 2.3, 2.59, 10.5?], each in his *De Re rustica*; Petronius [*Satyricon*, 7 (8.2) misremembered] too, who tells of a prostitute displaying her dress and producing a patchwork rag. There are those who think it means a coarse shaggy blanket, from the Greek verb κεντέω translated as 'I prick', because it is a bit on the rough side. One can conjecture, however, about each of these two possibilities, but preferably about the first. Would that my own writings were as elegant as they are numerous. But what matters most is which genre of writing [Orations, History, Poetry] gives you the greatest pleasure.]

Yet, if Campano was reacting against his contemporary Perotti, nonetheless Perotti's commentary on the word *cento* gives us a flavour of its semantic range and problematic status (and etymology) at the dawn of its re-emergence as a form and concept in Italian humanism. Perotti's etymological stumblings and gropings led him into the error (still common) of linking the obscurer noun *cento* to the Latin numeral *centum* ('hundred') in a lengthy discussion of the opening verse of Martial, *Epigrams*, 1.103, where the Roman epigrammatist had expressed a putative wish for a million sesterces: 'Si dederint superi decies mihi milia centum' ('If the gods will give me ten times a *hundred* thousand'):

Centones a villorum multitudine. quoniam finitus numerus pro infinito ponitur. Sunt enim Stragula grossiora villis passim pendentibus: quibus & lecti vilissimarum personarum sternuntur & tabernacula omnisque castrens suppellex pluvioso tempore velantur. Macro. Tremellius vero *scrophæ cognominatus est eventu tali. Erat enim cum omni familia: ac liberis in villa. Servi eius cum de vicino scrophæ erraret subreptam conficiunt. Vicinus advocatis custodibus omnia circumvenit ne qua efferri possit. Isque ad dominum appellat restitui sibi pecudem. Tremellius: qui ex villico rem comperisset. Scrophæ cadaver sub centonibus collocat super quos uxor cubabat [...]* quæstionem vicino permittit. Cum ventum est ad cubiculum verba iurationis concipit nullam esse in sua villa scropham nisi istam inquit qui in centonibus iacet: lectulum monstrat. Et facetissima iuratio Tremellio *scrophæ cognomentum dedit. Item centones a grammaticis nostræ ætatis dicuntur qui ex operibus Homeri: apud græcos apud nostros Virgilii carmina hinc inde delecta sumpserunt: & novum aliquod opus composuerunt.*⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Niccolò Perotti, *Cornucopiæ... insigne opus Commentariorum linguæ latinæ* (Paris: U. Gering – B. Rembolt, [explic.: 18 May 1507]), fol. 233^{ro}, col. 2, ll. 32-49. On Perotti's

[*Centones* is derived from a multiplicity of tufts, since the finite number [*centum* (100)] stands for an infinite number. For they [*Centones*] are coverings of a thicker sort, with tufts hanging out everywhere, from which the beds of the poorest persons are made [spread], and with which the tents and equipment of every soldier in camp are wrapped in rainy weather. Macrobius [*Saturnalia* 1.6.30]: ['Tremellius the Sow [*Tremellius Scrofa*] got his surname through an incident as follows: this Tremellius was with his household and children in his country house. His servants had caught and killed a sow straying from his neighbour's farm. His neighbour summons his men and surrounds the whole estate so that there can be no way of taking anything out. He himself calls upon the master of the estate to return his animal to him. Tremellius, who has learned about the affair from his farm overseer, places the animal under the bedding [*sub centonibus*] upon which his wife was lying asleep, and allows his neighbour to conduct a search. When they have come to the bedroom he pronounces a solemn oath: to the effect that there is no sow in his house "except, says he, that one there lying in the bed covers [*in centonibus*]", and he points to the bed. This very witty oath earned Tremellius the surname Sow.['] Likewise, according to the grammarians of our time, those are called *centones* which have taken from the works of Homer (in the case of Greek authors) or of Virgil (in the case of our own writers [of Latin]) verses selected from here and there, and constructed a new work.]

As we can see, however, if Perotti gestured towards the concrete meanings of *cento* as a humble 'shaggy' covering (an explanation alluded to sceptically by Campano), he also defined the textual *cento* as drawn from disparate places in Virgil or Homer yet constituting a *new* work. This was the essence of the *cento*-form noted by St Augustine in Tertullian's wake, in agreement with St Jerome, and in harmony with Ausonius's view of the *cento* as 'a poem compactly built out of a variety of passages and different meanings' ('*variis de locis sensibusque diversis quædam carminis structura solidatur*'),⁵⁷ as had been reflected in Isidore of Seville's definition (disseminated virtually word for word in the *Vocabularium latinum* [11th century] of Papias, and its printed edition of 1476).⁵⁸

links with Bessarion and career in parallel with Campano, see D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism*, pp. 13-14, citing Giovanni Mercati, *Per la cronologia della vita e degli scritti di Niccolò Perotti arcivescovo di Siponto: ricerche, Studi e testi*, 44 (Rome: Tipogr. Poliglotta Vat., 1925).

⁵⁷ 'Ausonius Paulo S.', ll. 32-33, *Cento nuptialis*, in Ausonius, *Opuscula*, ed. Peiper (1886 [ed. Prete, 1978]), p. 207.

⁵⁸ Papias, *Vocabularium* (Milan: Domenico de Vespolate, 1476), fol. [39]^{ro}, quoted by Hoch, *Apollo Centonarius*, p. 23.

A correction to Perotti's mis-association of *cento* with *centum* was soon supplied by the Venetian printer-scholar Aldus Manutius in the preface to his edition of the *Cento* of Proba and the Byzantine corpus of Homeric centos, the *Homerocentra*, in January 1501 (within two years of the Aldine edition of Perotti's *Cornucopiæ*) in the second volume of Aldus's compendium of ancient Christian poets.⁵⁹ As Hélène Cazes has pointed out, this succinct prefatory note on Proba's *Vita* and the *cento* form was to form the basis of subsequent paratextual or theoretical statements about the *cento*: notably, those of Giraldis (*De Historia poetarum*, 1545) and of Henri Estienne (*Parodiæ morales... Centonum veterum & parodiarum... exempla*, 1575), who also decried Perotti's mis-association of *cento* with *centum*.⁶⁰ Aldus was, moreover, the first to preface Proba's *Cento* (and the anonymous *Homerocentra*) with the rules of the Virgilian Latin verse *cento* form set out by Proba's contemporary Ausonius in his letter-preface 'To [Assius] Paulus'.⁶¹

Aldus's partial quotation of Ausonius included the latter's descriptive formula *de alieno nostrum* ('from another's work, but our own'), which had chimed with St Augustine's similar observation about centos (and Justinian's remarks about *cento*-like interpolated quotations in his *Digests* and *Codex*).⁶² Aldus also included Ausonius's mythological comparison of his *cento* with Virbius ('twice man'), the resurrected, dismembered Hippolytus who was restored to life by Aesculapius⁶³ — a parallel later

⁵⁹ *Probae Falconiæ Cento ex Virgilio de novo et veteri testamento. Homerocentra, hoc est Centones ex Homero, Græcè cum interpretatione latina...* In *Poetæ Christiani veteres*, vol. II: *Sedulii Mirabilium divinatorum Libri quatuor carmine heroico* etc (Venice: Aldus, Jan. 1501).

⁶⁰ Giraldis, *De Historia poetarum*, ed. cit. (1696), II, col. 48; Estienne, *Parodiæ morales*, 2nd pt, p. 4 (cf. Cazes, 'Le Livre et la lyre', pp. 74, 167, 315, 936).

⁶¹ See Cazes, 'Le Livre et la lyre', pp. 314-316, 454-455. Ausonius's prefatory description of the *cento* form would grace later 16th-c. editions of Falconia Proba's *cento*: e.g., *Probae Falconiæ, vatis Clarissimæ, à Divo Hieronymo comprobatae, Centones, de fidei nostræ mysteriis è Maronis carminibus excerptum Opusculum* (Paris: ex off. Prigentii Calvarini, 1550).

⁶² See above, n. 20.

⁶³ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 7.765-769; Servius on *Aen.*, 6.398, 7.761 (the etymology *bis vir* 'twice man'); Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 15.497-546, *Fasti*, 6.737-762. The myth, standing for humanist restoration of Classical Antiquity, was treated by Pirro Ligorio (c. 1513-1583) in his *Vita di Virbio* (1569; 16 illustrations dedicated to Cardinal Ippolito d'Este). See Renato Lefèvre (ed.), *Pirro Ligorio e la sua Vita di Virbio, dio minore del Nemus Aricinum* (Rome: Quasar, 1998); Erna Mandowsky – Charles Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio's Roman Antiquities: The Drawings in MS XIII.B.7 in the National Library in Naples*, Studies of the Warburg & Courtauld Institutes, 28 (London, 1963), pp. 5, 40, 49.

drawn by Joachim Du Bellay in his *Deffence et illustration de la langue francoyse* (1549), where Du Bellay dismissed as mere *cento*-writing neo-Virgilian and neo-Ciceronian composition of Latin verse and prose, contrasted with authentic *imitatio* in the vernacular.⁶⁴ We reproduce Aldus's prefatory comments as reprinted in 1513:

Hæc [Proba] cum esset Christianissima opusculum de actibus Christi, & Apostolorum ex Vergilio, qui Cento a nostris dicitur, composuit. Quod quia nos imprimendum curavimus, item quia innominati Autoris, vel eiusdem Probæ, ut quidam volunt, ex Homero de eadem re opusculum, quod Ὀμηρόκεντρα appellant, addidimus, non ab re duximus, quid sit Cento, & quare sic appelletur, ad studiosorum utilitatem ostendere.

Cento & pannum significat ex multis, & variis consutum coloribus Iuve[nalis, *Saturæ*, 6.121]. Intravit [Messalina] calidum veteri centone lupanar, unde *centunculus* diminutivum, & opus collectum ex variis locis, diversisque sensibus, & unum perficiens significatum.

Ausonius de centone hæc. Accipe igitur opusculum de inconnexis continuum. De diversis, unum[,] de seriis, ludicrum, de alieno nostrum, ne in sacris, & in fabulis Thuonianum mireris, aut Virbium, illum de Dionysio: hunc de Hippolyto reformatum, & si pateris, ut docem docendus ipse, Cento quid sit, absolvam. Variis de locis. Sensibusque diversis quædam carminis structura solidatur in unum versum. ut coeant: aut cæsi duo, aut unus, & sequens cum medio. Nam duos iunctim, ineptum est, & tres una serie, meræ nugæ.

⁶⁴ Du Bellay, *La Deffence, et Illustration de la Langue Francoyse. Par I[oa]chim. D[u]. B[ellay]. A[n]gevin*. (Paris: A. l'Angelier, 1549), I.xi: 'Qu'il est impossible d'egaler les Anciens en leurs langues', fols c iiii^{ro}-[vi]^{ro} (fols c iiii^{vo}-[v]^{ro}) [ed. Henri Chamard, introd. Jean Vignes, S.T.F.M., 39 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1997 [1948; 1970]), pp. 74-83 (pp. 76-79)]: 'Que pensent doncq' faire ces Reblanchisseurs de murailles: qui iour, & nuyt se rompent la Teste à imiter, que dy ie imiter? Mais transcrire un Virgile, & un Ciceron? batissant leurs Poëmes des Hemystiches de l'un, & iurant en leurs Proses aux motz & Sentences de l'autre: [...] recueillant de cet Orateur, & de ce Poëte ores un Nom, ores un Verbe, ores un Vers, & ores une Sentence: comme si en la façon qu'on rebatist un vieil Edifice, ilz s'attendoient rendre par ces pierres ramassées à la ruynée Fabrique de ces Langues sa premiere grandeur, & excellence. [...] si vous esperez (comme fist Esculape des Membres d'Hippolyte) que par ces fragmentz recueilliz, elles puyssent estre resuscitées, vous vous abusez.' On Du Bellay's view of the *cento* and adaptation of Ausonius's comparison with Virbius-Hippolytus to denote failed restoration of the Classical past and Latin language (also using Sperone Speroni, 'Dialogo delle lingue', *I Dialogi* [Venice: figliuoli di Aldo, 1542], fol. 130^{ro-vo}: 'se voi sperate (quasi nuovo Esculapio) che il porre insieme cotai fragmenti possa farla [la lingua latina] risuscitare [...]'] [Du Bellay, *Deffence*, ed. Jean-Charles Monferran, T.L.F. 543 (Geneva: Droz, 2001), pp. 190-279 (pp. 274-277)], see Tucker, 'Mantua's "Second Virgil"', p. 271; id., *The Poet's Odyssey: Joachim Du Bellay and the Antiquitez de Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 9; id. 'Joachim Du Bellay, poëte français et néo-latin entre l'exil et la patrie', *Op. cit. – revue de littératures française et comparée*, 3 (Nov. 1994), 57-63 (pp. 57-58).

Apud *Sudam* de centone hæc legimus. [definition in the Byzantine Greek Lexicon *Suda* (*Suidas*; 10th cent.)] hoc est *Cento* scilicet *difficilis*, & *horribilis*, quatenus & *muliones* *stimulis* *verberantes* *appellamus*, quod *stimulis* *equos* *verberent*. Vel *cento*, qui ex multis consutus est coloribus. Quoniam qui hæc iumentis consuunt, centones vocant. Eodem modo & orationes ex diversis collectas in unum significatum: qualia sunt *Homerocentra*, hoc est ex *Homero* centones. Aliqui convitiatorem [i.e., conviciatorem] intelligunt: ut *stimulo* *verberans*, Vel *cento*, qui & fur, cum castigandis furibus & stimuli adhibeantur.

In *Etymologico* [*Magno*] de Centone sic legimus. [Definition of the Byzantine Greek lexical encyclopædia *Etymologicum Magnum* (c. 1175)] id est[,] *Centones* proprie dicuntur, quæ ex variis coloribus in unum consuuntur, quibus similia sunt quodam modo *homerocentra*.

Cento autem a κέντρων venit, quod ἀπό τοῦ κεντρίζειν[,] quod *inserere* est, deducitur *r.* litteræ abiectio. Inseruntur enim & immittuntur diversa inter se. Quare miror Syponthinum in *commentariis Martialis* quos *Cornupiciæ* appellavit, a *centum* deduci existimasse.⁶⁵

[Since she was most devoutly Christian, Proba composed from Virgil a little work about the acts of Christ and the Apostles, called a *Cento* by people of our time. Since we have edited it for publication in print, and since, likewise, we have added another little work of an anonymous author, or of the same Proba, as some maintain, drawn from Homer about the same subject, which the Greeks call *Homerocentra*, we have not judged it inappropriate to show, for the benefit of the studious, what a *cento* is, and why it is so termed.

Cento also signifies a 'rag' sewn together from [cloths of] many, diverse colours. Hence the diminutive *centunculus*, and the work that is assembled from diverse passages and different meanings to form one [new] meaning. Juvenal [*Satires*, 6.121]: 'She [Messalina] entered a hot brothel with its old patchwork bed-covers.'

Ausonius says this about the *cento*: 'So accept this little work — made from disjointed bits, but continuous, from diverse pieces but one, from serious matter, but amusing, from another's work, but our own — lest you marvel in sacred mysteries or in myth at the son of Thyone [Bacchus] or at Virbus, the former put together again from Dionysius, the other from Hippolytus. And if you will suffer me to instruct you, though I myself be needy of instruction, I will define what a *cento* is: from diverse passages and different meanings is the edifice of a poem put together, so that either two verses cut in half come together to form a single verse, or one verse and the following half; for, to set two verses jointly together is inept, and three in a row, utterly nonsensical.'

⁶⁵ Aldus Manutius, 'VITA Probæ mulieris Romanæ', in *Probæ Falconiæ Centonis Clarissimæ fæminæ excerptum è Maronis carminibus ad testimonium veteris novique Instrumenti opusculum a Divo Hieronymo comprobatum* (Venice: T. de Tridino, 3 Iuni, 1513), fols A[i]^{vo}-ii^{vo}.

In the *Suda* we read the following about the *cento*: [Greek text of the *Suda*].⁶⁶ That is, ‘*Centō*, evidently difficult, rebarbative, since we also call muleteers “strikers-with-goads”, because they strike horses with goads. Or else, *centō*, which is sewn together from [cloths of] many colours. Since those who sew these together for beasts of burden call these *centones* [‘patchwork rags’]. In the same way also [they call *centones*] speeches that are put together from different passages to form one meaning; such are the *Homerocentra*, that is, ‘centos’ drawn from Homer. Others understand [by *centō*] a slanderer, as if he were one “striking with goads”. Or else *centō*, which is also “thief”, since goads are applied to thieves that are to be punished.’

In the *Etymologicum Magnum* we read the following about the *cento* [Greek text of the *Etymologicum*]:⁶⁷ i.e., ‘Properly called “centos” are those [rags] that are sewn to from [cloths of] diverse colours, to which, in a certain way, *Homerocentra* are similar.’

Centō, moreover, comes from κέντρων (which is derived from κεντρίζειν, ‘to ingraft’), with the dropping of the letter ‘r’. For different elements are ‘ingrafted’ and set on each other. Therefore, I am amazed that the Bishop of Siponte [Niccolò Perotti], in his *Commentaries on Martial*, which he called *Cornucopiae*, thought that it is derived from *centum* [‘hundred’].]

Here, rejecting Perotti’s error, but refining and broadening Campano’s view of the (verse) *cento* as a textual ‘patchwork’, Aldus cites the Byzantine *Suda* (*Suidas*) used by Eustathius, and the *Etymologicum Magnum*, to add (from the the former) a possible prose dimension to the *cento* (by interpreting λόγοι [‘speeches’; ‘narratives’; ‘utterances’] in the *Suda* as *orationes* [‘speeches’]), as well a dual aesthetic (‘difficilis ac horribilis; ex multis consutus coloribus’ [‘difficult and rebarbative’; ‘sewn together from ‘thieves to be punished’; ‘slanderer’]), before corroborating (through use of the *Etymologicum*) the key metaphorical-etymological association (espoused by Campano) with a variegated textile ‘patchwork’. Moreover, Aldus crowns his definition of the *cento*

⁶⁶ The *Suda* was available to Aldus in *Suidas* (Milan: impensa D. Demetrii Chalcondyli, Io. Bissoli, B. Mangii Carpensium, 1499), fol. iii l^{vo}. On it, see Stefanos Matthaios, ‘*Suda*: the character and dynamics of an encyclopædic Byzantine Dictionary’ [<http://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/files/document/conference-2003/012MatthaiosEn.pdf>], 40 pp.

⁶⁷ For this entry on κέντρωτες in the *Etymologicum Magnum* (used by Eustathius, in his commentary on Homer), consult *Etymologicum magnum seu magnum grammaticæ penu in quo et originum et analogiæ doctrina ex veterum sententia copiosissime proponitur historiæ item et antiquitatis monumenta passim attinguntur*, ed. F. Sylburgius (Leipzig: J. A. G. Weigel, 1816), p. 456 (503, ll. 44–45) [re-editing: *Etymologicum magnum*, ed. Sylburgius ([Heidelberg]: e typogr. H. Commelini, 1594)]; cf. *Magnum etymologicum Græcæ linguæ* (Venice: F. Turrisanus, 1549), contemporary with Du Bellay’s *Deffence* (1549), on whose view of the *cento*, see above, n. 64.

with the botanical etymology ‘to ingraft’, echoing Eustathius’s association of κέντρων with ἐγκεντρίζειν / ἐγκεντεῖν, picked up, as we have noted, by Giraldis in his *De Historia poetarum* (1545), and quoted by Henri Estienne in his *Thesaurus Græcæ Linguæ* (1572) and *Parodiæ morales* (1575).⁶⁸ This also anticipated the use of the metaphor *innes-tare* / *enter* (‘engraft’) in Italian and French by Sperone Speroni (1500–1588; *Dialogo delle lingue*, 1542) and Du Bellay (*Deffence*, 1549) in their evocation of Roman *imitatio* of Greek literature (whose ‘branches’ are ‘ingrafted’ and domesticated on the Roman ‘trunk’).⁶⁹

Indeed, Aldus points to another fundamental paradox of the *cento* (one germane to *imitatio*, of which it is an extreme example): its composite, variegated nature (*ex multis coloribus* [‘from many colours’]) generates a unified / united whole which is, for all that, ‘sewn together’ [*consutus*]) — a paradox underscored by Aldus’s quotation of Ausonius: ‘de incon-nexis continuum, de diversis, unum’ (‘from disjointed bits, but continuous, from diverse pieces but one’). In other words, to cite the ‘botanical’ ‘grafting’ metaphor later developed by Sperone Speroni and Du Bellay, in the *cento* (as in successful *imitatio*) the ‘trunk’ and ‘grafted’ ‘branches’, though joined artificially, coalesce as one ‘natural’ tree: ‘non paiono rami adottivi, ma naturali’ / ‘[rameaux] si bien entez & faiz semblables à leur tronc, que désormais n’apparoissent plus adoptifz, mais naturelz’.

⁶⁸ Henri Estienne, *Thesaurus Græcæ Linguæ* (Lyons, H. Stephanus, 1572), 4 vols, II, col. 1293, reproduced in id., *Parodiæ morales*, 2nd pt, p. 3 (Cazes, ‘Le Livre et la lyre’, pp. 934–935): ‘Eustathius agens de voce κέντρον Ab hoc vocabulo (inquit) deductum est nomen κέντρωνες, & qui consuuntur, & qui scribuntur: necnon verbum ἐγκεντρίζειν, de stirpibus: ut quemadmodum ἐγκεντρίζειν est ἐγκεντεῖν & [καὶ (Eust.)] ἐμβάλλειν φυτῷ τινι κλαδίσκον ἀλλοίου φυτοῦ, sic etiam κέντρων sit [...]’ [Eustathius, on the word κέντρον: ‘From this noun,’ he says, ‘is derived the substantive κέντρωνες (‘patch-works’), the sewn ones and the written ones; also the verb ἐγκεντρίζειν [to ‘ingraft’], concerning tree-trunks: so that, just as ἐγκεντρίζειν is ἐγκεντεῖν [to ‘graft’] and ἐμβάλλειν φυτῷ τινι κλαδίσκον ἀλλοίου φυτοῦ [to ‘engraft onto a plant the small young shoot of another plant’], so also κέντρων is, [...]’] Cf. above, n. 43, & below, n. 77, on the similar etymologizing of Giraldis & Jacobus Pontanus (*Poeticæ Institutiones*, 1594, 1597, 1600). Cf. below, n. 95, for a more extensive quotation of this passage; the suggestion immediately following in Eustathius’s Homeric commentary (1308, 64–65), quoted by Estienne (*Thesaurus* 1572 / *Parodiæ morales* 1575) is that the *cento* re-assembles both verses ‘of poems’ and ‘lines’ of prose (as well as constituting textual ‘embroidery’ through etymological linkage with παρακεντέω [‘I embroider’] and παρακεντήμα [‘embroidery’]).

⁶⁹ Du Bellay, *La Deffence*, l.iii ‘Pourquoy la langue Francoyse n’est si riche que la Greque & Latine’, ed. cit. (1549), fols a[vi]^{vo}–[vii]^{vo} (fol. a[vii]^{vo-vo}) [ed. Chamard – Vignes, pp. 22–28 (p. 25, et n. 3)], adapting Sperone Speroni, ‘Dialogo delle lingue’, *I Dialogi*, fol. 117^{vo} [Du B., *Deffence*, ed. Monferran (2001), pp. 234–235]. Cf. below, n. 77, on G. Pontano’s use of this metaphor.

Aldus also implies a fundamental ambiguity about the *cento* (suggested by the *Suda*): its ‘rebarbative’, ‘horrible’ aesthetic (in contrast with its colourful variegation) involves a negative ethic, each associated with both human and textual qualities (precisely the moral-aesthetic and human-textual ambiguities evident in 1546 in Paolo Giovio’s critical portrait-*elogium* of Petrus Alcyonius’s ‘plebeian’ character and *cento*-like Ciceronian Latin). This ambiguity is reinforced by Aldus’s quotation of the *Suda*’s etymological association of κέντρων (‘cento’) with wicked human social types (‘rogue’, ‘thief’), with violent verbal aggression (by a *conviciator*), with punishment (of ‘thieves’), and with thievery itself, thus suggesting an association between the *cento* and textual ‘theft’ (espoused in 1575 by Estienne in his *Parodiæ morales*), and so also between *cento* ‘compilation’ and reprehensible plagiarism (an emerging notion, as we noted above).⁷⁰

4. The Greek-Latin *cento* and parodic ‘song’; the *cento* as ‘sewn song’ (‘rhapsody’) and ‘theft’

In the 16th century, the seemingly marginal, even maligned *cento* form was also viewed, as we have noted, as a Greek-Latin verse-genre associated with Ancient parody (predominantly of Homer in Greek and Virgil in Latin)⁷¹, though not to be confused with parody either.⁷² This qualified

⁷⁰ Contrast Charles Nodier’s definition of centon as ‘plagiat innocent’ (Delepierre, *Tableau*, I [1874], 8-9). A more troubled Early Modern example is the emphatic self-defense against anticipated accusations of ‘theft’ (of Virgil) put up by the Latin verse-centonist Fabri, ‘Benigno proboque lectori’ [preface], *Centones, cum Diana* (1609), pp. 4-5 (see above, n. 35).

⁷¹ Examples of, or testimonies about, non-Homeric Greek centos are limited, so absent from Renaissance *cento* histories: Aeschylean in Aristophanes, *Frogs*, vv. 1285-1295; Euripidean *ibid.*, vv. 1309-1322 and in the *Christus patiens* (attrib. Gregory of Nazianzus [4th c.], in fact 11th-12th c. [see Salanitro, (ed.), ‘La poesia centonaria’, pp. 31-33; id., ‘Gregorio di Nazianzo e il *Christus Patiens*’, in F. Benedetti – S. Grandolini (eds), *Studi di Filologia e tradizione greca in memoria di Aristide Colonna* (Naples: E.S.I., 2003), pp. 727-728; *Christus Patiens Tragœdia Christiana, quæ inscribi solet ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΠΑΣΧΩΝ* Gregorio Nazianzeno falso attributa, ed. J. G. Brambs (Leipzig: Teubner, 1885)); Pindaric, Hesiodic & Anacreontic according to Lucian (*Convivium / Lapiths* 17; cf. McGill, *Virgil Recomposed*, p. 155, n. 13), who represents the ‘grammarian’ Histiaëus as ‘reciting verse, combining the lines of Pindar and Hesiod and Anacreon [and Homer, *Il.* 4.447, 450] in such a way as to make out of them a single poem and a very funny one’ (Lucian, transl. A. M. Harmon, 8 vols, Loeb [Harvard UP – London: Heinemann, 1913-

view emerges with different degrees of clarity in pronouncements such as Giraldis's ('Close to centos are parodies [...], which likewise are composed by tacking verse on verse' ['Confinis sunt centonibus parodiæ [...]. Item quæ per adiectionem versus versui conficiuntur']) in his *De Historia poetarum* (1545)⁷³ and J.-C. Scaliger's (*Poetics* 1561), declaring the two forms to be 'not dissimilar' (*haud absimiles*). However, the formal *distinction* between the two found clearer expression in the intervening 'Commentaries' (1551) of Joachim Camerarius (1500-1574) on the Latin and Greek languages. If Camerarius explored, as part of the vocabulary of 'song' (*cantus*), the 'singing alongside' of 'par-ody' (an 'amusing' 'transposition' of verses to express a 'different' 'argument'), he also differentiated between parody's 'form' and that of 'centos' (which drew verses from a single privileged source such as Homer, and involved strict metrical joining of verse fragments):

παρωδία est, cum alterius poetæ versus iocosè in aliud argumentum transferuntur. [...] Est autem alia forma παρωδιῶν, et alia eorum qui vocantur centones, id est κέντρωνες. Nam in his soli Homerici, aut alterius cuiuspiam poetæ versus quasi consuuntur, & servatur cæsurarum consequentia, id est, ἡ τῶν κομμάτων ἀκολουθία. In parodiis autem hoc non fit, in quibus et aliena nomina, et ridiculæ sententiæ implicantur.⁷⁴

1967], I [1913], 430-431). On the Latin side, evidence of ancient non-Virgilian centos is also rare: Quintilian (*Institutiones Oratoriæ*, 6.3.96) states that Ovid composed epigrams 'in malos poetas' centonizing the *tetrasticha* of his poet-friend Æmilius Macer (see McGill, *Virgil Recomposed*, pp. xvi, 155, n. 14; Salanitro [ed.], 'La poesia centonaria', p. 5). Yet Medieval and Renaissance *cento*-writers would extend the *cento* form to Ovid, Lucilius, Horace, Lucan, and Persius, amongst others. As McGill (*Virgil Recomposed*, p. 155, n. 15) has pointed out, in Late Antiquity Tertullian, St Jerome (*Epist.*, 53.7 'Ad Paulinum') and Isidore of Seville only define the *cento* form in relation to Homer and Virgil.

⁷² On the *cento*'s close yet distinct relation to parody see: F. J. Lelièvre, 'The Basis of Ancient Parody', *Greece and Rome*, s. 2, 1/2 (June, 1954), 66-81 (pp. 75-76 on this 'subdivision'); Margaret A. Rose, *Parody: Ancient, Modern, and Post-Modern*, Literature, Culture, Theory, 5 (Cambridge UP, 1993), pp. 16-17, 78 (on the *cento*'s appropriation of a source as parodic or non-parodic); Hoch, *Apollo Centonarius*, pp. 43-58, on the views (see below) of L. G. Giraldis [1545], J. C. Scaliger [1561] and H. Estienne [1575]. For a diachronic view, see Verweyen – Witting, 'The Cento [...] from Montage to Parody'. For a theoretical overview of parody from Aristotle's *Poetics* onwards, see Daniel Sangsue, *La Relation parodique*, Les Essais (Paris: Corti, 2007). On neo-Latin parody, see Gleis – Seidel (eds), ›Parodia‹ und Parodie, *passim*.

⁷³ Giraldis, *De Historia poetarum* 1545], *Opera omnia*, II, col. 48 (Cazes, 'Le Livre et la lyre', p. 167); see Hoch, *Apollo Centonarius*, p. 43 / Bažil, *Centones Christiani*, p. 21.

⁷⁴ Joach. Camerarius, *Commentarii utriusque linguae* (Basle: J. Hervagius, 1551), cols 195-196.

[‘Parody’ is when the verses of another poet are amusingly transposed to a different subject-matter. [...] However, the form of ‘parodies’ is one thing, but the form of what are called ‘centos’, i.e., κέντρωνες, is another thing. For in the latter, Homeric verses alone, or those of some other poet, are as it were ‘sewn together’, and the continuity [of the verses] after the cæsura is maintained, i.e., ‘the sequence of the cuttings’. In parodies, however, this does not happen; in which, extraneous words and ridiculous meanings are attached.]

The major Early Modern exponent of the close association but formal distinction between parody and *cento* (alongside Alessandro Piccolomini’s in his *Annotationi* on Aristotle’s *Poetics* [Venice, 1575])⁷⁵ was Henri Estienne in his *Parodiæ morales... Centonum veterum & parodi-arum... exempla*, already cited.⁷⁶ In addition to Estienne’s insight (noted by Martin Bāzil) that parody conserves the structure of the source-text whereas a *cento* does not (it dismembers a single source-author or textual corpus), Estienne’s opening remarks in his second section devoted to ‘examples’ of the two forms distinguish between two types of *accommodatio* in parody and in the *cento*: in parody such ‘accommodation’ involves adaptation (‘falsification’) of parts of the borrowed verses; in the *cento* it does not involve verbal modification or ‘appropriation’:

Atque huius versuum accommodationis duo fuerunt et nunc quoque sunt genera. Interdum enim ipsi versus ἀπαρποιήτοι & quales ab aliquo poeta scripti fuerunt, interdum verò non tales, sed aliqua in parte παραπεποιημένοι usurpantur: atque hoc posterius genus παρῳδία vocatur.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Alessandro Piccolomini, *Annotationi del libro della Poetica di Aristotele* (Venice: G. Guarisco, 1575), p. 49: ‘il Centone hà per obligo il non uscir punto degli stessi versi, ò intieri, ò rotti [...] dove che le Parodie posson coi versi, che d’altronde prendono, mescolar parimente dei nuovi, dall’autor proprio fatti.’

⁷⁶ For commentary on and translation of this work, see Cazes, ‘Le Livre et la lyre’, pp. 778-1312; cf. Judith Kecsméti, et al. (eds), *La France des Humanistes: Henri II Estienne éditeur et écrivain*, dir. Jean Céard, Europa Humanistica (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 358-364.

⁷⁷ Estienne, *Parodiæ morales... Centonum veterum & parodi-arum... exempla* (1575), 2nd pt, p. 1 (Cazes, ‘Le Livre et la lyre’, p. 933). Estienne’s distinction is echoed by the Jesuit Jacobus Pontanus (1542-1626), *Poeticarum institutionum libri tres. Eiusdem Tyrocinium poeticum* (Ingolstadt: D. Sartorius, 1594 [1597, 1600 – Avignon: J. Bramereau, 1600]), I:ix, pp. 24-28, ‘De exercitatione, et modo scribendi: item genera quædam exercitationis poeticæ’ (p. 128), conceiving *cento* and parody as ‘invisible’ botanical ‘grafting of the young branches of one tree onto another’, terminology associated with the *cento*, inherited from Eustathius via Aldus, Giraldis and Estienne: ‘Postremo, videntur mihi centonum, & parodi-arum exercitationes fore perutiles: quibus id assequimur: ut optimos versuum optimorum poetarum, propter studiosam & sollicitam lectionem, quæ ad eas perquam necessaria est, penitus inbibamus, illique mentibus altissime defixi perpetuo inhæreant.

[And of this 'accommodation' of verses there were and still are two types. For sometimes the verses are 'unfalsified', remaining as they were written by the poet, but sometimes they are not such, but are in part 'falsified', and so appropriated. This second type is called 'parody'.]

Indeed, this distinction between parody and the *cento* form prompted a contemporary reader of Estienne's to transcribe in the margin (in an Oxford copy of the *Parodiae*) Camerarius's similar, yet multi-dimensional, distinction published 24 years previously.⁷⁸

In his *Parodiae morales* Estienne was in fact developing his view of parody as a form of skilful 'theft' (*furtum*), articulated two years before in his *editio princeps* (1573) of the *Homeri et Hesiodi certamen* (to which he had appended the Homeric parodies of Matron [late 4th cent. B.C.] and others, 'sewn together from verses taken from Homer and wittily twisted [from their original meaning] by small changes').⁷⁹

Versus, inquam, poetæ boni ad alium sensum convertemus, & tanquam surculos ex arbore una in aliam inseremus, qui tamen in ea nati, non in eam insiti videri possint: idque dupliciter, vel ἀπαραιοτήτους nulla mutatione, quomodo fecerunt Proba Falconia ex Virgilio, & Eudocia Imperatrix ex Homero, quod genus centones vocamus: vel παρατεπιημένους in parte aliqua, quod genus parodias nominant. Nec eius exempla desunt.' [Finally, it seems to me that the exercises of [composing] centos and parodies will be most useful: by means of which, as a result of the studious and careful reading which they absolutely necessitate, we may utterly imbibe the best verses of the best poets, and these [verses / poets] stick most deeply in our minds, continuously fixed there. The verses, say I, of a good poet, we shall convert into another meaning, and shall ingraft like young branches from one tree onto another, so that although originating from one tree, they may not appear to be grafted onto the other; and this can take two forms: either 'unfalsified' verses, without any alteration, such as Proba Falconia composed from Virgil, and Eudocia from Homer, the type of verse we call 'centos'; or else, partly 'falsified' verses, the type we call 'parodies'.] See Rüdiger Niehl, 'Parodia Horatiana: Parodiebegriff und Parodiedichtung im Deutschland des 17. Jahrhunderts', in Glei – Seidel (eds), ›Parodia‹ und Parodie, pp. 11–45 (p. 16 [quoting 3rd edn 1600]; cf. Reinhold F. Glei, 'Aufstand gegen den Textsinn: Zum Lucan-Cento des Pierre Chrétien (1588)', in Christine Walde [ed.], *Lucanus Bellum Civile: Studien zum Spektrum seiner Rezeption von der Antike bis ins 19. Jahrhundert*, Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium, 78 [Trier: WVT, 2009], pp. 221–254 [pp. 228–229]).

⁷⁸ Anon. 16th-c. MS note, Oxford, Bodleian 8^o Rawl. 276: Estienne, *Parodiae morales*, 2nd pt, p. 1 (glossing Estienne's *præfatio*, 2nd para: 'Atque huius versuum accommodationis duo [...]').

⁷⁹ 'Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου ἀγών. *Homeri et Hesiodi certamen. Nunc primum luce donatum. Matronis et aliorum Parodiae, ex Homeri versibus parva immutatione lepide detortis consutæ. Homericum heroum Epitaphia. Cum duplici interpretatione Latina*, ed. & transl. Henri Estienne (s.l.: H. Estienne, 1573); see Kecsméti, et al. (eds), *La France des Humanistes: Henri II Estienne*, pp. 336–341. 'The Contest of Homer and Hesiod' was probably invented by the sophist Alcidas (4th c. B.C.). It enjoys a privileged relationship (through the common device of the literary Agon) with Aristophanes' *Frogs*, a source (see above,

Estienne's *Parodiæ* and his discussion there of the cento in comparison with parody also paved the way for his edition three years later (1578) of the Greek *Homerocentra* by the 5th-century Empress Eudocia, spouse of Theodosius II, and of other Homeric or Virgilian Christian *cento* poetry, including Proba's Latin *Cento*, and the Greek Homeric *Paraphrase of St John's Gospel* of the Egyptian 'neo-poet' Nonnus of Pano-polis (4th-5th c. A.D.).⁸⁰

For, even if the *cento*, in its Virgilian form, was traceable to ancient parodies of Virgil — including Petronius's obscene three-verse *cento* (using *Aeneid* and *Eclogues*) in his *Satyricon* (132.11; 1st cent. A.D.) and to *cento*-like parody of Virgil recorded in the *Vergilii Vita* (43-44) of St Jerome's teacher Ælius Donatus (4th cent.)⁸¹ — and even if the *cento*

nn. 51, 71) of parodic Aeschylean and Euripidean *cento*-writing. On the intertextual link between the two, see Stephen G. Landesman, 'The Anonymous *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*: a possible antecedent to the Literary Agon in Aristophanes' *Ranæ*' (M.A. Thesis, The Ohio State University, 1965 [http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view?acc_num=osu1203096254]); and Ralph M. Rosen, 'Aristophanes' *Frogs* and the *Contest of Homer and Hesiod*', *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 134 (2004), 295-322.

⁸⁰ *Homerici Centones, à veteribus vocati 'Ουρπόκεντρα Virgiliani Centones. Vtrique in quædam historiæ sacræ capita scripti. Nonni Paraphrasis Evangelii Ioannis, Græcè & Latine* ([Geneva]: H. Stephanus, 1578); see Kecsméti, *et al.* (eds), *La France des Humanistes: Henri II Estienne*, pp. 407-409. To Nonnus is attributed the epic *Dionysiaca* on the birth, exploits and apotheosis of Dionysus (s. of Jupiter & Semele), a pagan double of Christ (Son of God & Mary).

⁸¹ On early centonizing or parodying of Virgil (in Petronius, Encolpus's apostrophe [3vv.] to his *mentula* [Virg., *Aen.*, 6.469-470 + *Ecl.*, 5.16, with *Aen.*, 9.436]; in Donatus [Verg. *Vit.* 43-44], the incipits of Numitorius's parodic *Antibucolica* [adapting as quasi-centos *Ecl.*, 1.1, 3.1-2] & Cavilius Pictor's *Aeneidomastix* [cf. Servius at *Ecl.*, 2.23, *Aen.*, 5.521 on a *Virgiliomastix*]), see Austin, 'Cento', p. 221; Salanitro (ed.), 'La poesia centonaria', *Osidio Geta: Medea*, pp. 33-34 (n. 134); McGill, *Virgil Recomposed*, pp. 32, 56, 189-190 (nn. 18-21; using G. Brugnoli – F. Stock [eds], *Vita Suetonii / Donati, Vita Vergilianæ Antiquæ* [Rome: Typis Off. Polygraph., 1997], p. 39); Bažil, *Centones Christiani*, pp. 50-51. Cf. Domenico Comparetti, *Virgilio nel Medio Evo*, rev. Giorgio Pasquali (Florence: 'La Nuova Italia', 1943 [1937]; 1967), pp. 64-67; Ermini, *Il centone*, pp. 42-55; Salanitro (ed.), 'La poesia centonaria', pp. 33-58; McGill, *Virgil Recomposed*, pp. xv-xxv, on the practice in Latin Antiquity of quoting and adapting Virgilian verses – listing (like Salanitro), sixteen Virgilian centos extant (twelve on 'mythological or secular subjects', including Hosidius Geta's *Medea*, Ausonius's *Cento nuptialis*, Luxurius's *Epithalamium Fridi*, Mavortius's *Iudicium Paridis*, and [anon.] *De Panificio*, *De Alea*, *Narcissus*, *Hippodamia*, *Hercules et Antæus*, *Progne et Philomela*, *Europa*, *Alcesta*; 4 containing 'Christian material': Proba's *Cento*, Pomponius's *Versus ad Gratiam Domini*, [anon.] *De Verbi Incarnatione* and [Mavortius?], *De Ecclesia*). On the Christian ones, see Bažil, *Centones Christiani*; on individual ones (excluding Ausonius & Proba), see Salanitro (ed.), *Osidio Geta: Medea*; Carbone (ed.), *Il centone De alea*; Vidal, 'La Technique de composition'; Paola Paolucci, 'Il soffio di Zefiro e la Vergine: emendamento al

form itself had been exemplified by Hosidius Geta's Virgilian *cento*-tragedy *Medea* (c. 203 A.D.), mentioned by Tertullian,⁸² nonetheless, for Estienne and others in the 16th century, the Virgilian *cento* was exemplified primarily by Proba's Biblical-Christian verse narrative and the witty verses of Ausonius's *Cento nuptialis*. Proba was even thought to have inspired the Byzantine *Homerocentra* if not to have composed them herself. She was thus deemed to have inspired, in Christian Byzantine form, a revival of the ancient Greek Homeric *cento*, as well as to have developed in Latin a poetic form associated by Isidore of Seville (in his judgment of Proba) more with 'laudable' *ingenium* ('genius', 'talent', 'ingeniousness') than 'admirable' *studium* ('studiousness', 'laborious' erudition).⁸³

In the Counter-Reform, Proba's *cento* celebrating Christ's life and passion would inspire a wave of Christian *cento*-writing for the edification of youth, launched in Henri Estienne's time by the important edition of Proba (1576; re-ed. 1592 & 1612) published by Ioannes Plateanus 'Heduius Augustodunensis' (Jean de la Place [?], d'Autun), professor at Saumur (*e collegio Samarobrinensi* [1576 preface]), accompanied by Plateanus's own *cento*-'prayers' (*Orationes*) and long *Meditatio Passionis ante imaginem crucis* (139vv.; fols 24^{vo}-26^{vo} [1576])⁸⁴, a theme extensively

centone "De Ecclesia", *Exemplaria Classica: Journal of Classical Philology*, 11 (2007), 157-166. On Petronian centonizing of Virgil, see Aldo Setaioli, 'Le due poesie in sotadei di Petronio (*Sat.* 23.3; 132.8)', *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios Latinos*, 23/1 (2003), 89-106 (pp. 96-100).

⁸² Salanitro, 'La poesia centonaria', p. 63; McGill, *Virgil Recomposed*, pp. 7, 32, 42, 153, n. 4; on Hosidius's *cento* cf. Delepierre, *Tableau*, I (1874), 37-48.

⁸³ Isidore of Seville, *De Viribus illustis* 18.22: 'Proba [...] cuius quidem non miramur studium sed laudamus ingenium' ('Proba, whose learning in truth we do not admire, but whose ingeniousness we praise'); see Austin, 'Cento', p. 221; McGill, *Virgil Recomposed*, p. 155, n. 19; Meconi, 'The Christian *Cento*', pp. 111, 130, n. 5; Bažil, *Centones Christiani*, p. 20, n. 7; Tucker, 'Montaigne et les néo-latins', p. 169, for whom this opposition between 'studious' erudition and 'talent' or 'ingeniousness', resurfacing in Du Bellay's view of poetic *imitatio* (*Deffence* 1549), shapes Early Modern discussion of the *cento*: notably, Montaigne's evaluation of the different qualities of the prose- and verse-centos of Justus Lipsius (*Politicorum, sive civilis doctrinae libri sex* [Leiden: ex off. Plantin., F. Raphelengius, 1589] / *Politica. Six Books of Politics or Political Instruction*, ed., transl. & introd. Jan Waszink, Bibliotheca Latinitatis Novæ [Assen: Van Gorcum 2004]; cf. Delepierre, *Tableau*, I [1874], 257-261) and of Lelio Capilupi (1555/1590); Lipsius's is 'docte' and 'laborieux', Capilupi's is 'très-ingénieux'. Cf. Floriana Calitti, 'Fatica o ingegno. Lelio Capilupi e la pratica del centone', in Mazzacurati – Plaisance (eds), *Scrittore di scrittura*, pp. 497-507.

⁸⁴ *Probae Falconiae, vatis clarissimæ... Centones, de fidei nostræ misteriis è Maronis carminibus excerptum Opusculum... Per Ioannem Plateanum Augustodunensem Heduium eiusdem Opusculum ex uberrimis Virgilii fontibus derivatum in gratiam studiosæ iuventutis editum in quo continentur orationes quæ verè Christianorum eloquium sapiunt*

revisited by Christian-Virgilian centonists such as Samuel Pomarius (1581)⁸⁵, Estienne de Pleurre (1618 [1593]; 1610),⁸⁶ and Pierangelo Spera (1647)⁸⁷, amongst many others.⁸⁸

For the Hellenist in Henri Estienne prime examples of Greek Homeric *cento*-writing were also to be found among the epigrams of the *Greek Anthology* as well as the later Byzantine Christian *Homerocentra*.⁸⁹

alioqui merè Vergilianæ (Paris: G. Gorbin, 1576 – Cologne: Io. Gymnicus, 1592, 1612); see Cazes, ‘Le Livre et la lyre’, pp. 472-474, 599, 615-645, 651-654, 736-749. For an overview of the fortune of Proba from MS to print, see Sigrid Schottenius, ‘Probas cento I mediehistorisk belysning’, in *Codex and Code, Aesthetics, Language and Politics in an Age of Digital Media, Stockholm, August 6-9, 2009* (Norlit, 2009 [Linköping University]), pp. 351-358 [<http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp/042/028/ecp0942028.pdf>].

⁸⁵ Samuel Pomarius (Baumgarten) *P. Virgilii Maronis de lapsu generis humani, item de agone et captivitate Christi: Carmen sacrum secundum legem centonum collectum opera [&] studio M. Samuelis Pomarii* (Magdeburg: s.n. 1581); on this Pomarius (not the Lutheran theologian, 1624-1683), see Delepiepierre, *Tableau*, II (1875), 307, citing Jo. Albertus Fabricius, *Bibliotheca*.

⁸⁶ Such Christian Virgilian *cento*-composition would extend to broader hagiography with the *Virgilio-centones* of Estienne de Pleurre (cf. above, n. 35) on the ‘Acts of Christ and the First Martyrs’ ([1593] 1618) and (c. 1610) on the patron saint of his Abbey of St Victor, where he was Canon: 1) *Æneis Sacra continens Acta Domini Nostri Iesu Christi, et primorum martyrum qui passi sunt tempore persecutionis. Omnia Virgilio-centonibus conscripta, Collecta per Fr. Stephanum Pleurreum Parisinum canonicum regularem Abbatiae Sancti Victoris* (Paris: Taupinart, 1618); 2) *Sancti Victoris victoria, Virgilio-centonibus descripta. Ad Reverendum Patrem D. Dionysium Columbæum, Sancti Victoris Priorem meritissimum* (Paris: D. Langlois, [1610]).

⁸⁷ Pierangelo Spera, *De passione D. Nostri Iesu Christi Vergilio centonis libri quatuor* (Naples: F. Savius, 1647) [re-edns: *Virgilii Christiani opus Petri Angeli Speræ*, ed. J. C. don F. de Villegas (Florence: Vangelistus, 1705); *I poemi di Virgilio in un centone del P. Pietro Angelo Spera, ossia La Passione di N. S. Gesù Cristo cantata coi versi di Virgilio*, ed. & trad. Elia Aliperti (Naples: R. Contessa, 1938). On Spera, a Neapolitan priest and member of the Accademia degli Oziosi in Naples, author of *De nobilitate professorum grammaticæ & humanitatis utriusque linguæ libri quinque* (Naples: F. Savius, 1641), see Francisco García Jurado, ‘Acerca del manuscrito latino *De nobilitate Professorum Grammaticæ et Humanitatis utriusque linguæ*, conservado en el Fondo Antiguo de la Facultad de Filología y adscrito a la Academia Latina Matritense’, *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios Latinos*, 14 (1998), 253-268 (esp. pp. 259-260, & nn. 20-21); cf. Delepiepierre, *Tableau*, II (1875), 6-12.

⁸⁸ E.g., Raymond of Avignon’s triple *cento* on Christ, Mary Magdalen and the Pont d’Avignon, *Virgilius Christianus: opus per modum centonum ex versibus Virgilii depromptum, in tres partes divisum* (Avignon: A. Duperier, 1674); or the 124-verse *cento* on the Virgin Mary by the Jesuit Antonio Rubio (1548-1615; in Mexico 1577-1599; Delepiepierre, *Tableau*, II [1875], 309) in his pedagogic *Poeticarum institutionum liber variis ethnicorum christianorumque exemplis illustratus, ad usum studiosæ iuventutis. Per Congregationem B.M.V. Annuntiatae, in Societatis Iesu Collegij Mexicani Gymnasiis Autoritate Apostolica, institutum. Collectore eiusdem Societatis Sacerdote, qui eidem præsidet Congregationi. Antonio Rubio Præfecto* (Mexico: H. Martinez, 1605).

⁸⁹ Consult André-Louis Rey (ed.), *Patricius, Eudocie, Optimus, Côme de Jérusalem: Centons Homériques (Homerocentra)*, Sources Chrésiennes, 437 (Paris: Éd. du Cerf,

Estienne was also well aware, as we have noted, of Eustathius's *Commentarii* upon the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which had even discerned *cento*-techniques in Homer's own verses, and were quoted by Estienne in the lexical definition of 'Ὀμηρόκεντρα / Ὀμηροκέντρωνες' given in his *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (1572), as well as being reproduced less condensedly in his *Centonum... & parodiarum... exempla (Parodiae morales)* of 1575. If in these two works Estienne associated the *cento* with 'overt theft' (φανερὸς κλέπτη), much as he did in his *Homeri et Hesiodi Certamen* of 1573, he was further taking into account here a Scholiast's remarks on Aristophanes' *The Clouds* (commenting on the juxtaposition in v. 450 of κέντρων [one who bears the mark of the goad], μαιρὸς [blood-stained] and στρόφις [slippery fellow]).⁹⁰

In addition to its parodic associations and origins (and shared 'theft'-like nature), the *cento* would also be identified with *rhaps-ody*'s 'sewn song'. It is presented as such both in its later prose form, in Robert Burton's 'macaronic' *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621-1651)⁹¹, and in verse: notably, in the title *Lanx Satura Sive Rhapsodia* of the German literary historian (1639-1691) Daniel Georg Morhof's 'Christogony' (1658), 'A Fruit-salad, or Rhapsody', 'scraped together from the triad of most noble epic poets Virgil, Statius [*Sylvæ*, *Thebaid*, *Achilleid*] and Claudian'.⁹²

1998) for an edition establishing multiple authorship pre-dating (Bishop Patricius 4th c. A.D.) and coinciding with Eudocia, who expanded the corpus. See Usher, 'Prolegomenon to the Homeric Centos', *passim*; id. *Homeric Stitchings: The Homeric Centos of the Empress Eudocia* (New York: Rowman – Littlefield, 1998); Brian P. Sowers, 'Eudocia: the Making of a Homeric Christian' (Ph.D. Dissertation, Univ. of Cincinnati, 2008). On Eudocia, cf. Delepiepierre, *Tableau*, I (1874), 96-114.

⁹⁰ Estienne, *Thesaurus* (1572), II, cols 1293-1294; reproduced in id., *Parodiae morales*, 2nd pt, pp. 2-4 (French transl. Cazes, 'Le Livre et la lyre', pp. 934-936); cf. above, n. 68. Estienne's quotation of the Scholiast's use of the term 'theft' also chimes with his immediately subsequent cryptic reference to the *Suda* (*Suidas*), whose linking of κέντρων to 'thief' and the punishment of 'thieves', had been quoted by Aldus Manutius in his influential preface of 1501; see above, n. 66).

⁹¹ Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. Thomas C. Faulkner, et al. [1632, collated with 1638 & 1651], introd. J. B. Bamborough, Oxford English Texts, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989-2000).

⁹² *Lanx Satura Sive Rhapsodia ΧΡΙΣΤΟΓΟΝΙΑΝ ex optimâ Nobilissimorum Epicorum Triga, MARONE STATIO CLAUDIANO, Corrasa. Viro excellentissimo... M. ANDREÆ TSCHERNINGIO* [dated '1658'], in Daniel. Georg. Morhofii *Opera Poëtica, quæ in unum collata & ad Auctoris mentem disposita ab hæredibus eduntur cum Præfatione Henrici Muhlii* (Lübeck: P. Böckmann, 1697), pp. 919-930; cf. Delepiepierre, *Tableau*, II (1875), 303; Ermini, *Il centone*, p. 36, n. 11; Verweyen – Witting, 'The Cento', p. 170. Rather than designating a satire, *lanx satura* denotes here the 'medley' of an unusual, 'mixed' verse-*cento* of multiple sources. Morhof was alumnus in jurisprudence & *literæ humaniores* at the University of Rostock, becoming Professor of Poetry there (1660-1665) because of

Perhaps the most spectacular example of such explicitly 'rhapsodic' verse-*cento* writing was an English Horatian *cento* of 1605, the eight-'ode' 'Rapsodia Octonaria' of Thomas Goad (1576-1638; Fellow of King's College Cambridge), entitled *Cithara Octochorda*, constituting the first reaction in verse to the discovery of the notorious Gunpowder Plot (5 November 1605) of 'Guido' (Guy) Fawkes (1570-1606) and his Catholic associates against the new King James I of England. This lengthy *cento*, dated 15 November, had been completed by Goad in ten days flat,⁹³ and was subsequently expanded by him from eight to ten odes (re-named *Chordæ*) in 1606, the year of Guy Fawkes's execution, accompanied by a prose commentary and newly entitled *Proditoris Proditor* ('Betrayal of Betrayer').⁹⁴

Not only do we find in Goad's unusual, purely Horatian *cento* all the elements typical of the *cento*-form — overt referencing of the 'borrowed' verses in the margins, patatextual glosses on the 'new' subject-matter (this time, in the long explanatory title headings of each 'ode' or *chorda*), application / transposition of a canonical ancient poet's well-known verses to an immediate contemporary issue, the sense of a 'spontaneous',

his Latin versification; subsequently he was Professor of Rhetoric & Poetry (1665-1673), then of History (1673 onwards) at the University of Kiel.

⁹³ Thomas Goad, *Cithara Octochorda pectine pulsata Horatiano Cantionem concinens novam, TRIUMPHUM BRITANNICUM. Sive, RAPSODIA OCTONARIA. Partim ex Centonibus Horatianis consarcinata, partim ex allusionibus ad eiusdem nunc historiam nunc phrasim composita enarrationem complexa execrandæ proditiōis & perfidiæ post homines natos immanissimæ qua Illustrissimum magnæ Britanniae Regem IACOBVM una cum universo trium Angliæ Ordinum Senatu, coniurata Diaboli mancipia uno pulveris pyrii sufflatu subterraneo in pleno Concilio 5. Novembris, 1605, celebrando, in pulverem (proh scelus) redigere decreverunt. Eiusdem coniurationis patefactionem, deprehensionem, et mirificæ liberationis officiosam gratulationem* [explic.: 'Dat: Cantabrig: Eiusdem fatalis Novembris. 15.'] (London: Nathaniel Fosbroke, 1605); see Richard F. Hardin, 'The Early Poetry of the Gunpowder Plot: Myth in the Making', *English Literary Renaissance*, 22/1 (Dec., 1992), 62-79 (esp. pp. 65, 67, 73, n. 28), who sees in Goad's Italianisation of Guy Fawkes' first name demonization of Fawkes as purported 'leader' of the Plot.

⁹⁴ Thomas Goad, *Proditoris Proditor. Sive Decachordon, plectrum admovente Horatio, concinens Liberationem Britannicam. // Psal. 144. Ver. 9 Cantabo tibi Deus Canticum novum, / Decachordo psallam tibi* ['Epistola Dedicatoria' 'T G Collegii Regalis Cantabrig. Socius'], fols A2^{ro}-3^{vo}] (London: imp. M. Clerk, 1606), likewise indicating narrative-content in the title of each ode and Horatian sources in the margins. This was complemented by Goad's parallel Latin hexameter poem, addressed to King James: *In Homines nefarios, qui scelere, ausûque immani, Parlamento iampridem habendi Domum, pulvere bombardico evertere, sunt machinati, scilicet quinto Novembris, 1605. Ad Præcellentissimum Principem Iacobum, Magnæ Britanniae, Franciæ, atque Hiberniæ, Regem* (Cambridge: ex off. Io. Legat., 1605).

'extemporised' poetico-rhetorical reaction to contemporary events, as well as a sub-title highlighting the *cento*'s status as a 'rhapsody' 'stitched together [*Rapsodia... consarcinata*]) — but in addition, if Goad's main title *Cithara Octochorda* ('The Eight-stringed Lyre') stressed the lyric nature of his Horatian *cento*, it also suggested a relation with music. Indeed, it echoes the title of the important 16th-century manual, the 'hexachord', by the German polyphonic choral composer Andreas Rasel, *Hexachordum seu Quæstiones musicæ practicæ* (1589), which had been associated with the textual 'polyphony' and 'counterpoint' of Virgilian *centones* composed by Rasel's friend in Ratisbon, the Protestant Otho Gryphius (discussed below in relation to Rasel). No less than Horace's lyric verses, Goad's Horatian *cento* constitutes therefore a kind of 'musical' composition, associated furthermore with the 'sewn' [improvisatory] song' of 'rhapsody, indeed, an 'eight-piece rhapsody' rapidly 'stitched together' at a critical moment in early Jacobean Britain. It was a pyrotechnic poetico-musical display, worthy of the Gunpowder Plot itself, fashioning perception of that event by Goad's contemporaries and by posterity.

The *cento* form's emerging identification with the 'sewn song' of 'rhapsody', evinced by Scaliger and illustrated by Early Modern examples such as these, may have been due to Eustathius's foundational observations, already noted, about the presence of 'stitched' *cento*-like verses in parts of the original Homeric corpus (the speeches of Glaucus [*Iliad*, 17.142-168] and of Telemachus [*Odyssey*, 4.316-331]), or else, to his explicit, precise equation of the stitchings of a 'written' *cento* with those of a literally 'sewn' 'patchwork'.⁹⁵ The broader association of the *cento*

⁹⁵ Eustathius 1099,38ff. (51-52), 1497,59ff. on Homer, *Iliad*, 17.142-168 (Glaucus's speech) & *Odyssey*, 4.316-331 (Telemachus's), in *Commentarii*, ed. cit. (Weigel), III *Ad Il.* (1829), 12 & I *Ad Od.* (1825), 167; see Stemplinger, *Das Plagiat*, p. 193; Salanitro, 'La poesia centonaria', p. 20; Bažil, *Centones Christiani*, p. 49; cf. Devarius, *Index*, p. 250 (κέντρον & κέντρονες). Following the *Suda*, Eustathius (1564,63; *Comm.*, I *Ad Od.* [1825], 256) understands κέντρον as 'goad' for horses (re. *Od.* 6.320: Nausicaa's use of 'whip' on her mules), but comments (1308,59-1309,1; *Comm.*, IV *Ad Il.* [1830], 295-296) on κέντρον & κέντρονες as 'patchworks' / centos, 'sewn' & 'written', and so, on 'Ομηρόκεντρα (re. *Iliad*, 23.419: Antilochus spurs his horses to overtake Menealaos's chariot in funeral games for Patroclus). In the latter commentary (see Estienne on 'Ομηρόκεντρα / 'Ομηροκέντρονες [*Thesaurus*, 1572 / *Parodiae morales*, 1575]), Eustathius gives the botanical etymology 'ingraft' ἐγκεντρίζειν / ἐγκεντεῖν quoted by Aldus (1501 preface [citing κεντρίζειν 'ingraft']), later used by Giraldis (1545; see n. 43), Estienne (see n. 68) and Pontanus (see n. 77). In the same passage (1308.64-65, *Comm.*, IV, 296) quoted by Estienne (1572; 1575; cf. n. 68) — as in the extract of *Suda* translated by Aldus

with the 'sewn song' of 'rhaps-ody' made via the other possible link with 'par-ody' (a 'singing alongside') was probably as much due to parody's perceived origins in the recitations of Homeric rhapsodes adapting and re-'sewing' Homer's 'song' for purposes 'alongside' its original function, as it was to the fact that (for Eustathius) the *cento*, just like 'rhapsody', was linked by its very name to the 'sewn' (ῥαπτός) nature of a real cloth κέντρων or 'patchwork'. Moreover, this combined 'parodic' and 'rhapsodic' (pseudo-)historical view of the *cento*, was one that filtered through to, and further disseminated by, J. C. Scaliger's *Poetics* of 1561:

Haud absimiles Parodiis, quos Centones vocant. Deducitur enim sensus alius ab sensu pristino versuum: hoc parodiam refert. quorum versuum membra hinc inde collecta quum assuantur, Rapsodiæ nomen repræsentant. atque iccirco Centones appellati sunt à centonibus, quibus fiunt stragula. Tale apud Ausonium poema valde ingeniosum & lepidum, ex frustis Virgilianis coagmentatum. Tale etiam Probæ poetriæ Christianæ: cui opere Centone cognomen factum est.⁹⁶

[The poems called 'Centos' are not dissimilar from Parodies. For a different meaning is woven from the original sense of the verses; this makes one think of parody. Since their verse fragments are assembled from here and there and sewn together, they also present the characteristics of the term Rhapsody. That is the reason why 'Centos' are named after those 'patch-works' [*centones*] from which covers are made. Such is the most ingenious and elegant poem of Ausonius, put together from bits of Virgil. Such too are the verses of the Christian poetess Proba, whose *Cento* earned her her surname ['virtuous woman'].]

(1501) — Eustathius can be understood (cf. Cazes, 'Le Livre et la lyre', p. 935) to define the 'written' (γραπτός) κέντρων as being in verse or prose (depending on the interpretation of Eustathius's ποιημάτων καὶ στίχων: meaning either 'of poems & [their] verses' or 'of poems & of lines' [of prose]). Eustathius also associates both the 'sewn' (ῥαπτός) and 'written' (γραπτός) κέντρων with 'embroider' (παρακεντέω) / 'embroidery' (παρακεντήμα), whilst drawing the overall parallel with ἐγκεντρίζειν: 'ut quemadmodum ἐγκεντρίζειν est ἐγκεντεῖν & [καὶ (Eust.)] ἐμβάλλειν φυτῷ τινι κλαδίσκον ἄλλοιου φυτοῦ, sic etiam κέντρων sit ῥαπτός μὲν, ᾧ περὶ ὁσάνει παρακεντοῦνται τοιοῦτου διαφόροι χροαὶ ὕφασμάτων: at verò γραπτός sit, ᾧ παρατίθεντα, τοιοῦτου παρακεντήματος δίκειν, μέρη ποιημάτων καὶ στίχων ἄλλοθεν ἄλλα.' [so that, just as ἐγκεντρίζειν ['to ingraft'] is ἐγκεντεῖν ['to graft'] and ἐμβάλλειν ['to engraft'] onto a plant the small young shoot of another plant, so also a κέντρων ['patchwork'] is, when 'sewn', one in which it is as if different colours of cloths were embroidered; but, when 'written', it is one in which, after the fashion of such embroidery, different parts of poems and of [their] verses [or: different parts of poems and of lines (of prose)] are set together in a new configuration.]

⁹⁶ J.-C. Scaliger, *Poetices libri septem* (Lyons: A. Vincentius, 1561; facsimile re-pr., introd. A. Buck [Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: F. Frommann, 1964]), p. 47 (Lib. I, Cap. XLIII: 'Centones').

Scaliger was condensing and simplifying Erasmus's commentary in the *Adagia* (1506) upon the Latin expression 'to stuff centos' *farcire centones* (as opposed to *sarcire* 'sew'⁹⁷, Lambinus's emendation of Plautus), even if he was also developing it through his association of the *cento*, parody-like, with the 'sewn song' of the Homeric rhapsodes. Erasmus had taken on board the looser, colloquial, pejorative, connotations of *cento* in Plautine comic Latin, where it had been associated with rambling oral speech and continuous boasting or lying. He had also taken into account the term's concrete meaning of 'patchwork' cover or blanket, attested in particular in Juvenal's *Satires* (a source also noted by Aldus Manutius in 1501), and so also, as Eustathius had done, the relation of that textile 'patchwork' by analogy to the compositional technique of the Greek Homeric verse-*κέντρω* (spelt with a *ρ*) and of the Latin Virgilian verse-*cento* (devoid of an 'r', by contrast, as was noted by Aldus). Erasmus had not failed either to identify the prime authors and models of the Latin verse-form as Proba and Ausonius, but he also made reference, again like Aldus, to Ausonius's 'rules' for the Latin verse *cento* outlining the prosodic principles for the breaking up and recombination of Virgilian hexameter verses:

⁹⁷ The expression *farcire centones* highlighted in Erasmus's *Adagia* would be employed metatextually, slightly adapted (*infarcire* 'stuff into'), in the titles of three politico-religious Virgilian centos of the Bolognese emblemist Paolo Maccio (1570-c. 1638; *Emblemata*, Bologna: C. Ferronius, 1628): 1) *Pax italica Virgiliocento. Paullus Maccius infarciebat* (Bologna: ex off. B. Cochij, 1617); 2) *Damon Virgiliocento in translationem B. Mariæ Virginis Rhegij Lepidi. Paulus Maccius infarciebat, et Illustriss[im]is Bonon[iens-]is Reipublicæ Senatoribus dono dabat* (Bologna: B. Cochius, 1619); 3) *Conclauē Virgiliocento Paullus Maccius infarciebat, et Gregorio 15. pontifici optimo maximoque dicabat* (Bologna: B. Cochius, 1621). An exception for Maccio was his *epithalamium*, whose title used instead the decorous verb *canere* 'sing': *Parthenope Virgilio cento ad convivium nuptiale Ludovisiorum. Paullus Maccius canebat* (Bologna: T. Mascheronius – C. Ferronius, 1622), listed with *Pax Italica* in Cazes, 'Le Livre et la lyre', p. 775. Conversely, the 'sewing / patching' terminology also cited by Erasmus, *consarcinator* & *consarcinare* ('stitcher- / patcher-up' & 'stitch / patch together') is used comically, satirically or pejoratively in the titles of Viret's anti-Catholic *Missæ saltatione cento... consarcinatus*, 1553 (see above, n. 33) and the anti-religious Pasquinade *Cento Virgilianus de præsentii religionis in Belgica statu. M. Pasquinio Romano consarcinatore... Item Prognosticum antiquum M. Arnoldi de Palude super desolatione futura pro annis viii. incipientibus ab anno M.D.LXIII*, 1567 (Cazes, 'Le Livre et la lyre', pp. 569-571; cf. Gladys Dickinson, *Du Bellay in Rome* [Leiden: Brill, 1960], Pasquinade Appendix), as also in the *De imitatione* (1546) of Ricci, on Longueil's *mali consarcinatoris nomen* ('reputation of being a bad author of patchworks') (see above, quotation at n. 12). A nobler use of the passive past participle *consarcinatus* is attested in the title of T. Goad's 'stitched' 'rhapsody'-*cento Cithara octochorda... sive Rapsodia... consarcinata* (1605), discussed above (see n. 93).

Periphanes [senex] in *Epidico* Plautina [3.4.19], militi iam pugnas suas militari more paranti narrare: *Quin tu, inquit, alium quæras, cui centones farcias* [Lambinus: *sarcias*], i.e., quem tu gloriosus mendaciis & consarcinatis fabulamentis expleas. Solent enim homines gloriosi mendacium aliud ex alio connectere, nullum facientes neque finem neque modum. Centones autem dicuntur vestes a variis panniculis, ac diversis etiam interdum coloribus consarcinatæ. Juvenalis [*Saturæ*, 6.121]: *Intravit* [Messalina] *calidum veteri centone lupanar*. Ad harum similitudinem centonem vocant carminis genus, ex diversis carminibus, et carminum fragmentis, hinc atque illinc accersitis [arcessitis], contextum, quasique consutum. Græci κέντρωνας appellant, addita litera, quam abjiciunt Latini. Exstant adhuc, 'Ὅμηρο-κέντρωνες, quorum meminit & divus Hieronymus, & Virgiliocentones Probae mulieris, & *Centon* [sic] *nuptialis* Ausonii, qui legem etiam eius carminis tradit.⁹⁸

[In Plautus's *Epidicus* [3.4.19] [the old man] Periphanes tells a soldier getting ready at that very moment (and as is the way with soldiers) to recount his battles, 'Why don't you look for someone else to 'stuff up' [Lambinus: 'patch up', 'sew up'] centos to?', that is, 'Someone to boast to and fill up with the lies and fictions patched together.' For boastful people are in the habit of proceeding straight from one lie to another in an unbroken thread, without end and without limits. 'Centos' is the name given to coverings patched together from different bits of cloth, sometimes of various colours. Juvenal [*Satires*, 6.121]: 'She [Messalina] entered a hot brothel with its old patchwork bed-covers.' It is by analogy with these ['patchwork bed-covers'] that they call a *cento* the type of poem which is woven, and, as it were, 'sewn together', from different verses or fragments of verses, drawn from here or there. The Greeks call these poems κέντρωνας, with an added letter [ρ], which is removed in Latin. There are still extant today 'Ὅμηρο-κέντρωνες which St Jerome mentions, as well as the Virgilian centos of the woman Proba and the *Nuptial Cento* of Ausonius, which also gives us the rules for that type of poem.]

5. The *cento* as a dazzling mosaic (of quotations)

By its kaleidoscopic nature the æsthetic of the *cento* could also be seen as one of artistic, poetical or textual dazzlement, provoking disorientation in the beholder-reader, analogous to that experienced, according to

⁹⁸ Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus, *Adagia* (1506) 58 'Farcire centones', *Opera Omnia*, ed. Jean Leclerc, 10 vols (Leiden: 1703-1706 [Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1961-1962]), II (1703; 1961), 542D; quoted by Estienne (on 'Ὅμηρόκεντρα / 'Ὅμηροκέντρωνες, *Thesaurus Linguae Græcæ*, II, cols 1293-1294, reproduced in id., *Parodiæ morales* (2nd pt), pp. 3-4 (French transl. Cazes, 'Le Livre et la lyre', p. 935). On the post-classical term *Virgiliocentones*, see above, n. 35.

Michael Roberts, by the beholder of a Byzantine mosaic, or by a reader of its poetic equivalent in Late Antiquity, 'the jewelled style' of Latin verse; Roberts' perception is relevant to the mosaic-like *cento* form in the Renaissance:

This ability of the constituents to enter into meaningful patterns of relationship constitutes the closest equivalent to 'color' in language [...] 'Light', by comparison, is a concept of higher generality, present in the individual word as well as in the combination. [...] Mosaics that show this tendency toward abstraction and the disintegration of form into chromatic units present new difficulties for the observer who wants to decipher the representational content of the work of art. Dazzled by brilliance and color, the beholder must work extra hard to distinguish the formal integrity of the image. The problems presented are analogous to those raised by the more extreme examples of the jeweled style in the literature of the period. [...] the confusion generated by brilliance and color, and the inability to make out line and organic relationship, are akin to the first impression that late antique wall mosaics must have made on the observer when brilliantly illuminated in a Christian basilica. [...] Architecture of the Neronian and Flavian period had shown the same fascination with costly materials and brilliant effects, and the topos makes an appearance in the first century in the *Silvæ* [1.3.52-53, 1.5.43-44, 2.2.42-43, 4.2.30-31] of Statius.⁹⁹

Similarly, in our examination of the Early Modern *cento* form, inspired by the post-Classical and Byzantine Virgilian and Homeric centos of the 4th-5th centuries, we can observe in a *cento*'s juxtaposition of disparate fragments (word- or verse-*tesserae*) how it brought these into new relationships with each other, in new plays of 'colour' and 'light', thus illustrating the positive, more nuanced aspect of a technique or 'form' whose mosaic-like nature might also over-'dazzle' or underwhelm, unevenly and incongruously, as in a coarsely variegated 'patchwork'. Such are the ill-judged ostentatious efforts of orators 'imitated' yet criticised by Erasmus's 'Folly' for larding their speeches with Hellenisms or archaisms,¹⁰⁰ in complicity with the vanity or naivety of their readers and listeners:

⁹⁹ Michael Roberts, *The Jeweled Style: Poetry and Poetics in Late Antiquity* (Ithaca, NY – London: Cornell UP, 1989), pp. 72-73; cf. pp. 70-91, on the analogy between the poetic 'jeweled style' and that of the mosaicist in Late Antiquity. I am grateful to Dr Caroline Humphries for alerting me to this study and its potential application to *cento*-writing. Cf. Eustathius's perception (c. 1175), mentioned above, of a literal (cloth) or textual *cento* as a form of 'embroidery'.

¹⁰⁰ 'As inaptly applied, as a gold ryng in a sowes nose' according to Sir Thomas Chaloner's [1549] rendering of 'Folly's' mosaic simile *velut emblemata* (cf. Erasmus on the *cento*, in the *Ciceronianus* 1528) as an image representing absurd incongruity (*The*

Visum est enim hac quoque parte, nostri temporis Rhetores imitari, qui [...] præclarum facinus esse ducunt, latinis orationibus subinde græculas aliquot vuculas velut emblemata, intertexere, etiam si nunc non erat his locus. Porro si desunt exotica, e putribus chartis, quatuor aut quinque prisca verba eruunt, quibus tenebras offundant lectori, videlicet ut qui intelligunt, magis ac magis sibi placeant. Qui non intelligunt, hoc ipso magis admirentur quo minus intelligunt.¹⁰¹

[For in this point also I have seen fit to imitate the rhetoricians of our times. [...] They think they have done a noble deed if they sprinkle some Greek tags in their Latin speeches, however inappropriate, like bright bits in a mosaic. In fact, if they don't have some esoteric expressions, they scrape together four or five obsolete words from some mouldy manuscripts in order to baffle their readers. Thus, those who understand them will be all the more pleased with themselves, and those who do not understand will admire them the more, the less they understand them.]

Such also are the orators criticised by Quintilian for displaying 'weakness' (*infirmitas*) in their pre-memorised, 'cold' (*frigidi*), incohesive fragments, incorporated 'mosaic'-like (*cento*-like) as 'ornamental' interpolations, in their 'extemporised' speeches:

quidam [...] [locos] scriptos eos memoriæque diligentissime mandatos in promptu habuerint, ut quotiens esset occasio, extemporales eorum dictiones his velut emblematis exornarentur.¹⁰²

[Certain speakers [...] have written out passages dealing with such themes, committed them to memory, and kept them ready for immediate use, with a view to employing them as occasion arose as a species of ornament [*or*: mosaic] to be inserted into their extempore speeches.]

A more positive view of the *cento* as a quasi-visual textual mosaic had in fact been promoted by Ausonius in his letter-preface to his *Cento nuptialis*, where he compared it with a Greek geometric game, the *Ostomachion* ('Battle of the Bones') or *Loculus Archimædi* ('Archimedes' Box'), involving re-combinations (536 in all) of 14 *tesseræ* (variously shaped

Praise of Folie. Moria Encomium, a booke made in latyne by that great clerke Erasmus Roterodame. Englished by Sir Thomas Chaloner knight [[London]: T. Berthlet, 1549], fol. A^{ro-v0}).

¹⁰¹ Desiderius Erasmus, *Moria Encomium Erasmi Roterodami declamatio* (Strassburg: ex æd. Schurerianis, 1512 [1st edn 1511]), fol. Aa iiiiv⁰. Engl. transl. in id., *The Praise of Folly*, transl., introd. & comm. Clarence H. Miller (Hew Haven: Yale UP, 1979), p. 14.

¹⁰² Quintilian, *Inst. Or.*, 2.4.27, in *The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian*, ed. & transl. H. E. Butler, Loeb Classical Library, 124-127, 4 vols (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP – London: Heinemann, 1968-1980 [1st impr. 1920-1922]), I (1980 [1920]), 238-239.

polygons) to create multiple possible images,¹⁰³ in a memory-exercise having potential pedagogical applications (like the *cento* form itself):

simile ut dicas ludicro, quod Græci ostomachian vocavere. Ossicula ea sunt: ad summam quattuordecim figuras geometricas habent. Sunt enim æqualiter triquetra: vel extentis lineis vel <eiusdem> frontis, <vel rectis> angulis vel obliquis: [...]. harum verticularum variis coagmentis simulantur species mille formarum: helephantus belua aut aper bestia, anser volans et mirmillo in armis, subsidens venator et latrans canis, quin et turris et cantharus et alia huiusmodi innumerabilium figurarum, quæ alius alio scientius variegant. Sed peritorum concinnatio miraculum est, imperitorum iunctura ridiculum. [...] hoc ergo centonis opusculum ut ille ludus tractatur, pari modo sensus diversi ut congruant, adoptiva quæ sunt, ut cognata videantur, aliena ne interluceant: arcessita ne vim redarguant, densa ne supra modum protuberent, hiulca ne pateant. quæ si omnia ita tibi videbuntur, ut præceptum est, dices me composuisse centonem.¹⁰⁴

[You may say it is like the puzzle which the Greeks have called 'Battle of the Bones'. There you have little pieces of bone, fourteen in number and representing geometrical figures. For some are equilateral triangles, some with sides of various lengths, some symmetrical, some with right angles, some with oblique [...]. By fitting these pieces together in various ways, pictures of countless objects are produced: a monstrous elephant, a brutal boar, a goose in flight, and a gladiator in armour, a huntsman crouching down, and a dog barking — even a tower and a tankard and numberless other things of this sort, whose variety depends on the skill of the player.

¹⁰³ The analogy is discussed in detail by McGill, *Virgil Recomposed*, pp. 20-21.

¹⁰⁴ 'Ausonius Paulo S.', ll. 42-61, *Cento nuptialis*, in Ausonius, *Opuscula*, ed. Peiper 1886 [ed. Prete 1978], p. 208 / *Ausonius*, transl. Hugh G. Evelyn White, Loeb, 2 vols (London: Heinemann – New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1919), pp. 370-377 & 'Appendix' (pp. 395-397) on this game *loculus Archimædi* ('Archimedes' box', *Stomachion* / *Ostomachion*), named in the 'De Metris' of Persius's friend C. Cæsius Bassus (c. 60 A.D.) (in Heinrich Keil – Hermann Hagen [eds], *Grammatici Latini*, 8 vols [Leipzig: Teubner, 1855-1880 – Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1961], VI [1874 / 1961], 255-272 [pp. 271-272]; & Antonio Mazzarino [ed.], *Grammaticæ Romanæ fragmenta ætatis Cæsareæ*, I [Turin: Loescher, 1955], 133-149 [pp. 148-149]). Pre-dating Ausonius's analogy with the *cento* (see Alexandre Burnier, 'Démonter Virgile et bâtir un classique: le *Centon nuptial* d'Ausone comme jeu de re-construction', *Itaca. Quaderns Catalans de Cultura Clàssica*, 21 (2005), 79-93 [p. 85]), Bassus drew a parallel between pleasurable juvenile playing of this game (useful for developing children's memory: 'solebatque nobis pueris hic loculus ad confirmandam memoriam prodesse') and the subsequent 'greater pleasure' and 'fuller utility' afforded by 'the varied manipulation of metres' when reading 'the poets' with their texts 'in one's hand': 'through this art' 'we immediately spot', 'grafted in metrical feet' and 'intermingled in poems', 'metres' that 'elude the ignorant' ('quanto maiorem potest nobis adferre voluptatem quantoque pleniorum utilitatem carmina inter manus habentibus metrorum varia tractatio, cum subinde apud poetas ea quæ fallunt imperitos metra inserta numeris et intermixta carminibus hac arte deprehendemus?')

But while the harmonious arrangement of the skilful is marvellous, the jumble made by the unskilled is grotesque. [...] And so this little work, the *Cento*, is handled in the same way as the game described, so as to harmonize different meanings, to make pieces arbitrarily connected seem naturally related, to let foreign elements show no chink of light between, to prevent the far-fetched from proclaiming the force which united them, the closely packed from bulging unduly, the loosely knit from gaping. If you find all these conditions duly fulfilled according to the rule, you will say I have compiled a *cento*.]

Much more broadly, as Eric MacPhail has shown of the Classical / Renaissance 'topos' of 'the mosaic of speech', ever since Antiquity a parallel has been drawn between (what is perceived to be) composite text and fragmentary mosaic-image, accompanied by a correspondingly ambivalent perception of either hybridity or skilful juxtaposition.¹⁰⁵ Notable for its positive application and extension of this parallel to all human knowledge and art is Alberti's dialogue *Profugiorum ab ærumna libri* (c. 1441-1442), where Niccola de' Medici, discussing Agnolo Pandolfini's prose-style and the necessarily composite, recycled nature of Renaissance philosophical thought, the spoken or written word, and artistic images, draws a simile with the composition of the first Greek floor-mosaic at the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos, one of the Seven Wonders of the World.¹⁰⁶

costui qualunque e' fu trovatore di cosa sì vezzosa, forse fu a quel tempio ornatissimo di <Efeso> [...] e miravavi ogni sua parte collustrata e piena di maraviglie: solo el spazzo stava sotto e' piedi nudo e negletto. Adunque,

¹⁰⁵ See Eric MacPhail, 'The Mosaic of Speech: A Classical Topos in Renaissance Aesthetics', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 66 (2003), 249-264. Traceable back to the early Roman satirist Lucilius (fragments, ed. F. Marx, I, 84-85, satirizing the peppering of Latin with Greek words), this parallel resurfaces positively and negatively as a metaphor for composition in the rhetorical thought of Cicero (*De Oratore*, 3.43.172; *Orator*, 44.149-150; *Brutus*, 79.274) and Quintilian (*Institutio Oratoria*, 9.4.113 & 2.4.27 quoted above), to be revived enthusiastically by Italian Humanists such as Leonardo Bruni (1369-1444; *De interpretatione recta*, c. 1421-1424, on Plato's prose style, reminiscent of a beautiful floor-mosaic) and Alberti in his *Profugiorum ab ærumna libri*, as well as later, critically and approvingly, by Erasmus in his mosaic-like *Moriae Encomium* of 1511 cited above (and his *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum* of 1512, discussing the mosaic-like 'interweaving' of archaisms in Latin); it eventually percolates through to Montaigne's pronouncements on writing and citation in his mosaic-like, *cento*-like *Essais*.

¹⁰⁶ On this key passage in Alberti about artistic and rhetorical composition, we are also indebted to the illuminating paper of Prof. Hans Aurenhammer, 'Liberalitas: the Image of a Friendly Virtue as Hidden Self-Portrayal in Leon Battista Alberti's *Della pittura*', delivered at the Renaissance Society of America's Annual Meeting in Venice, 8-10 April 2010.

e per coadornare e per variare el pavimento dagli altri affacciati del tempio, tolse que' minuti rottami rimasi da' marmi, porfidi e diaspri di tutta la struttura, e coattatogli insieme, secondo e' loro colori e quadre compose quella e quell'altra pittura, vestendone e onestandone tutto el pavimento. [...] Così avviene presso de' litterati. Gl'ingegni d'Asia e massime e' Greci, in più anni, tutti insieme furono inventori di tutte l'arti e discipline; e construssero uno quasi tempio e domicilio in suoi scritti a Pallade [...] Ma che interviene? Proprio el contrario da quel di sopra. Colui accolse e' minuti rimasugli, e composene el pavimento. Noi vero, dove io come colui e come quell'altro volli ornare un mio picciolo e privato diversorio tolsi da quel pubblico e nobilissimo edificio quel che mi parse accommodato a' miei disegni [...] E veggonsi queste cose litterarie usurpate da tanti, e in tanti loro scritti adoperate e disseminate, che oggi a chi voglia ragionarne resta altro nulla che solo el raccogliere e assortirle e poi accoppiarle insieme con qualche varietà dagli altri e adattezza dell'opera sua, quasi come suo istituto sia imitare in questo chi altrove fece el pavimento. Qual cose, dove io le veggo aggiunte insieme in modo che le convengano con suoi colori a certa prescritta e designata forma e pittura, e dove io veggo fra loro niuna grave fissura, niuna deforme vacuità, mi diletta, e iudico nulla più doversi desiderare. [...] E noi, Agnolo, che vediamo raccolto da voi ciò che presso di tutti gli altri scrittori era disseminato e trito, e sentiamo tante cose tanto varie poste in uno e coattate e insite e ammarginate insieme, tutte corrispondere a un tuono, tutte aguagliarsi a un piano, tutte estendersi a una linea, tutte conformarsi a un disegno, non solo più nulla qui desideriamo, né solo ve ne approviamo e lodiamo, ma e molto ve ne abbiamo grazia e merito. Aggiungi che non tanto el tessere e connodare in un sieme vari detti e grave sentenze appresso di voi fu cosa rara e maraviglia, ma fu e in prima quasi divino el concetto e descrizione di tutta la causa agitata da voi.¹⁰⁷

In the case of the *cento*'s 'mosic of words', the 'fascination' with an æsthetic of 'brilliant effects', noted by Roberts about the representation of architecture and the visual or plastic arts in the *Silvæ* of Statius, would find in 16th-century Rome an æsthetic, thematic and formal equivalent in the original opening *cento* of the *Centones ex Virgilio* of Lelio Capilupi, as presented by Possevino in 1555. For this dedicatory *cento* of the whole collection, addressed to Julius III, described the pope's new Villa Giulia erected on the enlarged family estate (the Del Monte *vigna* and neighbouring *vigne*) on the Monte Valentino and its surroundings, close to the Piazza del Popolo, with access by water from the Tiber and by road from the Via Flaminia, where Julius also erected

¹⁰⁷ Leonbattista Alberti (1404-1472), *Opere volgari*, ed. Cecil Grayson, 3 vols, Scrittori d'Italia, 218, 234, 254 (Bari: G. Laterza, 1960-1973), II (1966: *Rime e trattati morali*), 105-183: *Profugiorum ab ærumna libri III* (pp. 160-162).

in 1552-1553, in a quasi Imperial gesture, a public drinking fountain, fed by the ancient Roman aquaduct *Aqua Virgo*, which Julius had also had channelled for his Villa and its fountains.¹⁰⁸ Because Lelio Capilupi's 1555 volume was set up programmatically in this way, his 1555 *Centones* as a whole could be viewed as a manifestation of the *silva* form, that other 'secondary', improvisatory Roman poetic non-genre, which, like the *cento* form, was characterized by casual spontaneity, and was similarly redolent of the æsthetic of ancient Roman villas (and of their rhetorical-poetical representation in Statius's *Silvæ*).¹⁰⁹

If Lelio Capilupi's opening *cento-silva* (composed 1553 - March 1555) was devoted to describing the buildings, interior decoration and grounds of Julius III's sub-urban rustic *Casino* or *Palazzo* (and the leisure activities of the pope's entourage in this 'Georgic' environment), this Villa Giulia had been (and was still being) constructed and decorated in stages in the period April 1551-1554, and in a somewhat piecemeal fashion, modifications being made according to the evolving ideas of a series of artist-architects concerned with the design or decoration of its different parts: Vasari for the original conception of a 'Georgic' villa (his brief in 1548), subsequently developed by Michelangelo; then Iacobo Barozzi da Vignola (1507-1573) for the eventual design of the Villa and its interiors; Bartolomeo Ammannati (1511-1592) and his designs for the sunken *Nymphæum* (*Ninfeo*), its beautiful caryatid Nymphs and the *Prima Loggia* overlooking them beyond the Villa's

¹⁰⁸ See David R. Coffin, *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome*, Princeton Monographs in Art & Archaeology, 43 (Princeton UP, 1979), pp. 150-174 (mentioning L. Capilupi, 'In Villam Iuliam' [*Centones*, 1555]); Anna M. Moretti Sgubini (ed.), *Villa Giulia dalle origini al 2000. Guida breve* (Rome: « L'Erma » di Bretschneider / Ingegneria per la cultura, 2000), pp. 3-34 (Tancredi Carunchio, 'La Villa Giulia'), using Stanislaw Ciochcia - Alessandra Palminteri - Laura Petroni, 'Villa Giulia: un caso esemplare della cultura e della prassi costruttiva nella metà del Cinquecento', *Bollettino d'Arte*, 42 (1987), 47-90 / *Il restauro architettonico per la conservazione della memoria storica 2: La Villa di Papa Giulio III a Roma* (Città di Castello: 1994); Mario Bafile, *Villa Giulia. L'Architettura - Il Giardino (tavv I-XI)*, Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Opere d'arte fasc. XIV (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1948); Associazione per il rilievo, lo studio ed il restauro del patrimonio architettonico, *Conoscenza e rappresentazione dell'architettura, collana di rilievi: Architettura del Cinquecento a Roma 2: La Villa di Papa Giulio III* ([s.l.]: Il Ventaglio [s.d.]); Federica M. C. Santagati, *Il Museo nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia: origine e metamorfosi di un'istituzione museale del XIX secolo* (Rome: « L'Erma » di Bretschneider, 2004).

¹⁰⁹ See George H. Tucker, 'La Poétique du centon, une poétique de la silve?', in *La 'silve': histoire d'une écriture libérée en Europe de l'Antiquité au XVIII^e siècle*, ed. Perrine Galand - Sylvie Laigneau-Fontaine, *Latinitates*, 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 525-564.

Primo Cortile; and then, for the painted decoration, the mannerist artists Pietro Venale (Giovenale Mongardini) da Imola (fl. 1541-1568), Prospero Fontana (1512-1597) and Taddeo Zuccari (1529-1566), Venale supplying frescoes for the semi-circular *Portico* of the main *Casino* (e.g., Time with his Scythe, Apollo with his Lyre), Fontana and/or Zuccari providing those for the interior of the *Casino* itself (e.g., [*Sala destra*] Diana dancing with her Nymphs, looked upon by Mercury), and Zuccari devising and painting mythological frescoes for the vaulted lower *stanze* of Ammannati's *Prima Loggia*, which gave directly onto his *Ninfeo* (e.g., The Chariot of the Sun driven by Apollo [or by Phaethon?], the unruliness of the chariot's contorted, rearing horse, emphasising the plays of perspective exploited by Zuccari for the vaulting of these leisure rooms).

The scheme for the Villa evolved in fact in function of the changing caprices of Julius III, and so his Villa developed as a kind of architectural, antiquarian *cento*, juxtaposing different monumental features, and peopled with various statues, replete with quasi-Imperial allusivity. As such, Julius's pseudo-'Georgic' Villa also participated in the variety, intertextuality, fragmentation and flux of the *cento* form — no less than Lelio Capilupi's textual *cento* celebrating it in appropriately Virgilian verses — no less, in fact, than Cinquecento Rome and her landscapes of jumbled, juxtaposed ruins, real or imagined, conjured up by the painter Hermannus Posthumus in his *Archaeological Landscape* of 1536, bearing within it an inscription from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (15.234-235), highlighting the flux, decay, and recycling of 'all things' through the agency of 'Time': 'Tempus edax rerum, tuque invidiosa vetustas, | omnia destruitis' ('Time, consumer of things, and you, envious Old Age, you destroy all things').¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ Cf. Tucker, *The Poet's Odyssey*, pp. 105-173; id., 'Roma instaurata en dialogue avec Roma Prisca. La représentation néo-latine de Rome sous Jules III chez Vitalis, Du Bellay et Capilupi – de l'*ekphrasis* à la prosopopée', *Camenæ*, 2: *Roma Aeterna. Voir, dire et penser Rome de l'Antiquité à la Renaissance*, dir. Perrine Galand-Hallyn – Carlos Lévy (June 2007) [http://www.paris4.sorbonne.fr/fr/article.php3?id_article=5412], 34 pp. A 16th-century visual illustration of *cento*-like artistic-architectural-antiquarian (re) composition of a (Roman) landscape of ruins is Hermannus Posthumus's painting 1536 (Château Vaduz Liechtenstein; jacket-illustration of Tucker *The Poet's Odyssey*); on its Ovidian motif of metamorphosis and composition, see Ruth Rubinstein, 'Tempus edax rerum: A Newly Discovered Painting of Hermannus Posthumus', *The Burlington Magazine*, 127 / No. 988 (July 1985), 425-433 (+ 435-436); Nicole Dacos, 'Hermannus Posthumus. Rome, Mantua, Landshut', *The Burlington Magazine*, 127 / No. 988 (July 1985), 427, 433-438. On the Roman ruin-motif, cf. ead., *Roma quanta fuit: Tre pittori fiammin-*

6. The *cento* form and the literary-artistic milieu of Emperor Rudolph II at the close of the 16th Century

Heinrich Meibom, Marcus Welser, Jan Černovický, Urbanus Hantschmann, Nicodemus Frischlin, Otho Gryphius, Andreas Rasel & others

Lelio Capilupi's Julian, somewhat Statian, *Villa-cento(-silva)* reappeared, featuring with nephew Giulio's 31 (and his own 19) *Centones* in the 2nd volume of Heinrich Meibom's two-volume *Virgilio-centones* (Helmstedt, 1597 & 1600)¹¹¹, and in vol. 2's anonymous re-edition in Cologne in 1601.¹¹² These volumes included the *centones* of a new generation of

ghi nella Domus Aurea (Rome: Donzelli, 1995; 2001) [French version: *Roma quanta fuit ou l'invention du paysage de ruines* (Brussels: Maison d'Erasmus – Paris: Somogy Éditions d'Art, 2004)], and ead., 'De Tempus edax rerum à Roma quanta fuit ipsa ruina docet', in Galand-Hallyn – Lévy (eds), *Roma aeterna, Camenæ*, 2 (June, 2007) [http://www.paris-sorbonne.fr/fr/IMG/pdf/Posthumus_reduit.Pdf] (16pp.).

¹¹¹ Pace Cazes, 'Le Livre et la lyre', pp. 63-105 examining vol. 1, *Virgilio-centones auctorum notæ optimæ, antiquorum & recentium. Probæ Falconiæ Hortinæ: D. Magni Ausonii, Burdigal.: Lælii Capilupi Mantuani: Iulii Capilupi Mantuani. Post omnes æditiones Italicas, Gallicas, & Germanicas denuò accurate recogniti & notis illustrati operâ & studio Henrici Meibomii Westphali. Accesserunt eiusdem Meibomii Centones aliquot uno libro comprehensi* (Helmstedt: excud. Iac. Lucius, 1597), but not vol. 2, *Centonum Virgilianorum Tomus alter: Continens Capiluporum Itolorum centones: Lælii quidem omnes; Iulii eos, qui in priore tomo non extant. His subiunctus est SAVLI MERCERI Augustani [= Marci Velseri] VERGILIUS PROTEVS, Omnia nunc primùm in Germania excusa studio & operâ Henrici Meibomii Westphali* [dedicatory letter-preface 'Illustri & generoso viro Marco Velsero...'] (Helmstedt: excud. Iac. Lucius, 1600), which reproduced Rossi's pedagogic letter-postface of 1590 'Camillo ac Prospero Capulupis clariss. adolescentibus Julius Roscius Hortinus S.P.D.' (see above, n. 3) and further *Centones* by Giulio Capilupi (plus most of Lelio's), as well as appending the *Vergilius Proteus* of Meibom's patron Welser. On Welser's *cento* & Meibom, cf. Delepierre, *Tableau*, I (1874), 262-268, 269-278.

¹¹² *Virgilio-centones Probæ Falconiæ Hortinæ, Lælii [&] Iulii Capiluporum, et aliorum quorundam recogniti & purgati, quibus... præfixa est epistola Iulii Roscii Hortini ad Camillum ac Prosperum Capilupos texendorum centonum præcepta complectens* (Cologne: sumpt. B. Gualtheri, 1601) [= Pt 2 of Michael Coysardus (Coyssard)'s re-edn of F. Petit, *P. Virgilii Maronis Opera in locos communes ad Academiae turnoniæ iuventutis utilitatem digesta nunc primum in Germania ab... mendis... in gratiam studiosorum Societatis Jesu repurgata* (1st edn Tours: Cl. Michael, 1597) ... *Quibus adiecta sunt Virgilio-centones variorum auctorum* (Cologne: sumpt. B. Gualtheri, 1601): *Probæ Falconiæ Hortinæ feminae clarissimæ Virgilio-centones ab Aldo Manutio olim editi, nunc recogniti* (Cologne: B. Gualtherius, 1601); *Lælii Capilupi Mantuani Virgilio-centones: ante annos aliquot editi, a Iulio Capilupo eius Nepote, nunc recogniti & purgati* (Cologne: B. Gualtherius, 1601); *Iulii Capilupi Mantuani Virgilio-centones triginta & unus. Ex Romano exemplari editi* (Cologne: B. Gualtherius, 1601)]. Cazes, 'Le Livre et la lyre', pp. 659-673, 750-758 stresses the pedagogic nature of Coyssard's / Petit's 1601 volume, 'un recueil sententiel', even more apparent in the augmented re-edn of 1610: *Thesaurus*

verse-centonists associated with the Imperial court of Rudolph II at Vienna and Prague: notably, Heinrich Meibom himself, crowned Poet Laureate by Rudolph in 1590¹¹³, and associate of another Prague verse-centonist and Habsburg panegyricist, Jan Černovický (1569-1633).¹¹⁴ Vol. 2 also included the Virgilian *cento* of Meibom's patron, the antiquarian-historian Marcus Welser (Marcus Velserus, 1558-1614) mayor in Augsburg, and an admirer of Justus Lipsius; his 'Protean' verse-*cento Vergilius Proteus* was published there under the 'Protean' anagram of his name, 'Saulus Mercerus'.¹¹⁵ If in vol. 1 Meibom had also included some

P. Virgilii Maronis in communes locos iam pridem digestus a Mich. Coysardo, Societatis Iesu. Averno... Quorum omnium usus, & utilitas in Epistola demonstratur. In iuventutis, Poëticae studiosae gratiam (Lyons: Io. Pillehotte, 1610).

¹¹³ Marked by the collective *Laurea poetica ab invictissimo et potentissimo Imperatore, Cæsare Rudolpho II. Aug. Germanico, P.P. Pio, Felici, Henrico Meibomio Lemgovienensi, in IVLIA academia professori publico, virtutis ergo clementissimè donata, & amicorum clarissimorum carissimorumquè scriptis celebrata* (Helmstedt: in off. Iac. Lucii Transylvani, 1591).

¹¹⁴ On Meibom's *cento*-poetry for the Habsburgs and that of his Prague-educated associate Jan Černovický / Černovský (Czernovicenus/-vicius a Lybeo Monte [b. Černovice 1569-1633]; Delepierre, *Tableau*, II [1875], 292) – both wrote Virgilian centos 'Ad invictissimos pervetustæ familiæ Austriacæ Cæsares Augustos, Romanorum Imperatores' – see Johannes Amann-Bubenik, 'Centodichtung als Habsburg-Panegyrik', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 48 (1999), 235-250, esp. 240 (n. 50) on Černovický's Habsburg *cento*-volume (which included a poem of Meibom's): *Decas augustissimorum ex amplissima florentissimæ Archiducum Austriæ familia Imperatorum breviter Virgiliano carmine contexta. Una cum descriptione domus Rosenbergicæ nec non aliis quibusdam ad amicos scriptis auctore Iohanne Czernoviceno cive antiquæ urbis Pragæ* (Prague: Typis Schumanianis, 1605). Černovický's poetical works (see Franz M. Pelzel, *Abbildungen böhmischer und mährischer Gelehrten und Künstler*, 3 vols [Prague: Io. K. Hraba, 1773-1782], III [1777], pp. 100-104 [pp. 103-104]) included two epic poems on the Hungarian-Turkish wars 1619-1620 (*De bello Pannonico libri sex* [Prague: Sessius, 1619], & *De irruptione Militis Passaviensis in regnum Bohemiæ ipsamque adeo Pragæ minoris Urbem libri duo* [Prague: 1620]) and minor religious / occasional works: *Carmen de Resurrectione Christi* (Prague: 1592); *Epithalamion Thomæ Syracidæ Teutobrodeni* (Prague: 1604); *Threnodia mortis Nobilis Domini Victorini Wokaun de Sazava* (Prague: 1625); *Cupressus funerea* (s.l. s.n. s.d.).

¹¹⁵ On Welser's Roman interests and links with Lipsius, see Jan Papy, 'Lipsius & Marcus Welser: the antiquarian's life as *via media*', in Marc Laureys, et al. (eds.), *Towards an intellectual Biography of Justus Lipsius. Proceedings of the Colloquium held at Rome, Academia Belgica, 22-24 May 1997* = *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique belge de Rome*, 68 (1998), 173-190; id., 'Justus Lipsius and the German Republic of Letters: Latin Philology as a Means of Intellectual Exchange and Influence', in Eckhard Kessler – Heinrich C. Kuhn (eds), *Germania latina. Latinitas teutonica. Politik, Wissenschaft, humanistische Kultur vom späten Mittelalter bis in unsere Zeit*, Humanistische Bibliothek. Texte und Abhandlungen, 54 (Munich: W. Fink, 2003), pp. 523-538 [<http://www.phil-hum-ren.uni-muenchen.de/GermLat/Acta/Papy.htm>]. Cf. Melchior Adam, 'Marcus Velserus', in *Vitæ Germanorum iureconsultorum et politicorum: qui superiori seculo, & quod excurrit, floruerunt* (Frankfurt: hered. J. Rosæ – Heidelberg: J. G. Geyder, 1620), pp. 480-482.

of his own previously published *Virgilio-centones* (one 'On the single combat of David and Goliath' [1589], and another on the Austrian Habsburg Emperors [1589])¹¹⁶, his later, posthumously published 'History of the Guelfs', *Guelfus Redivivus* (1614) also deserves mention¹¹⁷, as does his earlier *cento* (1580) 'On the ministry and decapitation of St John the Baptist' (a copy of which, in Wolfenbüttel, displays in the margins hand-written identifications of Meibomius's Virgilian sources in the absence of a printed marginal key, which had, by contrast, been a standard feature of published Virgilian centos such as Lelio Capilupi's in the 1540s and 1550s).¹¹⁸

Moreover, given the traditional links between the *cento* form and parody, and given the *cento*'s broader relation to the *silva* both as an extemporised form and as a collective noun designating a 'compendium' of verses on a given subject, it is no coincidence that Meibom was also involved in the publication in Helmstedt, in 1588-1589 and 1596, of Horatian *Parodiæ*, accompanied by *Sylvæ* and *nonnulla alia schediasmata* ('several other extemporaneous poems')¹¹⁹, following an earlier 'Terentian parody': *Parodia Terentiana De Formvla Concordiæ, Recens in Pvblicvm Emissa* (Helmstadii: Lucius, 1580).

Meibom's monumental contribution and legacy to the *cento* form and Habsburg panegyric was complemented and/or continued by other verse-centonists and Imperial Poet Laureates producing centos devoted

¹¹⁶ Listed by Cazes ('Le Livre et la lyre', pp. 98-99), Meibom's *Centones* of 1597 included his previously published *Centio Vergilianus De Monomachia Davidis Israelitæ et Goliathi Philistæi* (Helmstedt: excud. Iac. Lucius, 1589), and *Imperatorum ac Cæsarum Romanorum ex familia Austriaca oriundorum Descriptiones breves & succinctæ Vergiliano carmine contextæ*. (Helmstedt: excud. Iac. Lucius, 1589), which included (fol. B[1]^{ro}) Meibom's *cento* 'Ad invictissimos pervetustæ familiæ Austriacæ Cæsares'.

¹¹⁷ His pro-Imperial history in epic verse, *Guelfus Redivivus sive Historia de Guelfo, huius nominis sexto, Baioriæ Hetururiæ &c. Principe, a Conrado III. Imp. Aug. In arce Weinsperga obsessio, Coniugis suæ Idæ, Godefridi Comitis Calbensis Filiæ vafro sed honesto consilio, ex præsentis mortis periculo erepto: carmine heroico expressa, nuptiisque augustiss. auspiciatiss. Friderici-Hulderici, Guelfii, & Annæ-Sophiæ, Brandenburgiæ subiectissime, demississime consecrata ab Henrico Meibomio* (Helmstedt: ex off. typogr. Iac. Lucii, 1614).

¹¹⁸ Heinrich Meibom, *Centio Vergilianus De ministerio & decollatione Iohannis Baptistæ præcursoris Domini* (Helmstadii: Lucius, 1580) [Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek online].

¹¹⁹ See Niehl, 'Parodia Horatiana', p. 13: 1) *Henrici Meibomii Lemgovienensis... Parodiarum Horatianarum libri duo ad Nicolaum Caasam Magnum regni Dani Cancellarium. Item Sylvarum libri duo...* (Helmstedt: Iac. Lucius, 1588); 2) *Horatianarum reliquiæ* (Helmstedt: [Iac. Lucius?], 1589); 3) *Novæ Parodiæ ad odas quasdam Horatianas. Accessere nonnulla alia schediasmata* (Helmstedt: [Iac. Lucius?], 1596).

to Habsburg politics (e.g., for the Imperial Diet of Ratisbon, 1598). A notable successor was Urbanus Hantschmann of Leipzig¹²⁰, who supplied a Virgilian *cento*-apostrophe addressed to the deceased Rudolph II (d. 10 Jan 1612)¹²¹, and a funereal Virgilian *cento* in the same year 1612 on the illness and death at 27 years of age (on 23 June 1611) of Christian II, Elector of Saxony.¹²² Prior to that, and contemporary with Meibom and Černovický, another Imperial poet-laureate, Nicodemus Frischlin (1547-1590), author of Virgilian *cento*-plays in Tübingen (1581, 1584), himself the object of satire in a Plautine *cento*-play of 1582 (after his disgrace in Tübingen), had compiled *circa* 1580-1581 a largely Virgilian *cento*-like poem *De Natali Jesu Christi*, and subsequently supplied Emperor Rudolph II with three verse panegyrics (not *centones*) on Rudolph and his father Emperor Maximilian II, as well as an anagram of the letters of Rudolph's name and titles in four hexameters, dated 'Pragæ Calend. April. 1587' (analogous, at the level of the letters of a word, to a *cento*).¹²³

¹²⁰ On Hantschmann, see Christian G. Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon*, 4 vols (Leipzig: J. F. Gleditsch, 1750-1751), II (1750), 1355: 'Hantschmann (Urbanus)', and (collective, with Hantschmann as dedicatee, safely returned from Italy in 1595 despite rumours of his death, and styled Imperial poet laureate) *Soteria, pro fausto et felici ex Italia in patriam reditu. Clarissimi Viri Dn. VRBANI HANTSCHMANI MISNENSIS, I. V. Doctoris, et Poëtæ Laureati Cæsarei. De quo tristissimus Rumor passim sparsus fuerat, eum miserabili quodam fato interisse. Dedicata à fautoribus et amicis. Anno M. D. XCV. Mense Maio*. (Leipzig: A. Lamberg, [1595]).

¹²¹ Urbanus Hantschmann (Hantschmannus / Hantshmannus), *Ad Sacratissimos Manes Divi Rudolphi II. Romanorum Imperatoris semper Augusti, Patris Patriæ, &c. Nati 14. Cal. Iul. An. 1552. Denati 4. Id. Ian. Anno 1612. Apostrophe Cento Virgiliana. Urbani Hantschmanni J. C. Aul. Cæs. Comititis Consil. Elect. Sax.* (Leipzig: A. Lamberg excud., 1612).

¹²² Urbanus Hantschmann, *Cupressus Saxonica, Hoc est, De Morbo, Morte, Luctu, Exequiis, Serenissimi atque Inclyti Principis, Domini Christiani II. Ducis Saxonie... Historia Integra Cento Virgiliana, Accurato studio descripta Ab Urbano Hantshmanno J. C. Aul. Cæs. Comite. Consil. Elect. Sax.* (Leipzig: V. Am Ende, sumpt. J. Borneri – E. Rehefeldi, 1612).

¹²³ Nicodemus Frischlin, *Operum poeticorum... Pars Epica: Continens sedecim heroicorum carminum libros, partim ad imitationem Virgilii, Ovidii, Valerii Flacci, partim Statii, Claudiani, Lucani & similium scriptos... Operâ et studio M. Georgii Pfluegeri, Vlmani. His De Tribus Monarchiis accesserunt Elegiæ decem ante hac nunquam visæ, & alia quædam [De decem cæsaribus Austriacis panegyrici tres (pp. 368-439: Panegyricus primus / secundus De laudibus Maxæmyliani II [pp. 368-389, 390-416]; tertius De Rudolpho II. [pp. 417-439]; De Rudolpho II anagrammatismus (p. 440)] (Strasburg: hæredes B. Iobini, 1598) [<http://www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/camena/frisc3/te01.html>], esp. pp. 1-38: *Liber unus De Natali Jesu Christi*). In relation to Frischlin's quasi-*cento* *De natali Jesu Christi*, cf. Bernhard Harder, *Cento Virgilianus in gloriosum natalem Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi* (Hamburg: s.n., 1598; Delepierre, *Tableau*, II [1875], 298).*

In parallel with such pro-Imperial, pro-Habsburg rehabilitation of the Virgilian *cento*-form as a vehicle for political or religious reflection¹²⁴, there also ran the current of Reformist thought and engagement using the same rehabilitated compositional form.¹²⁵ A major example is that of Otho (Otto) Gryphius of St Goar, Hessen (1561-1612, son of St Goar's Minister Johann Gryphius, c. 1533- *post* 1604), a Reformist theologian from Tübingen taught there by Jakob Heerbrand (1521-1600).¹²⁶ Gryphius became Rektor of the *Gymnasium Poeticum* of Ratisbon (Regensburg), where he was a 'colleague and friend' of the Kantor at the Neupfarrkirche (1584-1600), the sacred polyphonic composer Andreas Rasel (Raselius 1561/63-1602), whose music manual the *Hexachordum, seu Quæstiones musicæ practicæ* (Nuremberg, 1591), written for the *Gymnasium Poeticum* in Ratisbon, was graced by Gryphius's liminary verses, displaying twin acrostichs in the first and last letters of each verse ('MVSICA GRATA DEO / MVSICA NOSTER AMOR'), and so professing 'music', 'our love', to be 'pleasing to God'.¹²⁷ Complementing Rasel's polyphonic composition

¹²⁴ A tendency continuing into the late 17th century, witness the Virgilian *cento* celebrating the tercentenary in Louvain of the transformation of a communion host into flesh: *Historia et Miracula Sacratissimæ Hostiæ, anno M. CCC. LXXIV. Middelburgi in Zelandia in carnem conversæ[.] Indè Coloniam & Lovanium Translatæ[.] apud P. P. Augustinianos Honorificentissimè asservatæ & modò in Tri-seculari Jubilæo Solenni totius S.P.Q.L. applausu exaltatæ* (Louvain: typis A. de Witte, 1674; 2nd edn Louvain, 1680); cf. Delepiere, *Tableau*, II (1875), 132-134.

¹²⁵ Cf. Georg Peüker's *cento* on Habsburg persecution of Protestants, *Ecclesia, præpimis in Hungaria, gravem persecutionem patiens, triste suum fatum deplorat ac misericordiam Divinam implorat: centone Virgiliano repræsentata a Georgio Peüker Neosolio-Hung. Anno. M DC LXXIV.* (Wittenberg: Io. Borckardus, [1674]). On imprisonment of Protestants in Hungary after 1674, and Northern European support for them, see Graeme Murdock, 'Responses to Habsburg Persecution of Protestants in Seventeenth-Century Hungary', *Austrian History Yearbook*, 40 (2009), 37-52.

¹²⁶ At Tübingen Gryphius delivered an anti-papal 'disputation' dedicated to his father (with Reformist Heerbrand presiding): *Disputatio, de fidei certitudine in peccatorum remissione, contra dubitationem Pontificiam. Quam... sub præsidio... D. Iacobi Heerbrandi, S.S. Theologiæ Doctoris..., Domini & Præceptoris sui..., 7. April. horæ sexta, in Auditorio Theologorum, Anno Domini 87... defendere conabitur, M. Otho Gryphius Goarinus, Cattus* (Tübingen: A. Hockius, 1587) [Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich: http://mdz10.bib-bvb.de/zoom-bsp/pdf_download.pl?id=00031939&nr=1]. On Gryphius, see Delepiere, *Tableau*, I (1874), 287-301; Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon*, II (1750), col. 1226.

¹²⁷ Andreas Raselius [liminary pieces by Gryphius, *et al.*], *Hexachordum seu Quæstiones musicæ practicæ, sex capitibus comprehensæ, quæ continent perspicua methodo ad praxin, ut hodie est, necessaria. Pro Gymnasio Poetico S.P.Q. Ratisponensis, hoc ordine distinctæ, & idoneis exemplis, unâ cum pulcherrima XII. Modorum doctrina illustratæ à M. Andrea Raselio, ejusdem Cantore, cum gratia et privilegio Imperiali* (Nuremberg: in

with his own textual polyphony and counterpoint, Gryphius composed at Ratisbon several major Virgilian *cento*-works, including, Proba-like, a *Vita Christi* (Ratisbon 1593)¹²⁸ and his *Pannonia supplex* for the Imperial Diet of Ratisbon in 1598 (addressed to the Emperor Rudolph II)¹²⁹, as well as other occasional or celebratory institutional, politico-religious, epithalamic or historico-political *cento*-pieces, including a history of Dukes of Wirtemberg (Württemberg).¹³⁰ Given the link between the *cento* form and the Habsburg Emperors, it may be no coincidence that the portrait we have of Gryphius (who is presented in accompanying Latin verses as an

off. Gerlachiana, 1589) [fol. A[8]^{vo}: 'M. Otto Gryphius Gymnasii Poetici Ratisponensium Rector: In Musica And. Raselii collegæ amici sui.' (inc. & l.-h. acrostich: *Musica grata Deo / expl. & r.-h. acrostich: Musica noster amor*).

¹²⁸ Otho Gryphius, *Virgiliocentones continentes Vitam Salvatoris Nostri, Domini Iesu Christi: concinnati opera et studio, M. Othonis Gryphii Goarini, Catti, Gymnasii Poëtici S.P.Q. Ratisponensis Rectoris* (Ratisbon: typis excusi ab A. Burgero Ratisponensi: imp. authoris, 1593).

¹²⁹ Gryphius, *Pannonia divo Rudolpho secundo, Imperatori Romano, S. A. suo Regi, Archiduci, & Domino &c. & illustrissimis ut & illustribus Imperii Romani ordinibus, A.D. M.D.II.C. Ratisbonam ad Comitata Imperialia evocatis, supplex, habitu ex laciniis Maronis contexto producta ab Othone Gryphio...* (Nuremberg: P. Kaufmannus, [1598]). On the 1598 (& 1594) Imperial Diet, see Winifried Schulze, 'Majority Decision in the Imperial Diets of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *The Journal of Modern History*, 58, Supplement: *Politics and Society in the Holy Roman Empire, 1500-1806* (Dec., 1986), 46-63 (p. 53), citing id., *Reich und Türkengefahr im späten 16. Jahrhundert: Studien zu den politischen und gesellschaftlichen Auswirkungen einer äussern Bedrohung* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1978), *passim*.

¹³⁰ 1) *Cento Virgilianus continens bonorum animi & fortunæ collationem, Gymnasii Poetici S. P. Q. Ratisponensis commendationem, & ad eiusdem IV. Id. Septemb: usque ad VI. Cal. Octob. institutam lustrationem Autumnalem, pridieque Calend. Octob: solennem plantarum Seminarii Ratisponensis γυνῆσιον transpositionem condecorandam, literatissimorum virorum in hac Repub: convocationem, in honorem Augustæ liberæ Imperialisque S.P.Q. Ratisponensium Reipublicæ concinnatus a M. Othone Gryphio* (Ratisbon: A. Burgerus Ratisponensis, 1591); 2) *Acclamatio Virgiliana R. CL. V. Dn. Philippo Gallo Hallensi: Ecclesiæ Metropolitanæ Magdeburgensis Pastori, Et In Sacra Theologia Doctori III. Cal. Novemb. A.D. M.D.II.C. Publice Renunciato Sacra* (Jena: Steinmannus, 1599); 3) *Centone Virgiliano, Ampliss. & doctiss. viro, Dn. Sigismundo Theoph. Richio, Consiliario Brandeburgico, Et Annæ Mariæ Holbeccæ, Virgini pudicissimæ, Sponsis Lectissimis, 24. Aprilis In Electorali Amberga combinandis gratulatur Otho Gryphius Goarinus, Cattus Rhenanus, Gymnasii Ratispon. Rector* (s.l. 1604); 4) *Carmen gratulatorium in nuptias Joh. Nordeckii* (Ratisbon: s.n., 1604); 5) *Acclamatio Virgiliana bono & docto viro Dno. Georgio-Sigismundo Hammano, communibus S.P.Q. Ratisbonensis suffragiis, prid: Sanct. Pet. & Pauli, A.D. M.DCVI. in amplissimum senatorum collegium lecto...facta ab Othone Gryphio...* (Ratisbon: hæc. B. Grafii, [1606?]); 6) *Wirtembergias. Hoc est illustrissimorum inclytæ VVirtembergiæ & Teccæ Ducum, etc. & in ea rerum memorabilium breves descriptiones, Virgiliano carmine confectæ à M. Othone Gryphio* (Ratisbon: M. Mylius, 1609).

author of centos) was supplied by an artist in the service of Rudolph II, Dominicus Custos (1559/1560-1615).¹³¹

Giuseppe Arcimboldo and Rudolph II: a visual cento

Just as the Villa Giulia and Capilupi's Virgilian verse-*cento* on it had both reflected in Rome the quasi-Imperial aspirations and pleasures of Julius III and his household, so in late 16th-century Prague, in the ambit of Emperor Rudolph II, the mannerist, fantastical *cento*-like portrait-compositions of the Milanese artist Giuseppe Arcimboldo (1527-1593) came to serve the prestige and aesthetic-cultural inclinations of his patron Rudolph. His fantastical, proto-surrealist head portraits, overtly made up from depictions of individual recognisable objects juxtaposed and transformed by their combination into something else, chimed well with what Roland Barthes identified in Arcimboldo's Habsburg patrons as a *penchant* for the 'monstrous' or 'marvellous', characterised by fluidity of form and a transgressive-transformative 'transmigrational' metamorphosis of destabilised elements (reflecting the unceasing dynamism of Nature) — a quality typical also of the *cento*:

Les Habsbourg, patrons du peintre, avaient des cabinets d'art et de curiosités (*Kunst und Wunderkammern*), où étaient déposés des objets étranges: [...] Or la «merveille» — ou le «monstre» — c'est essentiellement ce qui transgresse la séparation des règnes, mêle l'animal et le végétal, l'animal et l'humain; c'est l'excès, en tant qu'il change la qualité des choses auxquelles Dieu a assigné un nom: c'est la métamorphose, qui fait basculer d'un ordre dans un autre; bref, d'un autre mot, c'est la transmigration (on dit qu'à l'époque d'Arcimboldo, circulaient en Europe des miniatures indiennes, représentant des animaux fantastiques dont le corps était fait «d'une mosaïque des formes humaines et animales enlacées: [...]»; chaque animal ainsi composé — chameau, éléphant, cheval — figurait le regroupement simultané d'incarnations successives: l'hétéroclite apparent renvoyait en fait à la doctrine hindoue de l'unité intérieure des êtres). Les têtes d'Arcimboldo ne sont, à tout prendre, que l'espace visible d'une

¹³¹ Dominicus Custos, [Portrait of Gryphius] (Top left:.) 'ÆT[ATIS]. SVÆ. / XXXIII. // A[NNO]. D. XCIV.' (i.e., [1594]). // (Bottom left:.) 'D[ominicus] C[ustos] sculp[tor].' // (Bottom Right:.) 'N. Regius M. f.' // (Beneath Portrait:.) 'IN EFFIGIEM CL. ET DOCTISS. VIRI. D. M. OTHONIS GRYPHII: / GOARINI, CATTI. POETICI RATISPONENSIV[M] GYMNASII RECTORIS. // Cùm faciem spectes: facie datur OTHO serena / Gryphius! Hassiaci viuida fama soli. / Ingeniu[m] Ascrea probat, dilecta[ue] Mantua Phoebo: / Si dubitas: Cento præstat uterq[ue] fidem'. On Custos, see Walter Dietl, *Die Elogien der Ambraser Fürstenbildnisse: Die Kupferstiche des Dominicus Custos (1599): Leben und Werk ihres Autors Marcus Henning*, Commentationes Aenipontanæ, 32, Tirolensia Latina, II (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 2000).

transmigration qui conduit sous nos yeux du poisson à l'eau, du fagot au feu, du citron au pendentif, et, pour finir, de toutes les substances à la figure humaine [...]¹³²

Moreover, just as the Virgilian *cento* form, embraced by Meibom and his contemporaries, came of age under the Habsburg Emperors in Prague and Vienna (on the last leg of the *cento*'s journey 'from rags to riches'), leaving behind the whiff of scandal surrounding the anti-monacal, pseudo-medical or misogynistic satirical obscenities of Lelio Capilupi's Virgilian *centones* in Italy, so also with Arcimboldo's *cento*-like head portraits (which, as Barthes observes, fantastically 'mix the vegetable, animal and human' in artistic 'curiosities' catering to Habsburg tastes), the visual pictorial *cento* had come a long way (in sophistication and breadth of reference) from the Aretino-like *Testa de cazi* (1536) in maiolica attributed to Francesco Urbini of Gubbio.¹³³ No less than Capilupi's textual *centones*, this image of a female head in profile (with tied back hair and a visible earring), made up of some fifty male members, had pandered to an Italian pornographic humour tinged with misogyny (its legend, written backwards, spells out an ironically 'gendered' insult: 'OGNI HOMO ME GVARDA COME SE FOSSE VNA TESTA DE CAZI') and anti-semitism (given the instructions set out in two verses on the reverse of the maiolica plate: 'El breve dentro voi legerite / Como giudei se intender el vorite' ['The legend within you will read / As Jews do (*sc.* from right to left), if you wish to understand it'], and the circumcised state of all the phalluses bar the one from which dangles the earring).

In contrast, with Arcimboldo, nowhere was the increased sophistication of the pictorial *cento*-form more strikingly conceived than in his representation (*circa* 1590) of Emperor Rudolph II as Vertumnus, Roman god of the Changing Year¹³⁴, inspired by Propertius's elegy (*Elegiæ*, 4.2) on Vertumnus depicting the god as a universal, elemental force¹³⁵, whose

¹³² Roland Barthes, *L'obvie et l'obtus. Essais critiques III*, coll. Points: Essais (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1992 [1982]), pp. 122-138: 'Arcimboldo ou Rhétoriqueur et Magicien' (pp. 172-173).

¹³³ Oxford, Ashmolean WA 2003.136, included (cat. 264 *Piatto con testa composta di falli*, 1536) in Sylvia Ferino-Pagden (ed.), *Arcimboldo. Artista Milanese tra Leonardo e Caravaggio, Milano, Palazzo Reale 10 febbraio – 22 maggio 2011* (Milan: Skira, 2011), p. 237 (in Francesco Porzio, 'Arcimboldo: le Stagioni "milanesi" e l'origine dell'invenzione' [*ibid.*, pp. 221-253]).

¹³⁴ Sweden, Skokloster (inv. 11615); Ferino-Pagden (dir. / ed.), *Arcimboldo*, p. 291 (cat. 304).

¹³⁵ See Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, 'Arcimboldo and Propertius. A Classical Source for Rudolf II as Vertumnus', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 48/1 (1985), 117-123; on

Protean nature served as guarantor of the eternity of Imperial Rome and the Roman people (a paradox underlying Joachim Du Bellay's *Antiquitez de Rome* [Paris, 1558; composed, Rome 1553-1557], similarly inspired by Propertius and his Vertumnus).¹³⁶

As Fernand Hallyn has noted, the identification of Arcimboldo's composite, colourful image of Rudolph II with Vertumnus was made by the Mantuan poet-theologian Gregorio Comanini (c. 1550-1607) in his dialogue on painting *Il Figino overo del fine della pittura* (published in 1591 by the printer of the Mantuan *Rime del S. Lelio, e fratelli de Capilupi* of 1585), where the character 'Figino' discusses Arcimboldo's gradations of colour from white to black and his 'Pythagorean' system (bettering Pythagoras) of their equivalence with harmonic proportions in tonal and semi-tonal composition in music, a musical-mathematical 'chromatic' system illustrated on the harpsichord, under Arcimboldo's instruction, by Rudolph's court musician in Prague, Mauro Cremonese della Viuola:¹³⁷

FIGINO [...] ella [l'harmonia] non è opera della facoltà Poetica, ma della Musica, la qual parimente non hà che fare con la Pittura. Ma nondimeno così la pittura s'accosta alla Musica, come per aventura la Poesia fa. *Del che io voglio che ve ne faccia prova [...] Arcimboldo, il quale hà trovato i tuoni, e i semituoni, e 'l diatesseron, e 'l diapente, e 'l diapason, & tutte l'altre musicali consonanze dentro i colori, con quell'arte apunto, che Pitagora inventò le medesime proportioni armoniche.* Percioche sì come questi [Pitagora] [...] tesse alquanti nervi, a' quali attaccò tanta varietà di pesi, quanta egli haveva osservato essere in quei martelli de' fabbri; & quindi apparò, che da un nervo, il quale avanzava l'altro di proportionone sesquiottava nel distendimento, nasceva contro quest'altro un tuono, cioè un suono pieno, & perfetto, quale era la proportionone di nove ad otto; *così quegli [Arcimboldo] mettendo sopra una tavola un colore estremamente bianco, & oscurandolo alquanto parte dopo parte col negro, n'hà tratto la*

this 'Imperial' portrait and its symbolism, see id., 'Arcimboldo's Imperial Allegories: G. B. Fonteio and the Interpretations of Arcimboldo's Painting', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 39/4 (1976), 275-296.

¹³⁶ See Tucker, *The Poet's Odyssey*, pp. 170-172 on the importance of Propertius's poetic treatment of Vertumnus (esp. 4.2.5-10, 19-20, 47-48, 55-56) for the conceptual and poetic framework of Joachim Du Bellay's *Antiquitez de Rome, contenant une generale description de sa grandeur et comme une deploration de sa ruine* (Paris: Federic Morel, 1558).

¹³⁷ See Fernand Hallyn, 'Une interprétation maniériste de la mimésis platonicienne: *Il Figino* de Gregorio Comanini', in Perrine Galand, et al. (eds), *L'Art en débat philosophique. Le Problème du réel de l'époque hellénistique à la Renaissance, colloque international de la Sorbonne des 22, 23 novembre 2007* (forthcoming) – esp. 'L'eicastique et l'harmonie des couleurs' and the musico-mathematical analysis of Austin B. Caswell, 'The Pythagoreanism of Arcimboldo', *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 39/2 (Winter 1980), 155-161.

proportione sesquiottava, e' l' tuono istesso: avanzando in questo Pitagora [...] questo ingegnosissimo Pittore non solamente hà saputo ritrovare i detti semituoni maggiore, & minore ne' suoi colori; ma la divisione ancora del tuono in due parti eguali: così leggiermente, & dolcemente è ito offuscando col negro il bianco, sempre di grado in grado ascendendo à maggior negrezza, sì come dal suono grave si cresce di mano in mano all'acuto, & al sopra acuto. Aggiungete, che come Pitagora toccando una corda, che haveva doppio peso, & perciò era tesa doppiamente più d'un'altra [...] ritrovò il diapason, ovvero l'ottava, come vogliam dire; [...]; così l'Arcimboldo offuscando con doppia proportione questo bianco più di quell'altro, hà formato la medesima proportione del diapason, ascendendo con otto gradi d'oscurità dalla piu profonda bianchezza; connumerata però la medesima bianchezza, & posta nel primo grado. Di piu come l'uno [Pitagora] scorgendo nelle corde la proportione sesquiterza, trovò il diatesseron, ovvero la quarta; così l'altro [Arcimboldo] dando ad un bianco in sesquiterza proportione l'oscuro dato ad un altro bianco, formò parimente questa medesima ragione, dalla quale il diatesseron vien prodotto [...] Lo stesso hà fatto del diapente, cioè della quinta. Percioche come Pitagora la ritrovò nella proportione, che sesquialtera è detta [...]; così l'Arcimboldo stendendo con questa medesima proportione il negro su'l bianco, & dandogli cinque gradi d'oscurità, come nel diapente son cinque suoni; hà del vivo espressa la natura di questa medesima consonanza. Che debbo dirvi? Pitagora vide, che dal diatesseron, & dal diapente nasceva il diapason: e l'Arcimboldo osservando queste due proportioni, hà prodotto ne' suoi colori l'ottava. Quegli [Pitagora] dalla proportion tripla cavò il diapason diapente, che è la duodecima: questi [Arcimboldo] con la medesima proportione ascese à dare dodici gradi di fosco al bianco. Così fece ancora nel formare il disdiapason, cioè la quintadecima, la quale dalla proportion quadrupla vien generata. E quanto io dico del color bianco, & del negro insieme, dicolo ancora di tutti gli altri colori. Perché sì come egli [Arcimboldo] è ito pian piano ombreggiando il bianco, & riducendolo ad acutezza; così hà fatto del giallo, & di tutti gli altri: servendosi del bianco per la parte piu bassa, che si ritrovi nel canto; & del verde, & insieme dell'azuro per le parti, che son mezane; & del morello, & del tanè, per le parti di maggiore altezza [...]; come il basso è seguito dal tenore, e 'l tenore dall'alto, & l'alto dal canto. Ammaestrato del qual ordine, Mauro Cremonese dalla Viuola, musico dell'imperadore Ridolfo II, trovò su'l graviciembalo tutte quelle consonanze, che dall'Arcimboldo erano state segnate co i colori sopra una carta.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ Gregorio Comanini, *Il Figino, ovvero del fine della pittura. Dialogo... Ove questionandosi se'l fine della pittura sia l'utile, ovvero il diletto, si tratta dell'uso di quella nel Christianesimo. E si mostra, qual sia imitator più perfetto, & che più diletto, il Pittore, ovvero il Poeta* (Mantua: F. Osanna, 1591), pp. 244-249; my italics. Cf. Giacomo Berra, 'L'Arcimboldo "c'huom forma d'ogni cosa": capricci pittorici, elogi letterari e scherzi poetici nella Milano di fine Cinquecento', in Ferino-Pagden (dir. & ed.), *Arcimboldo*, pp. 283-313 (pp. 293-294 [cat. 310]).

Arcimboldo's colour-chromaticism, highlighted by Mauro Cremonese's equivalent 'chromatic' aesthetic in music, would seem to constitute a Late Baroque equivalent of that aesthetic of 'brilliant effects' in striking plays of light and gradations of colour (potentially disorientating the beholder) that we have noted, citing Roberts, in relation to mosaics and centos. In addition, just as in a textual *cento*, Arcimboldo's Imperial Vertumnus-portrait superimposes two distinct, co-existing levels of perception (characterised by Barthes as subversive of 'pictorial language').¹³⁹ Arcimboldo depicts, re-assembles and transforms in the recognisable composite face and bust of the Emperor-God Rudolph the variously coloured fruits, flowers, vegetables and cereals of the successive stages of Nature's annual cycle. His compositional technique and conceptual framework are thus linked to the *cento*-aesthetic prevalent in the Imperial literary-artistic circles of Rudolph's Prague. Indeed, his portraiture illustrates, even embodies, the 'hypertextual' 'puzzle' that was and is quintessentially the *cento* form.¹⁴⁰

If Arcimboldo's visual *cento* is couched also in a Late Baroque chromatic 'music' worthy of a Carlo Gesualdo¹⁴¹, music itself had ever been the twin companion, the alternative metaphor (or vehicle) for the colourful 'patchwork' that was the Early Modern *cento* form. It had consistently accompanied the *cento* in its successive manifestations as a compositional 'form' or as a critical concept of writing, on in its centuries-long journey from obscurity to the limelight, from marginality to centrality, from mistrust to enthusiastic acceptance and adoption, 'from rags' — those of its humble origins or coarse 'stitched' textures — 'to riches': its prestigious cultivation in High Renaissance Rome under Julius III (at the hands of Lelio Capilupi, and in the 'Statian' splendour and 'Georgic'

¹³⁹ Roland Barthes, 'Arcimboldo', p. 126: 'c'est parce que tout signifie, à deux niveaux, que la peinture d'Arcimboldo fonctionne comme un déni quelque peu terrifiant de la langue picturale.'

¹⁴⁰ See Nicole Biagio, 'Narration et intertextualité, une tentative de (ré)conciliation', *Cnarra, Cahiers de Narratologie*, 13: *Nouvelles approches de l'intertextualité*, dir. A. Tassel (1 Sept. 2006) [document.html?id=314] (18pp.), esp. 3.4 'Le centon hypertextuel': 'Lorsque l'écriture intertextuelle intervient sur des fragments modifiés, [...] Au jeu habituel des hypothèses lectorales que la suite du récit infirme ou confirme, se surajoute celui du *puzzle*. Il s'agit d'identifier chaque pièce et de comprendre son fonctionnement dans la nouvelle structure'.

¹⁴¹ See Deutsch, *Carlo Gesualdo*, *passim*, on this most chromatic of composers; esp. pp. 57-58 on Gesualdo's *cento*-like technique in his 2nd book of madrigals (1594) (see above, n. 17).

idyll of the Villa Giulia celebrated by him); and its later sumptuous elaboration, both textual and pictorial, in Late Baroque Prague at the Habsburg Imperial court, by Imperial Poet Laureates such as Meibom, and in the pictorial ‘bedazzlement’ and quasi musical ‘chromaticisms’ of the ‘puzzle’-portraits of Arcimboldo. To these ‘riches’, one could add the striking example of the *cento*’s deployment in Jacobean England under the Horatian pen of Thomas Goad in response to the Gunpowder Plot, and, on the grandest scale, the *cento*’s widespread use in the later 16th and earlier 17th centuries in Europe and beyond Europe, in verse, then prose, in Latin, Greek or the vernacular, in writing (or speaking), and even, by extension, in architecture, painting or music.

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PETRARCA Y LAS PRIMERAS EDICIONES DE TERCENCIO

Una de las mayores aportaciones de los estudios petrarquescos del último siglo ha sido hacer ver — a través de demostraciones admirables en sí mismas — que la importancia de Petrarca en la historia de la filología ha sido por lo menos tan grande como la que se le reconoce en otros ámbitos de la historia de la cultura. Terencio fue uno de los autores que suscitaron en él un interés mayor, quizá no tanto en el plano meramente literario como desde un punto de vista filológico: de hecho, es el único para el que preparó una edición en toda regla y una introducción en la que, entre otras cosas, daba cuenta de algunos de los criterios que había seguido en aquella.¹

En efecto, la llamada *Vita Terrentii* — que, por otra parte, demuestra una gran familiaridad con la transmisión del texto terenciano — estaba destinada a servir de preliminar a una edición de las seis comedias que el propio Petrarca habría realizado o, al menos, planeado: lo sabemos a ciencia cierta porque contiene expresiones como ‘hoc volumine’ (§20) cuando se refiere al orden de las comedias que ha adoptado en su edición, o ‘sciens omisi’ (§28) al advertir de que — contra toda costumbre — ha decidido suprimir las didascalias de su texto. Es muy probable que este episodio deba situarse en torno a 1340. Algunos años más tarde Petrarca debió de volver sobre el texto de Terencio, ya que un ms. del s. XV se nos presenta como copia fiel de un ejemplar ‘scriptum et undique revissum per disertissimum et eximium poetam dominum Franciscum Petrarcam de anno 1358 iulii 15 sero’. En contra de lo que se ha venido sosteniendo hasta hace unos pocos años, este Terencio petrarquesco exhibe un texto notablemente correcto y en cualquier caso muy superior al que transmite la inmensa mayoría de los mss. de la época. A diferencia del

¹ Proyecto de investigación FFI2012-37696 del Ministerio de Educación; grupo de investigación consolidado IT698-13 del Gobierno Vasco; UFI 11/14 de la Universidad del País Vasco / Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea.

primero, este segundo episodio de la filología terenciana de Petrarca tuvo una trascendencia considerable, y se han podido identificar varios testimonios estrechamente emparentados con el ms. de 1358, entre ellos el texto que se difundió desde la escuela boloñesa de Pietro da Moglio.²

Si la vanguardia de las generaciones inmediatamente posteriores se caracterizó por su frialdad hacia la obra de Petrarca, ‘invece, resa celebre dalle riserve peregrine e abbondanti della sua libreria, persiste la fama del Petrarca lettore e filologo’.³ Y, en muchos casos, su filología había estado tan por encima de la de sus contemporáneos que todavía en las últimas décadas del s. XV — después de cien años de erudición y del descubrimiento de obras fundamentales para la filología clásica — los mss. provenientes de la biblioteca de Petrarca ofrecían la mejor opción a la hora de buscar el modelo para una edición impresa. Sabíamos que este había sido el caso de la *princeps* de la *Historia Augusta* (Milán, 1475) y que el importante Ausonio de Taddeo Ugoletti (Parma, 1499) se benefició en gran medida del ejemplar petrarquesco; pero no deja de resultar sorprendente que ocurra algo similar en la historia editorial de Terencio que, además de ser uno de los autores más afectados por la aparición de nuevos textos, muy probablemente era ‘le poète latin le plus populaire chez les imprimeurs du XV^e siècle’.⁴

² Para esta empresa filológica de Petrarca en torno a Terencio, así como para la transmisión y el texto de la *Vita Terentii*, me permito remitir a Iñigo Ruiz Arzalluz, *La ‘Vita Terentii’ de Petrarca*, Studi sul Petrarca, 39 (Roma – Padua: Antenore, 2010) e Id., ‘Petrarca, el texto de Terencio y Pietro da Moglio’, in *Petrarca, l’Umanesimo e la civiltà europea. Atti del convegno internazionale Firenze 5-10 dicembre 2004*, eds. Donatella Coppini – Michele Feo, 2 vols, *Quaderni petrarcheschi*, 15-16 y 17-18 (2005-2006 y 2007-2008) (Firencia: Le Lettere, 2012), II, 765-812; son indispensables las contribuciones de Claudia Villa, *La ‘lectura Terentii’. I. Da Ildemaro a Francesco Petrarca*, Studi sul Petrarca, 17 (Padua: Antenore, 1984), Ead., ‘Petrarca e Terenzio’, *Studi petrarcheschi*, n.s., 6 (1989), 1-22, Ead., ‘Successi e sfortune della *Vita Terentii* nell’Umanesimo’, in *Il Petrarca latino e le origini dell’umanesimo. Atti del convegno internazionale Firenze 19-22 maggio 1991*, s.e., 2 vols, *Quaderni petrarcheschi*, 9-10 (1992-1993) (Firencia: Le Lettere, 1996), II, 555-569, Ead., ‘La *Vita Terentii* di Francesco Petrarca’, in *Estravaganti, disperse, apocrifi petrarcheschi*, eds. Claudia Berra – Paola Vecchi Galli (Milán: Cisalpino, 2007), pp. 573-582.

³ Giuseppe Billanovich, *Petrarca letterato. I. Lo scrittoio del Petrarca* (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1947; repr. 1995), pp. 391-392 (y pp. 394-395 para el caso de las ediciones de Ausonio y la *Historia Augusta* que cito unas líneas más abajo).

⁴ Dennis E. Rhodes, ‘La publication des comédies de Térence au XV^e siècle’, in *Le livre dans l’Europe de la Renaissance. Actes du XXVIII^e colloque international d’études humanistes de Tours*, eds. Pierre Aquilon – Henri-Jean Martin – François Dupuigrenet Desrousilles (París: Cercle de la Librairie, 1988), pp. 285-296 (p. 285).

1. IGI 9408 y las primeras ediciones de Terencio

La datación e identificación de las primeras ediciones italianas de Terencio, en palabras de Rhodes, ‘pose des problèmes formidables’; si a pesar de todo las ordenamos — no solo las italianas, sino todas las conocidas — según el año de publicación aceptado actualmente por la mayoría de los incunabulistas, resulta que los primeros textos impresos de Terencio, con la cautela que el caso recomienda, son los siguientes:⁵

[Terentius, *Comoediae*; precede *Praefatio Monacensis*. Roma, Sixtus Riessinger, c. 1469]. 4º.

ISTC it00063800; Lawton 4, Rhodes 3. (Manchester, Rylands).⁶

[Terentius, *Comoediae*. Venecia, Vindelinus de Spira, 1469-1470]. fol.

ISTC it00063900, IGI 9408; Lawton 23, Rhodes 1. (Florenca, Laur.).

[Terentius, *Comoediae*. Estrasburgo, Johannes Mentelin, no después de 1470]. fol.

ISTC it00064000, IGI 9405; Lawton 1, Rhodes 69. (Florenca, Laur.).

⁵ El elenco que doy a continuación recoge todas las ediciones de Terencio anteriores a la primera aparición impresa de la *Vita Terentii* de Petrarca — v. más abajo el apartado 2 —. Reduzco las referencias a los datos que aquí nos interesan y remito solo a los siguientes repertorios: ISTC = *Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue* de la British Library <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/index.html>> [7-mayo-2012]); IGI = *Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia*, 6 vols (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato e Libreria dello Stato, 1943-1981); Lawton = Harold W. Lawton, *Contribution à l'histoire de l'humanisme en France. Térence en France au XVI^e siècle. Éditions et traductions* (Paris: Jouve, 1926; repr. Ginebra: Slatkine, 1970) (la numeración remite al ‘Catalogue des éditions des comédies de Publius Terentius Afer publiées entre l'invention de l'imprimerie et 1600’ de las pp. 63-251); Rhodes = Rhodes, ‘La publication’ ya citado (la numeración remite a ‘Les incunables de Térence’ de las pp. 292-296). En la descripción del contenido de cada edición omito cualquier indicación sobre el *Epitaphium Terentii*, presente en todas ellas y que aquí resulta irrelevante; doy al final la localización del ejemplar que he visto, a veces por medio de microfílm o fotografías pero casi siempre en directo.

⁶ Algunos catálogos — y, por ejemplo, Lawton y Rhodes — lo consideran impreso en Nápoles c. 1471; también Marco Santoro, *La stampa a Napoli nel Quattrocento* (Nápoles: Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento Meridionale, 1984), p. 153 (núm. 281), que da la fecha ‘c. 1470-1471’; y no se recoge en el *Indice delle edizioni romane a stampa (1467-1500)*, eds. Paola Casciano et al. (Ciudad del Vaticano: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografía, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 1980). En realidad, la discusión en torno al año es la misma que la relativa al lugar de impresión, porque Riessinger trasladó su taller de Roma a Nápoles justamente entre 1470 y 1471: Mariano Fava – Giovanni Bresciano, *La stampa a Napoli nel XV secolo*, 2 vols (Leipzig: Kraus, 1911-1912; repr. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1969), I, 14-18, y Santoro, *La stampa a Napoli*, pp. 8, 27 y 38-43; v. también Victor Scholderer, ‘Sixtus Riessinger's First Press at Rome’, in Id., *Fifty Essays in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Bibliography*, ed. Dennis E. Rhodes (Amsterdam: Hertzberger, 1966), pp. 70-71, y Piero Scapecchi, ‘Abbozzo per la redazione di una sequenza cronologica delle tipografie e delle edizioni romane degli Han e di Riessinger negli anni tra 1466 e 1470’, *Roma nel Rinascimento* (1997), 318-326.

[Terentius, *Comoediae*. ¿Nápoles, 'Imprenta del Terencio', c. 1470?]. 4º.
ISTC it00064300, IGI 9406; Lawton 5, Rhodes 2. (Florenia, Laur.).⁷

[Terentius, *Comoediae*, precede *Praefatio Monacensis*. ¿Roma, Udalricus Gallus, 1470-1471?]. 4º.

ISTC it00064600, IGI 9407; Lawton 3, Rhodes 5. (Florenia, Laur.).⁸

En la edición romana de c. 1469 (quizá napolitana de c. 1470-1471: ISTC it00063800) las comedias van precedidas por la *Praefatio Monacensis*:⁹ un *accessus* muy común en los mss. de Terencio... y un tanto anticuado precisamente desde que Petrarca había puesto de relieve algunos de los errores que contiene. A la altura de 1469 o 1471, su presencia delata cierto retraso en quien cuidó el texto de la edición, sobre todo si tenemos en cuenta que aparece en solitario al frente de las seis comedias. En efecto, hacía décadas que también la *Vita Ambrosiana* o la propia *Vita Terentii* petrarquesca figuraban con relativa frecuencia en los mss. de

⁷ Sobre el ignoto 'Tipógrafo del Terencio' v. Santoro, *La stampa a Napoli*, pp. 27 y 38-39; por lo que hace a esta edición en concreto, el ISTC resume el *status quaestionis* del siguiente modo: 'Proctor assigned this press to Naples. Assigned to Florence on linguistic grounds (for vernacular texts of this press) by P[iero] Scapecchi, ['Scava, scava, vecchia talpa! L'oscuro lavoro dell'incunabulista'], in *Biblioteche oggi*, 2 (1984), [37-54] (p. 43); but this ascription is rejected on the same grounds by P[aolo] Trovato, ['Il libro toscano nell'età di Lorenzo. Schede ed ipotesi'], in *La Toscana al tempo di Lorenzo il Magnifico. Politica economia cultura arte. Convegno di studi promosso dalle Università di Firenze, Pisa e Siena, 5-8 novembre 1992*, ed. Riccardo Fubini, 3 vols. (Pisa: [Pacini], 1996), II, [525-563] (pp. 530-532) [ahora, con el título 'Il libro in Toscana nell'età di Lorenzo', in Paolo Trovato, *L'ordine dei tipografi. Lettori, stampatori, correttori tra Quattro e Cinquecento* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1998), pp. 49-89], supporting Proctor'; v. también Rhodes, 'La publication', p. 286.

⁸ Rhodes propone, con interrogación, el año 1472.

⁹ La presencia de este *accessus* no viene señalada en el ISTC, aunque sí en la ficha manuscrita del GW [= *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1968-)], a la que puede accederse desde aquel (*GW Manuskript*: <<http://www.gesamtkatalog-derwiegendrucke.de>> [7-mayo-2012]). Sobre la *Praefatio Monacensis* baste remitir a Villa, *La 'lectura Terentii'*, p. 30, y ahora a Enara San Juan, *El 'Commentum Monacense' a las comedias de Terencio (München, BSB, Clm 14420, ff. 79-144)* (Vitoria-Gasteiz: Universidad del País Vasco, 2014); puede leerse en Gulielmus Ballaira, 'Praefatio "Monacensis" ad Terentium quae integra in cod. Vat. Lat. 11455 asservatur', *Bollettino del Comitato per la preparazione della Edizione Nazionale dei classici greci e latini*, n.s., 16 (1968), 13-24, y en Yves-François Riou, 'Essai sur la tradition manuscrite du *Commentum Brunsonianum* des comédies de Térence', *Revue d'histoire des textes*, 3 (1973), 79-113. Nótese que el texto de la *Praefatio Monacensis* que se reproduce en este Terencio atribuido a Riessinger, y que veremos repetirse cada vez que dicho *accessus* aparece en las ediciones aquí mencionadas — y en muchas otras —, constituye una versión realmente rara: inc. 'Terentius afer genere civis vero cartaginensis fuit', expl. 'dederunt Carino sodali eius'.

Terencio, cierto que acompañadas casi siempre por la *Praefatio Monacensis*: es lo que nos encontramos, por ejemplo, en varios de los mss. de la escuela de Pietro da Moglio, cuyos primeros testimonios se sitúan a fines del XIV y principios del XV y que tampoco estaban tan lejos, geográfica o culturalmente, de estas primeras ediciones.¹⁰ Cabía también esperar la *Vita Terentii* atribuida después a Suetonio y que circulaba desde que Aurispa descubrió el comentario de Donato en 1433: es verdad que la fuerza de la tradición, tan asombrosamente efectiva muchas veces en la transmisión de los textos, hizo que tuviera tendencia a seguir copiándose con aquel y no con las comedias del cartaginés, pero no lo es menos que en fecha tan temprana como 1473 aparecerá ya una edición de Terencio — sin comentario alguno — encabezada por la biografía donatiana.¹¹ Por lo que hace al texto mismo, en fin, la edición atribuida a Riessinger lo dispone como si fuera prosa, hecho que habla por sí solo sobre el criterio filológico del responsable de la edición ya que, a pesar de lo que se ha dicho en alguna ocasión,¹² muchos Terencios anteriores al s. XIV conservan — mejor o peor — la división de los versos, aspecto que se hace cada vez más frecuente gracias en parte a la influencia de Petrarca y sus discípulos.¹³

¹⁰ Giuseppe Billanovich, 'Terenzio, Ildemaro, Petrarca', *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 17 (1974), 1-60; Villa, *La 'lectura Terentii'*, pp. 217-236 et alibi.

¹¹ Para la transmisión de Donato baste remitir a la nota de Michael D. Reeve, 'Aelius Donatus', in *Texts and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. Leighton D. Reynolds (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 153-156, donde se encontrarán las referencias más necesarias; por lo que respecta a las ediciones, además de los estudios ya citados y de los repertorios al uso, debe verse todavía el capítulo 'De editionibus' en *Aeli Donati commentum Terenti, accedunt Eugraphi commentum et scholia Bembina*, ed. Paulus Wessner, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1902; repr. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1966), I, xxxiii-xxxvii. Se conservan en total unos cuarenta mss., todos menos dos del siglo XV y la mayoría italianos, y ya desde 1472 — más o menos — se suceden con relativa frecuencia los impresos. La edición a la que me refiero, y en la que las comedias de Terencio — no el comentario de Donato — aparecen por primera vez precedidas por la *vita* atribuida a Suetonio, es esta: [Venecia, 'Imprenta del Ausonio', después del 5 de mayo de 1473], fol.; ISTC it00067300, IGI 9413, Lawton 12, Rhodes 10.

¹² Remigio Sabbadini, 'Biografi e commentatori di Terenzio', *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, 5 (1897), 289-327 (p. 317 y n. 3), y, a partir de aquí, en numerosos lugares.

¹³ Para buena parte de lo que sigue, ha constituido un punto de partida muy útil Joseph A. Dane, 'On Metrical Confusion and Consensus in Early Editions of Terence', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 48 (1999), 103-131; v. también Id., *The Myth of Print Culture: Essays on Evidence, Textuality and Bibliographical Method* (Toronto – Buffalo – Londres: University of Toronto Press, 2003), p. 144, donde señala que 'the transmission of Terence's text in the first fifty years of printing was one that involved repeated cases of contamination. Substantives could come from one tradition; colometric lines could come from another'.

El primer Terencio salido del taller de Vindelino de Espira, en Venecia, no tiene otro preliminar que el omnipresente epitafio 'Natus in excellis [...] hic puto cautus erit'.¹⁴ Uno o dos años después, a finales de 1471, Vindelino será el primero en llevar a las prensas la *Vita Terrentii* petrarquescas: en un Terencio en el que las seis comedias van precedidas únicamente — no es un dato banal — por el citado opúsculo. En esta de 1469-1470 (IGI 9408 = Vin¹),¹⁵ no hay ningún vínculo explícito con Petrarca, pero si atendemos al propio texto y a su colometría observaremos que nos lleva a una fase muy alta de la filología terenciana de Petrarca y que responde además a las ideas que este había defendido sobre el modo de disponer las seis comedias.

Si toda la historia textual de Terencio se caracteriza por una incesante contaminación que constituye la cruz de cuantos cometen la imprudencia de adentrarse en su estudio, en el siglo XV esta circunstancia se agrava notablemente debido a la circulación de una cantidad de mss. — y, al final, de impresos — mucho mayor que la de cualquier época anterior. Hay indicios de que también esta primera edición de Vindelino ha tomado algunas lecciones — no muchas — ¹⁶ de la innumerable prole de los

¹⁴ *Anthologia Latina sive poesis Latinae supplementum*, ediderunt Franciscus Buecheler et Alexander Riese. *Pars prior. Carmina in codicibus scripta*, recensuit Alexander Riese. *Fasciculus II. Reliquorum librorum carmina*, 2ª ed. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1906), núm. 487c (olim 734), p. 40.

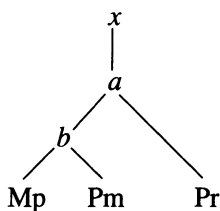
¹⁵ Puesto que nos vamos a mover en terreno casi exclusivamente italiano, me referiré a las distintas ediciones por el número del IGI; en los pocos casos en los que la edición en cuestión no figure en dicho repertorio — por no hallarse actualmente ningún ejemplar en las bibliotecas de Italia — me valdré del número del ISTC.

¹⁶ En contra de lo que se ha venido sosteniendo durante mucho tiempo, hoy sabemos que no era infrecuente — entre impresores con una cierta voluntad filológica, como era sin duda el caso de Vindelino — que incluso tratándose de ediciones *principes* se utilizaran 'mss. sottoposti a revisione e collazionati con altri' (Paolo Trovato, *Con ogni diligenza corretto: La stampa e le revisioni editoriali dei testi letterari italiani (1470-1570)* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1991), p. 104; otro ejemplo significativo es el de Virgilio: Paola Casciano, 'L'edizione romana del 1471 di Virgilio di Sweynheym e Pannartz', in *Scrittura biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento. Atti del 2º seminario. 6-8 maggio 1982*, eds. Massimo Miglio et al. (Ciudad del Vaticano: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 1983), pp. 653-668); pero véase ya Giorgio Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, 2ª ed. (Florence: Le Monnier, 1952), p. 78. Del mismo modo, la idea de que la *editio princeps* suele servir como texto base para las ediciones sucesivas admite muchos matices y excepciones (baste remitir al libro clásico de Edward J. Kenney, *Testo e metodo: Aspetti dell'edizione dei classici latini e greci nell'età del libro a stampa*, edizione italiana riveduta a cura di Aldo Lunelli (Roma: GEI, 1995), pp. 1-25). Está fuera de duda que IGI 9408 es una edición de nueva planta, es decir, no depende de ninguna edición conocida. (En relación con esto puede verse también lo señalado en la nota 38).

Terencios procedentes de la escuela de Pietro da Moglio, que por esas fechas se ha convertido ya en Italia en el texto de referencia para quienes estaban *à la page* — y que, para complicar más las cosas, tiene en última instancia el mismo origen que el de los Terencios de Petrarca —.¹⁷ Pero tanto el texto como la colometría de Vin¹ muestran un parentesco inmediato e inequívoco con un ms. que se sitúa en una posición extraordinariamente alta dentro de la pequeña constelación de Terencios que proceden del escritorio de Petrarca:

Oxd Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. class. Lat. 103 (s. XIV ex.).¹⁸

En otro lugar he tratado de reconstruir la relación que une a los testimonios que se encuentran más cerca de los Terencios petrarquescos:¹⁹



¹⁷ He tratado de reconstruir esta complicada historia en Ruiz Arzalluz, 'Petrarca, el texto de Terencio', ya citado. Esta es la explicación de algunas abreviaturas que utilizo en las páginas siguientes: Mp = Montpellier, École de Médecine, H 332 (a. 1370); Pm = Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Palatino 1661 (a. 1470); Pr = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 10305 (s. XV). Al ms. perdido que sabemos estaba datado en 1358, así como al consenso de Mp y Pm, lo llamamos *b*. Pietro da Moglio, amigo y discípulo de Petrarca, realizó en su escuela una importante edición de Terencio que tiene el mismo origen que el texto utilizado por Petrarca; los testimonios más directos (que, en conjunto, denominamos β) son los siguientes: Am = Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 33 inf. (a. 1408); Eg = London, British Library, Egerton 2909 (a. 1419); Reg = Reggio Emilia, Biblioteca Municipale, Turri C 17 (s. XV). Todos estos Terencios pertenecen a una familia de mss. que designamos con la sigla θ , algunos de cuyos miembros más representativos son los siguientes: Conv = Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conv. sopp. 510 (s. XII y XIV); Fi = Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, S. Marco 244 (s. XII); Ma = Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, G 130 inf. (s. XI [fols. 41 y 48-71: s. XIV]); Pc = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 7900A (s. IX-X); Vb = Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 85 (s. X).

¹⁸ Oxd contiene también, al final, la *Vita Terrentii* de Petrarca, pero añadida posteriormente, ya en la segunda mitad del s. XV. Sobre el ms., véanse Nicholas Mann, *Petrarch Manuscripts in the British Isles*, Censimento dei codici petrarcheschi, 6 (Padua: Antenore, 1975), núm. 167; Villa, *La 'lectura Terrentii'*, pp. 385-386; y Ruiz Arzalluz, *La 'Vita Terrentii'*, pp. 74, 76, 120 y 131.

¹⁹ Reproduzco aquí el stemma propuesto en Ruiz Arzalluz, 'Petrarca, el texto de Terencio', p. 772; entiéndase que se trata de una simplificación.

Todo apunta a que Oxd descendería de *a* — quizá de un estadio intermedio entre *x* y *a* no contemplado expresamente hasta ahora —, pero en modo alguno de *b*. El cotejo de la colometría y la sucesión de los textos satélite solo nos permitiría situarlo a la par de MpPm: en efecto, la *divisio versuum* de Oxd es prácticamente idéntica a la de *b* y la sucesión de los textos satélite es también igual a la que reconstruimos para *b*, algo que — como la coincidencia sistemática en una colometría errónea — por sí solo constituye una prueba irrefutable de que nos hallamos ante mss. muy estrechamente emparentados entre sí.²⁰ Pero lo que nos obliga a postular una posición más alta para Oxd es el propio texto, que proporciona indicios ineludibles como el siguiente (*Eun.*, 697-700):²¹

PH. Fraterne? DO. Ita. PH. Quando? DO. Hodie. PH. Quam dudum? DO.
Modo.
PH. Quicum? DO. Cum Parmenone. PH. Norasne eum prius?
DO. Non. [*Nec quis esset umquam audieram dicier*].
PH. Unde igitur fratrem meum esse scibas? DO. Parmeno

La porción de texto comprendida entre corchetes es una interpolación muy extendida que se encuentra del modo indicado tanto en Pr como en todo θ — tal y como ha quedado definido más arriba —.²² Sin embargo, el texto que se lee en MpPm es otro:

PH. Fraterne? DO. Ita. PH. Quando? DO. Hodie. PH. Quam dudum?
DO. Modo. *Nec quis esset umquam audieram dicier*.

²⁰ La sucesión de los satélites en Oxd es exactamente la misma que en Pm (pueden verse los detalles en Ruiz Arzalluz, 'Petarca, el texto de Terencio', pp. 771-772 y 808-809, especialmente n. 86), que es la que debería haber habido también en Mp (en el lugar citado se dan las posibles razones de esta divergencia). Nótese que dos de estos textos son los rarísimos argumentos 'Adolescens qui meretricis [...] error fabule nascitur' (*Hec.*) y 'Ex duobus fratribus [...] amanti subvenisset' (*Phorm.*), y que las didascalias de *Eun.* y *Hec.* — y solo estas — se encuentran entre el prólogo y la primera escena de sus respectivas comedias (v., en el lugar citado, pp. 771-772). No es necesario insistir en que estos satélites en este orden son exclusivos de los testimonios más próximos al Terencio petarquesco.

²¹ Tanto aquí como en los demás pasajes que aduzco con igual propósito, y mientras no señale lo contrario, doy el texto de *P. Terenti Afri comoediae*, rec. Robert Kauer — Wallace M. Lindsay, suppl. Otto Skutsch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958; repr. 1990) y dispongo los versos correctamente, es decir, tal y como los encontramos — por ejemplo — en la edición citada. (Mantengo las aféresis pero desarrollo los ápices que señalan las *s* elididas). Aduzco este mismo ejemplo, con otro propósito, en Ruiz Arzalluz, 'Petarca, el texto de Terencio', pp. 810-811.

²² En efecto, las variantes textuales que presentan Pr y θ no afectan a lo que aquí nos ocupa; la colometría varía notablemente con respecto a la división correcta que reproducimos en el primer texto.

PH. Quicum? DO. Cum Parmenone. PH. Norasne eum prius?
DO. Non. PH. Unde igitur fratrem meum esse sciebas?

Parece obligado concluir que *a* tenía el texto de la interpolación todavía en el margen — así es como está, de hecho, en varios mss. — y que en *b* se ha integrado en un lugar equivocado. El texto de Oxd, por su parte, reza así:²³

PH. Fraterne? DO. Ita. PH. Quando? DO. Hodie. PH. Quam dudum?
DO. Modo. *Esset dicier nec quis umquam audieram.*
PH. Quicum? DO. Cum Parmenone. PH. Norasne eum prius?
DO. Non. PH. Unde igitur fratrem meum esse sciebas?

Es decir, también Oxd es copia — inmediata o no — de un modelo en el que 'Nec quis [...] dicier' todavía no se había insertado en el texto y que, por tanto, debe estar en una posición más alta que *b*.²⁴ Naturalmente, hay más variantes que apuntan en este mismo sentido, es decir, a favor de que Oxd dependa de un nodo superior a *b*.²⁵

A la vista de los datos que nos proporcionan la colometría y la sucesión de los textos satélite, sería una pérdida de tiempo molestarse en probar que Oxd no puede ser un texto de la familia θ ajeno al Terencio de Petrarca. Más razones hay, en cambio, para tratar de confirmar que Oxd no puede descender de la edición de Pietro da Moglio. Ciertamente, la posición tan claramente *difficilior* de los satélites — que en β tiende a banalizarse — es un primer indicio digno de la mayor atención. De

²³ En rigor, la *nota personae* que en Oxd corresponde al eunuco Doro es *EU* y no *DO*, lo mismo que en los mejores representantes de γ y en algunos de θ ; no así, en cambio, en *Pr* ni en *b*.

²⁴ Es fácil imaginar el aspecto que presentaría el margen del modelo — inmediato o no, para el caso da igual — de Oxd: el texto que debía interpolarse estaba en dos líneas que, por falta de espacio — como ocurre tantas veces —, tenían la última palabra escrita una línea más arriba.

²⁵ Pueden valer — aunque no sean las únicas posibles — las lecciones compartidas con *Pr* y ausentes de *b*. Una pequeñísima muestra — sin olvidar nunca el terreno tan resbaladizo que es, en esta materia, el texto de Terencio — podría ser la siguiente: *Eun.*, 377, *orna me* θ PrOxd : *oro te* *b* (β tiene inicialmente *oro te*, que luego corrige en *orna me*); *Eun.*, 826, *ad nos aut quamobrem* θ PrOxd : *ad nos quamobrem* *b* β ; *Haut.*, 343-344, *dic modo verum*. *SY.* *Age modo* θ PrOxd : *dic modo verum age modo* *b* β ; en *Haut.*, 668, θ PrOxd indican correctamente la escena que comienza ahí, mientras *b* omite cualquier indicación al respecto (β tampoco tiene nueva escena aunque señala la variante en una glosa); o el caso de *Phorm.*, 687-690, expuesto con más calma en Ruiz Arzalluz, 'Petrarca, el texto de Terencio', p. 811, donde Oxd presenta el mismo texto que *Pr* pero sin que todavía haya tenido lugar la inserción del añadido *qui te ad scopulum e tranquillo auferant*.

manera igualmente inequívoca, la colometría nos obliga a descartar tal sospecha:²⁶ quizá merezca la pena trasladar un par de ejemplos de los muchos que podrían aducirse en este sentido. *Andr.*, 748-755, es un pasaje particularmente significativo, ya que la división de β es en buena parte la misma que la de θ ; dicho de otro modo, *Oxd* y *b* (y con ellos *Vin*¹) coinciden en el error contra la lección más correcta de sus ancestros:²⁷

Eho Mysis, puer hic undest? Quisve huc attulit? ¶#§
 MY. Satin sanus es qui me id rogites? ¶ DA. Quem ego igitur rogem #§
 qui hic neminem alium videam? ¶ CH. Miror unde sit. #§
 DA. Dictura es quod rogo? ¶ MY. Au! DA. Concede ad dexteram. #§
 MY. Deliras: non tute ipse...? ¶ DA. Verbum si mihi
 unum #§ praeter quam quod te rogo faxis: cave! ¶§
 Male dicis? Undest? Dic clare. # MY. A nobis. DA. Hahae! ¶§
 Mirum vero inpuenter mulier si facit ¶#

Y lo mismo puede decirse — aunque aquí el testimonio de θ deja de ser útil — del ejemplo que proporciona *Haut.*, 361-370:²⁸

CLIN. Verum illa nequid titubet. ¶# SY. Perdoctast probe.
 CLIT. At hoc demiror #§ qui tam facile ¶ potueris
 persuadere illi, quae solet quos spernere! ¶#§
 SY. In tempore ad eam veni, quod rerum omniumst
 primum. ¶# Nam quendam misere § offendi ibi militem
 eius noctem ¶ orantem: # haec arte tractabat virum, §
 ut illius animum ¶ cupidum # inopia incenderet
 eademque ut esset apud te ¶#§ hoc quam gratissimum.
 Sed heus tu, vide sis nequid imprudens ¶ ruas! #§
 Patrem novisti ad has res quam sit perspicax; ¶#

En fin, hay un buen número de variantes textuales muy características del texto de Pietro — algunas de ellas, por cierto, con una gran tendencia a difundirse — que están ausentes de *Oxd*.²⁹

²⁶ Para la validez de este criterio a la hora de filiar testimonios — muy en particular en el caso de Terencio — remitiré solo a John N. Grant, 'Contamination in the Mixed Mss. of Terence: a Partial Solution?', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 105 (1975), 123-153, y Benjamin Victor – Bruno Quesnel, 'The Colometric Evidence for the History of the Terence-Text in the Early Middle Ages', *Revue d'histoire des textes*, 29 (1999), 141-168.

²⁷ Los versos están dispuestos correctamente. El signo ¶ representa el final de línea en *b* y *Oxd* (y también en *Vin*¹); el signo # se refiere a lo mismo en β ; el signo § señala la división de los versos en θ .

²⁸ En alguno de estos versos Eg muestra una división diferente — algo bastante frecuente en este ms. —, pero se trata siempre de errores propios.

²⁹ Series en las que *Oxd* tiene la colometría de *b* en contra de β pueden verse con claridad en pasajes como *Andr.*, 236-340, 740-755, *Eun.*, 293-405, *Haut.*, 340-380, etc.

Así, tal y como hemos adelantado más arriba, la división de los versos que se encuentra en Vin¹ es idéntica a la de Oxd, también allí donde este se aparta de sus modelos y de Pietro da Moglio, coincidencia que — según se ha señalado — implica sin sombra de duda un parentesco muy estrecho.³⁰ Veamos algunos de esos escasísimos pasajes en los que la colometría de Oxd y de Vin¹ se aparta de la de los mss. de su entorno. Uno de ellos es *Andr.*, 190-191, que en *b* y en Pr muestra una colometría correcta mientras que en Oxd y Vin¹ tiene una fisonomía casi única:³¹

Dehinc postulo si equum est Dave te oro ut redeat iam in viam.
Hoc quid sit? Omnes qui amant graviter sibi dari uxorem ferunt.

Dehinc postulo si equum est Dave te oro ut redeat iam in viam.
DA. Hoc quid sit nescio. SY. Si queras dicam:
omnes qui amant sibi gravius dari uxorem ferunt.

(Más abajo doy un par de ejemplos con otro propósito). Tales casos son esporádicos, en cambio, en las tres últimas comedias, debido a que tanto *b* como β mantienen aquí una división muy correcta. No faltan tampoco las variantes que, al menos en principio — teniendo siempre presente las dificultades antes aludidas —, hablan en contra de que Oxd pueda descender de la edición del maestro Pietro: *Haut.*, 594-597, *nam mihi iam minus minusque obtemperat. CH. Quid tu? [...] Egistin, Syre [...] SY. De fallacia dicis? Inveni bPrOxd : nam minus minusque obtemperat mihi. CH. Quid tu? [...] Egistin, Syre, quid [...] SY. De fallacia dicis? Est. Inveni β ; Ad.*, 648-649, *has non nosse te, et certe scio neque enim diu bPrOxd : eas non nosse te, et certe scio quia nescis eas neque enim diu β ; Phorm.*, 237-238, *tacitum causam tradere etiamne bPrOxd : tacitum causam tradere advorsariis etiamne β* ; en fin, una de las lecciones más típicas del texto de Pietro da Moglio es la interpolación, entre *Phorm.*, 850-851, del verso *curialis vernula est qui me vocat*, muy significativamente ausente en bPrOxd. (Para esta interpolación véase el aparato de *P. Terenti comoediae*, ed. Franciscus Umpfenbach (Berlín: Weidmann, 1870) y el de *P. Terenti Afri comoediae*, ed. Sextus Prete (Heidelberg: Kerle, 1954), ad loc.). Por lo demás, a estos mismos efectos valdrían también algunas de las variantes aducidas en la nota 25.

³⁰ Como sucede en muchos mss., la colometría de Vin¹ se desbarata esporádicamente (sin que tales errores parezcan remitir a ningún otro posible modelo) y, con cierta frecuencia, en el principio de algunas escenas (debido sin duda al cambio que origina en la longitud de la línea el espacio que puede dejar el copista para la decoración de la letra inicial); el argumento aducido en el texto se refiere a aquellos pasajes en los que Vin¹ muestra una colometría regular, es decir, no alterada por circunstancias ajenas al propio texto como la que acabo de mencionar.

³¹ Doy en primer lugar el texto de bPr: la colometría es la misma que la de Kauer – Lindsay – Skutsch y el texto es muy similar (las únicas divergencias dignas de mención son: *sive* edd.: *si* bPr; *te oro Dave* edd.: *Dave te oro* bPr). En segundo lugar reproduzco el texto de Oxd. Con respecto a este, Vin¹ mantiene exactamente la misma colometría y las divergencias textuales son mínimas: *si*¹ Oxd: *sive* Vin¹; *nescio* aparece tachado en Oxd pero figura en Vin¹; antes de *omnes*, Vin¹ tiene la sigla DA; *sibi graviter* Oxd: *graviter sibi* Vin¹.

Sobre ‘Hoc quid sit?’, en Pr hay una glosa interlineal que reza ‘Simo si queras dicam’; en MpPm se encuentra lo mismo, pero con la omisión de ‘Simo’. En este caso, el texto de Oxd y Vin¹ nos interesa solo porque es un indicio más de la estrecha relación que une a ambos testimonios, no en cambio — a diferencia de la mayor parte de los demás pasajes aducidos — porque pruebe su independencia con respecto a *b*. Otro de los raros ejemplos antes aludidos es el de *Eun.*, 382-384:³²

PA. Flagitium facimus. CH. An id flagitiumst si in domum meretriciam ¶#
deducar et illis crucibus, quae nos nostramque adulescentiam #
habent ¶ despicatam et quae nos semper omnibus cruciant modis ¶#³³

Igualmente claro es *Haut.*, 24-30:³⁴

amicum ¶#§ ingenio fretum, haud natura sua: ¶#§
arbitrium vostrum, vostra existumatio
valebit. # Quare ¶§ omnis vos oratos volo, #
ne plus iniquom possit quam aequom § oratio. ¶#
Facite aequi sitis, date crescendi copiam §
novarum ¶# qui spectandi faciunt copiam
sine vitiis. ¶#§ Ne ille pro se dictum existumet

El caso de *Eun.*, 391-396, es ciertamente peculiar. Aquí, unos signos de párrafo — y una glosa marginal al respecto — en varios de los mss. que descenden del Terencio petrarquesco de 1358 nos obligan a suponer que dicho ejemplar contenía una advertencia para que los versos se dispusieran de la manera indicada, que no es la que se encuentra ni en θ ni en β (cuyos testimonios, por cierto, muestran aquí una notable dispersión). En cambio, Oxd y Vin¹ dividen el texto tal y como indican los signos de párrafo del testimonio más fidedigno de cuantos descenden del Terencio de Petrarca, algo que no se encuentra en los mss. directamente involucrados en esta complicada historia.³⁵ He aquí el texto de *Eun.*, 391-396:

³² En los ejemplos que doy a continuación, el signo ¶ representa el final de verso en Oxd y Vin¹, y el signo # lo mismo en *b* y β .

³³ En rigor, lo que hay en Oxd es *flagitium ~ meretriciam y deducar ~ modis*, pero el segundo verso ocupa dos líneas cuya frontera está precisamente entre *habent* y *despicatam*.

³⁴ El signo ¶ representa el final de verso en Oxd y Vin¹, el signo # lo mismo en *b* y el signo § la división de los versos en β (que aquí coincide siempre con θ). En realidad, el texto de los testimonios aquí implicados presenta variantes importantes: *quare* edd. : *quamobrem* $b\beta$ OxdVin¹; *omnis* [omnes] *vos* $b\beta$ edd. : *omnes res* OxdVin¹; *novarum* $b\beta$ edd. : *om.* OxdVin¹.

³⁵ Una cuestión distinta es de dónde provengan, en última instancia, las razones que tuvo Petrarca para postular esta nueva disposición de los versos. Véase para todo esto Ruiz

TH. Magnas vero agere gratias Thais mihi?
 GN. Ingentis. §¶ TH. Ain tu, laetast? # GN. Non tam ipso quidem
 dono §¶ quam abs te datum esse: id vero serio
 triumphat. #¶ PA. Hoc proviso ut, ubi tempus siet,
 deducam. Sed eccum militem. #¶ TH. Est istuc datum
 profecto ut grata mihi sint quae facio omnia. #¶

Hay también un buen número de lecciones significativas que corroboran lo que muestra la colometría. Por ejemplo, Vin¹ lee juntamente con Oxd en los pasajes de *Eun.*, 377, 826, *Haut.*, 343-344 y 668, aducidos en la nota 25, lo que lo sitúa fuera de la descendencia directa de *b* y siempre al lado de Oxd. Del mismo modo, Vin¹ coincide con Oxd en las lecciones de *Haut.*, 594-597, *Ad.*, 648-649, y *Phorm.*, 850-851, examinadas en la nota 29, algo que aporta un argumento más en favor de su independencia con respecto a β . Ciertamente, Vin¹ no siempre coincide con Oxd, pero se trata de divergencias fácilmente explicables.³⁶ En fin, y a pesar de que la dependencia de Vin¹ con respecto a Oxd — o un testimonio muy próximo a este — está fuera de toda duda, es evidente que en algún momento ha sufrido contaminación a partir de un texto más común: me inclino a pensar que desde algún representante de la edición de Pietro da Moglio.³⁷ En la tradición de Terencio — y cada vez está más claro que

Arzalluz, 'Petrarca, el texto de Terencio', pp. 779-786. En los versos que reproduzco a continuación, el signo § representa las marcas de párrafo postuladas para el Terencio petrarquesco de 1358; el signo # indica el final de verso en *b*; y el signo ¶ está por la división que se encuentra en Oxd y Vin¹.

³⁶ Así, en *Eun.*, 697-700 (v. más arriba, a la altura de la nota 21), Vin¹ muestra el mismo texto que *b*: no debe sorprendernos, porque en Oxd mismo hay marcas que indican el orden correcto del texto interpolado (un error, por lo demás, fácil de detectar: del imposible 'esset dicier nec quis umquam audieram' a 'nec quis esset umquam audieram dicier'). En el caso de *Phorm.*, 687-690 (v. la nota 25), Oxd presenta el mismo texto que Pr pero sin que todavía haya tenido lugar la interpolación de *qui te [...] auferant*, algo que no solo no contradice el stemma postulado más arriba sino que, en todo caso, lo corrobora; y en Vin¹ se ha producido ya la interpolación resultando un texto muy similar al de Pr pero sin que haya tenido lugar el cambio ulterior que se observa en *b*.

³⁷ Me limitaré a enumerar algunos casos que pueden resultar representativos: *Andr.*, 861, *quantum potest* Oxd : om. Vin¹ y parte de β ; *Haut.*, 218, *peccantis* Oxd : *peccanti* Vin¹ β ; *Haut.*, 975, *rogo ut taceas* Oxd : om. Vin¹ β ; *Ad.*, 237, *incipere* Oxd : *incipere* Vin¹ β ; *Ad.*, 935, *Eschine* Oxd : *asine* Vin¹ β ; *Hec.*, 450, *pergunt* Vin¹ y parte de β : om. Oxd. Por lo demás, una contaminación en este mismo sentido — es decir, desde un texto de Pietro da Moglio — se había producido sobre la *Vita Terrentii* del modelo de Oxd: en un momento y en un ambiente, por tanto, muy próximos a aquel en el que alguien había utilizado Oxd o un gemelo suyo para preparar el texto destinado a las prensas de Vindelino. (Sobre la contaminación del modelo de Oxd, véase Ruiz Arzalluz, *La 'Vita Terrentii'*, pp. 73-76).

en la de cualquier otro autor con una difusión semejante —, lo raro habría sido una copia — impresa o manuscrita — que dependiera exclusivamente de un único modelo.³⁸

Fuera de todo lo anterior, Vin¹ tiene una característica absolutamente extraordinaria, casi única: la completa ausencia de didascalias. Es algo que no sucede en ninguno de los impresos ni de los mss. mencionados hasta ahora — tampoco, por tanto, en Oxd ni en los mss. que giran en torno al Terencio petrarquesco —. Pero una vez que ha quedado probado el estrecho parentesco entre Vin¹ y Oxd y la proximidad de ambos al taller filológico de Petrarca, esta ausencia de didascalias no puede dejar de ponerse en relación con uno de los pasajes de la *Vita Terrentii* en el que Petrarca se refiere al texto terenciano al que aquella debía servir de introducción (§28):

Et in primis quidem quattuor comediis [...] Menandrum comicorum principem grecorum imitatus creditur, quod et rubrice innuunt vetustissimorum codicum — *quam partem scripture, quia plus confusionis quam lucis habere visa est, sciens omisi* —, innuunt et prologi quidam.

Se diría que solo caben dos hipótesis: es posible que quien se ocupó de esta edición partiera de un Terencio próximo al de 1358 — que sí tenía didascalias — pero quisiera poner en práctica la recomendación de Petrarca, buscando coherencia con una *Vita Terrentii* que, sin embargo, no llegó todavía a imprimir; y es posible también — hipótesis suculenta pero en absoluto descabellada — que el modelo de esta edición fuera un texto próximo precisamente a aquel Terencio sin didascalias de 1340 sobre el que no sabemos nada y que, de resultar cierta esta hipótesis, sería — muy verosímilmente — una versión previa al Terencio de 1358. En cualquier caso, parece razonable suponer que el modelo — o, si se quiere, el modelo principal — de Vin¹, es decir, un ms. por lo menos cercano al legado de Petrarca, se encontraba en aquel momento en las inmediaciones

³⁸ No estará de más insistir en que se trata de una actitud que no debe sorprender en absoluto, tal y como recuerda Trovato, *Con ogni diligenza*, p. 73: 'anche edizioni che si presentano bibliologicamente come ristampe fascicolo per fascicolo, se non pagina per pagina, risultano riviste con notevole impegno'. Es similar el caso de Antonio Zarotto — muy próximo, por diversos motivos, al que nos ocupa ahora — en su Virgilio de 1472 (ISTC iv00153600, IGI 10185), donde parte igualmente del texto de una edición ajena anterior pero contaminando, también aquí, desde una tercera (Matteo Venier, *Per una storia del testo di Virgilio nella prima età del libro a stampa (1469-1519)* (Udine: Forum, 2001), p. 42). Sobre todo esto v. también la nota 16.

de Venecia.³⁹ Lo corrobora el hecho de que el antígrafo de la *Vita Terrentii* que Oxd contiene en sus folios finales lo es a su vez de Vin² y de otras ediciones también venecianas.⁴⁰

Los impresos de Mentelin (IGI 9405) y de la 'Imprenta del Terencio' (IGI 9406) van desprovistos de cualquier preliminar — siempre con la excepción del epitafio — y, una vez más, el texto está compuesto como si fuera prosa;⁴¹ la edición atribuida a Ulrich Han (IGI 9407) está encabezada por la misma versión rara de la *Praefatio Monacensis* que nos hemos encontrado en el impreso, también supuestamente romano, de Riessinger (ISTC it00063800), y tiene igualmente los versos terencianos dispuestos como prosa. Tal y como puede observarse, se trata de ediciones producidas por talleres independientes entre sí y que van a carecer de continuidad, es decir, no se van a volver a imprimir en la misma imprenta o no al menos hasta bastantes años después.

De todas estas primerísimas ediciones de Terencio, la única que muestra cierto empeño filológico es la de Vindelino de Espira, aunque solo

³⁹ Para la presencia en el Véneto de obras procedentes de la biblioteca de Petrarca, así como la vivacidad del petrarquismo en Venecia en las décadas que siguieron a su muerte, v. más abajo las notas 44 y 60. Quizá no esté de más recordar aquí las observaciones de Pasquali (*Storia della tradizione*, p. 50) sobre la frecuencia con la que tienden a desaparecer los mss. utilizados en la imprenta.

⁴⁰ Sobre todo esto me permito remitir a Iñigo Ruiz Arzalluz, 'La transmisión impresa de la *Vita Terrentii*', *Studi petrarcheschi*, en prensa.

⁴¹ Sin embargo, en las dos últimas comedias (que aquí se suceden en el orden *Phorm.-Hec.*), puede que también en *Ad.*, IGI 9406 depende de un modelo que remonta a la tradición de Petrarca y Pietro da Moglio — me inclino a pensar que se trata de un texto que proviene de *b* y ha sido contaminado por β —. (Quizá este hecho tenga que ver con un cierto cambio de formato que se produce al final de *Haut.*: a partir de aquí, la disposición de los comienzos de escena, etc., es algo diferente). La mera presencia de las periclasas 'Adolescens qui meretricis [...] error fabule nascitur' (*Hec.*) y 'Ex duobus fratribus [...] amanti subvenisset' (*Phorm.*) es un indicio que no cabe despreciar (v. la nota 20). Por lo demás, en las tres últimas comedias — y con particular intensidad en las dos últimas — IGI 9406 comparte errores significativos con *b* y β : en *Haut.*, 596-597, IGI 9406 comparte con *b* (no así con β) la omisión de *est* (en *De fallacia dicis? Est*); en *Ad.*, 648, presenta la adición *quia nescis eas* (como en β pero a diferencia de *b*); en *Ad.*, 935, IGI 9406 tenía impresa la lección errónea *Eschine* por *asine* (igual que *b* y que algunos testimonios de β aún no corregidos), pero en el ejemplar visto por mí alguien ha intervenido raspando el papel; en *Hec.*, 318, señala erróneamente (como *b* y β) comienzo de escena; en *Hec.*, 450, omite *pergunt*, como *b* y parte de β ; en *Hec.*, 791-792, lee *ubi cognoverint nullam* | *nam illas*, como *b* y β ; en *Phorm.*, 687-690, presenta la lección *huic mandes, qui te ad scopulum e tranquillo auferat. Quid minus utile fuit quam hoc ulcus tangere* (igual que *b* y β); etc. Recuérdese que el ejemplar de la Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana de IGI 9406 (inc. D'Elci 194) es uno de los Terencios anotados por Poliziano: Lucia Cesarini Martinelli, 'Uno sconosciuto incunabolo di Terenzio postillato dal Poliziano', *Rinascimento*, 25 (1985), 239-246.

fuera porque ha querido reproducir la división de los versos en lugar de imprimir el texto como mera prosa: con razón se preciaba de que 'Nil nisi correctum vendere Spira iubet'.⁴² Es más que probable que el recurso a un ejemplar del entorno de Petrarca tenga que ver con este interés por la colometría que demuestra quien cuidó la edición de Vindelino o, más en general, con la sensibilidad filológica que le distingue de quienes prepararon el texto de las demás ediciones examinadas más arriba: puesto que solo uno o dos años después, en torno al mismo taller de Vindelino, se va a considerar que la mejor introducción posible a una edición de Terencio, en los aledaños de 1470, es la *Vita Terrentii* petrarchesca — y solo esta —, podría deducirse que si el editor de IGI 9408 recurrió a un ms. que sin duda venía señalado por su vinculación con Petrarca era porque todavía tenía conciencia de la calidad de los textos clásicos que provenían de su biblioteca o, más en particular, porque tenía noticia de que Petrarca había realizado una importante labor filológica sobre el texto de Terencio.⁴³ Es una suposición que roza la obviedad, porque todo esto se lo decía expressis verbis la propia *Vita Terrentii* que tan bien debió de conocer — si es que no le llegó el eco de una *subscriptio* de las que se encuentran al respecto en algunos mss. terencianos de la época —.⁴⁴

⁴² Así reza el final del colofón métrico que puso a su edición del Digesto de 1473 (apud Trovato, *Con ogni diligenza*, p. 20). Sobre la calidad de las obras publicadas por Vindelino se encontrarán datos y observaciones (fuera del libro de Trovato recién citado, pp. 19-20 y 64-65) en buena parte de la bibliografía aducida en la nota 65, a la que cabe añadir la obra clásica de Carlo Castellani, *La stampa in Venezia. Dalla sua origine alla morte di Aldo Manuzio seniore* (Venezia: Ongania, 1889; repr. Trieste: Lint, 1973), Martin Lowry, *Il mondo di Aldo Manuzio. Affari e cultura nella Venezia del Rinascimento* (Roma: Il Veltrò, 1984), p. 45, y sobre todo Neri Pozza, 'L'editoria veneziana da Giovanni da Spira ad Aldo Manuzio. I centri editoriali di terraferma', in *Storia della cultura veneta. Dal Quattrocento al Concilio di Trento* (Vicenza: Pozza, 1976), pp. 215-244.

⁴³ Véase un testimonio — en absoluto sorprendente — sobre cómo el impresor Filippo da Lavagna recurre a la biblioteca de los Sforza en Pavía para tomar prestado un ms. que le sirva de *exemplar* en su taller: Teresa Rogledi Manni, *La tipografia a Milano nel XV secolo*, presentazione di Giuseppe Billanovich, Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana, 90 (Florenzia: Olschki, 1980), p. 35.

⁴⁴ Sobre las vicisitudes de la biblioteca de Petrarca, baste aquí remitir a Billanovich, *Petrarca letterato*, especialmente p. 298; Élisabeth Pellegrin, *La bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza, ducs de Milan, au XV^e siècle* (Paris: CNRS, 1955) y Ead., *La bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza, ducs de Milan. Supplément*, ed. Tammara de Marinis (Florenzia: Olschki, 1969); Paolo Sambin, 'Libri del Petrarca presso suoi discendenti', *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 1 (1958), 359-369; Manlio Pastore Stocchi, 'La biblioteca del Petrarca', in *Storia della cultura veneta. Il Trecento* (Vicenza: Pozza, 1976), pp. 536-565; los dos volúmenes de la revista *Studi petrarcheschi*, n.s., 7 (1990) y 8 (1991); Giuseppe

2. IGI 9409, la *Vita Terrentii* y la influencia de Petrarca

Dentro siempre de esta cronología cogida con alfileres, el Terencio que sigue inmediatamente a los cinco vistos más arriba es el segundo que sale del taller de Vindelino de Espira (IGI 9409 = Vin²) y que supone la primera aparición impresa conocida de la *Vita Terrentii* de Petrarca:

[Terentius, *Comoediae*; precede Petrarca, *Vita Terrentii*]. Emendavit Raphael Zovenzonius. [Venecia, Vindelinus de Spira para] Johannes de Colonia, [no antes del 23 XI] 1471. 4º.

ISTC it00065000, IGI 9409; Lawton 2, Rhodes 4. (Florenia, Laur.).

Cuando, en el maremágnum de la última transmisión manuscrita de Terencio, nos topamos con un códice que lleva como única introducción la *Vita Terrentii* petrarquesca, podemos estar seguros de que nos encontramos ante un ejemplar que proviene, no de la biblioteca de Petrarca, sino del escritorio de alguno de sus admiradores: una disposición así es una declaración de petrarquismo filológico en toda regla. Y, en efecto, para esta nueva edición Vindelino — es decir, Zovenzoni o quienquiera que se ocupara de este aspecto de la edición — ha vuelto a buscar un ms. que descende del Terencio petrarquesco (pero esta vez de *b*, no de un estadio previo), aunque no solo: también ha echado mano de un texto próximo al de Pietro da Moglio — si bien, como se verá más abajo, quizá relacionado igualmente con Petrarca — y de un tercer modelo que parece haberse utilizado solo en las primeras páginas del libro.

La colometría de Vin² muestra, pues, un panorama complejo — como casi todo en la transmisión de Terencio — pero, al mismo tiempo, nítido: al principio de *Andr.* (diría que hasta el v. 174, quizá también, puntualmente, en algún otro lugar), la división de los versos se ha importado de un modelo muy correcto, superior tanto a lo que encontramos en los ejemplares de Petrarca como en los mejores representantes de la edición del maestro Pietro; desde ese punto hasta la mitad de *Eun.*, la colometría es, sin ningún género de duda, la del Terencio de Petrarca tal y como lo reconstruimos para *b*; y a partir de aquí hasta el final, el modelo ha sido un texto muy cercano — aunque creo que ligeramente superior — al de

Billanovich, 'Un altro Svetonio del Petrarca', ahora en Id., *Petrarca e il primo Umanesimo*, Studi sul Petrarca, 25 (Padua: Antenore, 1996), pp. 262-294 (p. 294); y la *scheda* de Outi Merisalo en *Codici latini del Petrarca nelle biblioteche fiorentine. (Mostra 19 maggio – 30 giugno 1991)*. Catalogo a cura di Michele Feo (Florenia: Le Lettere, 1991), pp. 408-410.

Pietro da Moglio. Recuérdese que, en la transmisión de Terencio, estos cambios de antígrafo, lejos de ser excepcionales, constituyen más bien la norma.⁴⁵ En efecto, los versos de la perioca de *Andr.* ('Sororem falso [...] coniugem'), por ejemplo, aparecen en Vin² distribuidos tal y como podemos encontrarlos en cualquier edición moderna, a diferencia de lo que sucede tanto en *b* como en β :⁴⁶

Sororem falso creditam meretriculae ¶#
 genere Andriae, Glycerium, vitiat Pamphilus ¶#
 gravaque facta dat fidem uxorem sibi
 fore hanc; ¶# nam aliam pater ei desponderat,
 gnatam ¶# Chremetis, atque ut amorem comperit, ¶#
 simulat futuras nuptias, ¶# cupiens suos
 quid haberet animi filius cognoscere. ¶#
 Davi suasu non repugnat Pamphilus.
 Sed ex Glycerio ¶# natum ut vidit puerulum
 Chremes, recusat nuptias, ¶# generum abdicat.
 Mox filiam Glycerium insperato ¶# adgnitam
 hanc Pamphilo, aliam dat Charino coniugem. ¶#

En el resto de *Andr.* y en la primera mitad de *Eun.*, en cambio, Vin² reproduce la colometría de *b* también en aquellos pasajes en los que esta se aparta de β . Así, en *Andr.*, 748-755 (v. supra), donde bOxdVin¹ coinciden en una división errónea contra β (y, en parte, θ), Vin² lee siempre con aquellos. Valen también como ejemplo *Andr.*, 236-245 y 398-403:⁴⁷

PA. Hoccinest humanum factu aut inceptu? ¶# Hoccin[est] officium #
 patris?
 MY. Quid illud est? PA. Pro deum [fidem atque hominum] ¶# quid est, si
 haec non contumeliast? #

⁴⁵ Para la práctica sistemática — y, digamos, banal — de la contaminación en la preparación de los textos que iban a la imprenta me remito simplemente a lo que señalo en las notas 16 y 38; últimamente se ha puesto en circulación el término *conflation*: David C. Greetham, *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction* (Nueva York – Londres: Garland, 1994), e Id., *Theories of the Text* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); recuérdese también el concepto de *edizioni compilatorie* utilizado por Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione*, p. 78.

⁴⁶ Como en los ejemplos aducidos anteriormente, los versos están dispuestos correctamente, es decir, tal y como los encontramos en cualquier edición moderna. El signo ¶ representa el final de un verso y el principio del siguiente en *b*, mientras el signo # representa lo mismo en β ; tal y como se ha señalado, Vin² divide correctamente, es decir, igual que el texto reproducido arriba.

⁴⁷ Respecto a *Andr.*, 236-245, nótese que tanto *b* como β como Vin² (como toda la familia θ de la que provienen) contienen un error — señalado entre corchetes — que, sin embargo, no afecta a lo que aquí nos interesa. Sobre este error v. Lucio Ceccarelli, *Primi sondaggi sulla tradizione manoscritta di Terenzio* (Roma: Bagatto, 1992), p. 18 n. 27, y Ruiz Arzalluz, 'Petrarca, el texto de Terencio', p. 775.

Uxorem ¶ decrerat dare sese mi hodie: nonne oportuit ¶#
 praescisse me ante? Nonne prius communicatum oportuit? ¶#
 MY. Miseram me, quod verbum audio! #
 PA. Quid? Chremes, ¶ qui denegarat se commissurum mihi #
 gnatam suam ¶ uxorem, id mutavit quia me inmutatum videt? ¶#
 Itane obstinate operam dat ut me a Glycerio ¶# miserum abstrahat?
 [Pro deum atque hominum fidem] ¶#
 Quod si fit pereor funditus. #
 Adeo hominem ¶ esse invenustum aut infelicem quemquam ut ego sum! ¶#
 [...]

aliam otiosus quaeret: interea aliquid acciderit boni. ¶#
 PA. Itan credis? DA. Haud dubium id quidemst. # PA. Vide quo me indu-
 cas. ¶ DA. Quin taces? #
 PA. Dicam. Puerum autem ne resciscat mi ¶ esse ex illa cautio; #
 nam pollicitus sum suscepturum. ¶ DA. O facinus audax! # PA. Hanc fidem
 sibi me obsecravit, ¶# qui se sciret non deserturum, ut darem. ¶#
 DA. Curabitur. Sed pater adest. Cave te esse tristem sentiat. ¶#

Y en casos como *Eun.*, 382-384 y 391-396 (v. supra), podemos observar que Vin² lee juntamente con *b* y en contra de OxdVin¹.

En fin, a partir aproximadamente de la mitad de *Eun.*, Vin² se atiende a un texto muy cercano a β; sin rebuscar demasiado, encuentro significativos *Haut.*, 342-350 y 365-377, porque aquí β se aparta también de la división del grupo θ:⁴⁸

[...] ut dormias. ¶#§
 CLIT. Quid ago nunc? CLIN. Tune? Quod boni... # CLIT. Syre! Dic modo
 verum. § SY. Age modo: ¶# hodie sero ac nequiquam voles. #
 CLIN. Datur, fruare dum licet; ¶§ nam nescias...
 CLIN. Eius sit potestas # posthac an numquam tibi. ¶§
 CLIT. Syre inquam! # SY. Perge porro, tamen istuc ago. ¶#
 CLIT. Verum § hercle istuc est. Syre, Syre inquam, heus heus Syre! ¶#
 SY. Concaluit. § Quid vis? CLIT. Redi, redi! SY. Adsum: dic quid est? ¶#
 Iam hoc quoque negabis tibi placere. # CLIT. Immo, Syre ¶

Igualmente ilustrativo resulta el pasaje de *Haut.*, 361-370, visto más arriba, donde Vin² lee siempre con β, y que continúa así (*Haut.*, 371-377):

ego te autem novi quam esse soleas § inpotens;
 inversa verba, ¶# eversas cervices tuas,
 gemitus screatus tussis #§ risus ¶ abstine.
 CLIT. Laudabis. SY. Vide sis. # CLIT. Tutemet mirabere. ¶§

⁴⁸ Doy los versos en la sucesión 347-346, que es lo que se encuentra en toda la *recensio Calliopiana* y, por tanto, en los mss. e impresos que aquí nos ocupan. El signo § representa la división de los versos en θ.

SY. Sed quam cito sunt consecutae mulieres! #

CLIT. Ubi sunt? Quor retines? ¶§ SY. Iam nunc haec non est tua. #

CLIT. Scio, apud patrem; at nunc interim. ¶¶§ SY. Nihilo magis.

Los últimos ejemplos sirven también para mostrar — aunque resulte superfluo ya — que Vin² no puede proceder de Oxd ni de Vin¹, algo que corrobora, de entre los pasajes examinados anteriormente, el caso de *Haut.*, 24-30, donde también lee siempre con β.

La sucesión de los satélites es la misma que aparece en la edición del maestro Pietro, incluidas las periocas raras ‘Adolescens qui meretricis [...] error fabule nascitur’ (*Hec.*) y ‘Ex duobus fratribus [...] amanti subvenisset’ (*Phorm.*).⁴⁹ Y por lo que respecta al texto, en fin, contiene numerosas lecciones que nos obligan a postular su mayor proximidad a β que a b.⁵⁰

Pero también en Vin² se da una circunstancia verdaderamente extraordinaria y que nos vuelve a remitir a las inmediaciones del escritorio de Petrarca: en este segundo Terencio de Vindelino se encuentra impresa por primera vez una misteriosa didascalia que tendrá considerable fortuna en sucesivas ediciones de Terencio y que en la transmisión manuscrita aparece de algún modo vinculada a Petrarca. En efecto, en el ms. de Parma citado más arriba (Pm), que a pesar de su fecha tardía (1470, casi coetáneo, por tanto, de Vin²) es sin duda una copia muy fiel del Terencio petrarquesco de 1358, se ha recogido una serie — realmente exigua — de glosas de diversa índole copiadas todas ellas por una misma mano y, muy probablemente, en un mismo momento; buena parte de estas — en una proporción que no deja de ser llamativa — está integrada por variantes destinadas a subsanar las numerosas omisiones que contiene el texto de las didascalias tal y como figura en Pm, y una de ellas es precisamente

⁴⁹ La didascalia de *Phorm.* (‘Acta ludis romanis L. Postumio Albino [...] C. Fannio M. Valerio consulibus’) figura al final de *Hec.* — que es la última comedia del impreso —, y la que se encuentra encabezando *Phorm.* es la de *Hec.* (‘Acta ludis romanis Sexto Cesare [...] Q. Fulvio L. Marco edilibus curulibus’). Sobre las periocas raras de *Hec.* y *Phorm.*, v. la nota 20.

⁵⁰ Así por ejemplo Vin² lee junto con todo β *nam minus minusque obtemperat mihi*, frente a la lección correcta de b *nam mihi iam minus minusque obtemperat* (*Haut.*, 594) y, ahí mismo, tiene la adición errónea de *quid* en *Egistin, Syre, quid* (*Haut.*, 595); presenta la variante *hunc diem mi Syre misere cupio* (*Ad.*, 521-522), que es una corrección — atestiguada en β y a su vez errónea — de la corrupción *hunc diem mi Syre cupio* propia de b; muestra la adición *quia nescis eas*, propia de β (y de parte de θ) pero ausente de b (*Ad.*, 648); tiene la adición errónea *Ita faciet*, frente a *Ita de b* (*Ad.*, 655); naturalmente, presenta la adición de *curialis vernula est qui me vocat*, tan típica de β (*Phorm.*, 850-851); etc., etc. Todos estos casos sitúan también a Vin² contra Oxd y Vin¹.

la que propone la adición de esa didascalia casi única transmitida por Vin² y referida — según todas las apariencias — a *Hec*. (Pm, f. 176v, mg. inf.):⁵¹

Acta ludis romanis .L. Posthumio Albino .L. Posthumio Merulla edilibus cur. .II. interpellatione. Modos fecit Otho Lucretius tibiis sarranis. .C. Fanio .M. Valerio consulibus.⁵²

Algunas de estas glosas recogidas en Pm se han atribuido al propio Petrarca:⁵³ así, parece obligado concluir que la serie en su conjunto — incluida, por tanto, la didascalia en cuestión — procede de un ejemplar de Terencio que se encontraba en el escritorio de Petrarca y que, verosíblemente, solo utilizó de manera puntual. Que debe tratarse de un Terencio distinto de los conocidos hasta ahora lo deducimos del hecho de que tales glosas no se encuentran — no al menos conformando la serie atestiguada en Pm — ni en los demás mss. que descienden de *b* ni en Pr.

Si no me equivoco, el único que le ha prestado alguna atención a esta didascalia ha sido Sabbadini al tratar precisamente sobre Pm: ‘non so donde sia stata derivata’.⁵⁴ Tampoco aparece en los mss. del grupo *θ* ni

⁵¹ Tras el final del *Phorm*. (‘Iam hic faxo aderit. Ω. Vos valet et plaudite. Calliopius recensui’), en una nueva línea, se lee ‘Terencii afri Phormio explicit. * Argumentum Hechire incipit’, a lo que sigue, en efecto, el primer argumento de *Hec*. (‘Adulescens qui meretricis [...]’). El signo de llamada que he reproducido entre *explicit* y *Argumentum* remite al margen inferior, donde se ha copiado la nueva didascalia.

⁵² Lo que doy aquí, por tanto, es el texto de Pm. Se encontrará una reconstrucción de la didascalia a partir de todos los testimonios conocidos, así como un intento de explicar su origen, en Iñigo Ruiz Arzalluz, ‘Una didascalia olvidada a la *Hecyra* de Terencio’, *Revue d’histoire des textes*, 9 (2014), en prensa.

⁵³ Esto es lo que sostuvo Aldo Rossi en un artículo en el que se mezclan planteamientos discutibles con aportaciones muy valiosas: ‘Un inedito del Petrarca: il Terenzio’, *Paragone*, 15 (1964), 3-23, que conviene ver junto con Id., *Da Dante a Leonardo: Un percorso di originali* (Florenia: SISMEL, 1999), pp. 259-260 (y con la crítica de Villa, ‘Petrarca e Terenzio’ ya citado, pp. 4-9). Pero ya Sabbadini, ‘Biografi e commentatori’, p. 317, había manifestado su impresión de que — al menos algunas de ellas — ‘manifestano origine petrarchesca’. Se diría que tiende a la misma opinión Michele Feo al incluir Pm — junto con otros códices — entre los mss. que contienen copia de glosas petrarchescas seguras: Michele Feo, ‘Francesco Petrarca’, en *Storia della letteratura italiana. X. La tradizione dei testi*, dir. Enrico Malato (Roma: Salerno, 2001), pp. 271-329 (p. 325 y n. 116), ahora también en *Petrarca nel tempo. Tradizione lettori e immagini delle opere. Catalogo della mostra Arezzo, Sottocchia di San Francesco, 22 novembre 2003-27 gennaio 2004*, a cura di Michele Feo (Pontedera: Bandecchi & Vivaldi, 2003), pp. 461-495 (p. 494).

⁵⁴ Sabbadini, ‘Biografi e commentatori’, p. 316 n. 3. A partir sin duda de IGI 9409, la didascalia se reproducirá después en varias ediciones de Terencio de esta primera época.

— y esto es quizá lo más significativo — en ninguno de los descendientes de β . Aparte de Pm y de Vin² — y, naturalmente, de los impresos posteriores a los que se ha aludido más arriba —, solo la encuentro en el ms. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 22 Gud. Lat. (s. XV ex.), a partir de ahora Wog.⁵⁵ Este códice nos remite también a un ambiente próximo a Petrarca y Pietro: las tres primeras comedias y el principio de *Ad.* se sitúan en el grupo θ , aunque en una posición algo distinta de la que ocupan los Terencios petrarquescos; pero lo que aquí resulta más interesante es que el resto del ms. contiene el mismo texto que se encuentra en Vin², que ciertamente — como ya se ha señalado — está muy próximo al del maestro Pietro pero, a juzgar por diversos indicios, refleja un estadio previo al que atestiguan los mejores testimonios de β , lo que a su vez nos acerca a los Terencios de Petrarca en la medida en que estos y los de Pietro tienen un origen común.⁵⁶ Todo apunta, por tanto, a que en las inmediaciones del escritorio de Petrarca había un códice que contenía el texto que Wog y Vin² tienen en su segunda parte y, juntamente con él, la didascalia rara de *Hec.*; alguien, quizá el propio Petrarca pero no necesariamente, debió de utilizar este ms. para, entre otras cosas, corregir las manifiestas omisiones que había

⁵⁵ Da noticia del ms. y cita la didascalia Sesto Prete, 'I manoscritti di Terenzio nella biblioteca di Wolfenbüttel', en Sesto Prete - Renato Badali, *I codici di Terenzio e quelli di Lucano nella Herzog-August Bibliothek di Wolfenbüttel* (Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, 1982), pp. 9-36 (pp. 23-25), donde también se encontrará una somera descripción. El códice estaba en Bursfelde, quizá proveniente de Corvey: Paul Lehmann, 'Corveyer Studien', en Id., *Erforschung des Mittelalters. Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze*, 5 vols (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1941-1962), V, 94-178 (p. 151); otra descripción en Anja Freckmann, *Die Bibliothek des Klosters Bursfelde im Spätmittelalter* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), pp. 171-172.

⁵⁶ Para la primera parte del ms. (*Andr.*, *Eun.*, *Haut.* y principio de *Ad.*), el indicio más claro de su vinculación con θ — y, al mismo tiempo, de su independencia con respecto a b β — es la colometría errónea que Wog y θ comparten en *Andr.*, 182-200, *Eun.*, 375-390, 695-715, *Haut.*, 348-365, *Ad.*, 95-112, etc. Como prueba de su relación con b β — y contra lo que queda de θ — en el resto del texto, se puede aducir la mera presencia de algunos textos satélite entre los que hay que destacar 'Adolescens qui meretricis [...] error fabule nascitur' (*Hec.*) y 'Ex duobus fratribus [...] amanti subvenisset' (*Phorm.*) citados anteriormente; por supuesto, es mucho más significativa la colometría errónea que comparten Wog y b β en *Ad.*, 323-327, 518-525, *Hec.*, 292-323, 415-450, 516-540, *Phorm.*, 71-72, 140, 198-199, 239, 779, 809, 903, 939, etc. Que Wog — siempre por lo que respecta a *Ad. Hec. Phorm.* — no proviene de *b* es evidente; más difícil de probar es que no desciende de β , aunque se diría que apuntan en ese sentido diversos indicios, entre ellos la división correcta de Wog contra la errónea de β (y de *b*) en *Ad.*, 530-531, 577-578, *Phorm.*, 196, 898, 943, etc. En todos los pasajes aducidos para la segunda parte del ms. — es decir, las tres últimas comedias a excepción del principio de *Ad.* —, Vin² coincide con Wog.

en las didascalias de un ejemplar sin duda muy similar a *b*, y ahora sí el propio Petrarca — si realmente es cierto que esas glosas ‘manifestano origine petrarchesca’ — escribió de su puño y letra unas pocas glosas como las que dejó en tantos otros códices de su biblioteca; muchos años más tarde, un admirador de la filología de Petrarca trasladó todas estas anotaciones — las variantes, incluida la didascalia rara, y esas otras apostillas típicamente petrarquescas — a los márgenes de Pm, que era también a su vez el resultado de una operación destinada a conservar el legado filológico de Petrarca.

El colofón de IGI 9409 cita a Raffaele Zovenzoni como corrector de la edición: ‘Raphael Iouëzonius Ister p[oeta] emêdaui’.⁵⁷ Es un dato que, a decir verdad, nos dice muy poco sobre el papel que realmente pudo haber tenido este humanista istriano en la factura de la edición: seguimos sin saber si se limitó a corregir el texto, si fue él quien tuvo la iniciativa en la elección del *exemplar*, si esta fue o no producto del azar; y, en cualquier caso, la información de la que disponemos sobre su vida y su obra es demasiado pobre como para que nos lleve a algo más. Quizá no sea del todo inútil el dato de que fue en el taller de Vindelino donde se había imprimido, un año antes, la primera edición del Petrarca vulgar: *Canzoniere, Trionfi*, cur. Cristoforo [¿Berardi?], [Venecia], Vindelino [de Spira], 1470, 4º (ISTC ip00371000, IGI 7517).⁵⁸

⁵⁷ El colofón viene precedido por el siguiente dístico: ‘Callippi calamo fuit exemplare repertum | unde est impressum quod legis hospes opus’. Su interés radica, obviamente, en la identificación de ‘Callippus’, que muy bien podría ser — se ha señalado ya alguna vez — una corrupción de ‘Calliopus’, quizá — añadido yo — *metri causa*. Para una visión de conjunto sobre la personalidad y la obra de Zovenzoni hay que partir todavía de Baccio Ziliotto, *Raffaele Zovenzoni: La vita, i carmi* (Trieste: Comune di Trieste, 1950) (junto con la reseña de Carlo Dionisotti en *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 130 (1953), 274-278), Id., ‘Chiose zovenzoniane’, *Archeografo triestino*, s. IV, 18-19 (1952-1953), 217-227, Paolo Tremoli, ‘Itinerario umano di Raffaele Zovenzoni’, *ib.*, s. IV, 39 (1979), 115-202, e Id., ‘Raffaele Zovenzoni: un umanista sulle due sponde dell’Adriatico’, en *L’umanesimo in Istria*, eds. Vittore Branca – Sante Gracioti (Firenze: Olschki, 1983), pp. 143-165 (y la nota de Giuseppe Billanovich, ‘Maestri di retorica e fortuna di Livio’, *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 25 (1982), 325-344 (p. 326 n. 1)); cf. también, aunque se centre en cuestiones textuales, Alessandro Perosa, ‘Note al testo dello Zovenzoni’, *Rinascimento*, 4 (1953), 227-303, ahora en sus *Studi di filologia umanistica*, 3 vols. (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2000), III, 51-81). Un dato de cierto interés es que, muy poco después de haber tomado parte en la edición que nos ocupa, trabajó — también para Vindelino — en lo que quizá sea la *princeps* del comentario de Donato a Terencio: [Venecia], Vindelino de Spira, [c. 1472], fol. [ISTC id00353000, IGI 3563].

⁵⁸ Hay una bibliografía considerable sobre los aspectos principalmente materiales de esta edición: remitiré solo a Ennio Sandal, ‘La prima edizione delle opere volgari del Petrarca’, en *Illustrazione libraria, filologia e esegesi petrarchesca tra Quattrocento e*

No parece injustificado atribuir al entorno de Vindelino una especial devoción por Petrarca: más por la elección de los modelos para las dos ediciones de Terencio que por la impresión de la obra vulgar, que estaba supeditada a intereses inmediatos — aunque a su vez representativos de la fama de la que volvía a gozar Petrarca —.⁵⁹ Los códices que habían pasado por sus manos dejaron tras de sí un reguero de copias que muchas veces portaban la aureola — más o menos exagerada, pero rara vez totalmente falsa — de haber pertenecido al gran humanista. Esta fama a veces llegaba a recogerse explícitamente en una *subscriptio*, pero con frecuencia vivía solo en la tradición oral de bibliotecarios y bibliófilos; y las copias, como es natural, eran más numerosas — quizá también más fieles — en aquellos lugares en los que Petrarca residió durante más tiempo o gozó de mayor predicamento.⁶⁰

Cinquecento: Antonio Grifo e l'incunabolo queriniano G V 15, eds. Giuseppe Frasso – Giordana M. Canova – Ennio Sandal, Studi sul Petrarca, 20 (Padua: Antenore, 1990), pp. 1-18, y, para los últimos años, a la *scheda* de Maria G. Bianchi en *Il fondo petrarchesco della Biblioteca Trivulziana: Manoscritti ed edizioni a stampa (sec. XIV-XX)*, ed. Giancarlo Petrella, Bibliotheca erudita, 29 (Milán: Vita e Pensiero, 2006), pp. 51-52; hay también un facsímil del ejemplar de la Biblioteca Queriniana, al cuidado de Ennio Sandal y Pietro Gibellini (Brescia: Grafo, 1995). Para el texto de esta edición — y otros aspectos más generales — hay que remitir todavía a Wilkins, 'The Quattrocento Editions' ya citado; véanse también, sobre todo, Guglielmo Bottari, 'In margine ad antiche edizioni del Petrarca', in *Francesco Petrarca: Da Padova all'Europa. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Padova, 17-18 giugno 2004*, eds. Gino Belloni et al., Studi sul Petrarca, 35 (Roma – Padua: Antenore, 2007), pp. 145-184 (pp. 148-152), y Giuseppe Savoca, *Il Canzoniere di Petrarca tra codicologia ed ecdotica* (Firencia: Olschki, 2008), pp. 116-119.

⁵⁹ Esta afirmación de Pozza ('L'editoria veneziana', p. 221 n. 26) se podría aplicar a fortiori a la calidad — o, digamos, a la nobleza — de los modelos que sirvieron para sus impresos: 'Ci si domanda — e non sembri curiosità estrinseca — come un tipografo tedesco, che stanziava a Venezia da un paio d'anni, poteva disporre della competenza necessaria a discutere e decidere della necessità dei libri da stampare'.

⁶⁰ Sobre la biblioteca de Petrarca, v. la nota 44. Para el petrarquismo vulgar que imperaba en Venecia en la segunda mitad del s. XV, véase principalmente (además del estudio clásico de Carlo Dionisotti, 'Fortuna del Petrarca nel Quattrocento', *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 17 (1974), 61-113), buena parte del volumen *Petrarca, Venezia e il Veneto*, ed. Giorgio Padoan (Firencia: Olschki, 1976), la guía de la exposición *Petrarca. Mostra di documenti e codici veneziani con scelta di edizioni venete dal XV al XIX secolo*, ed. Gino Belloni, *Ateneo veneto*, n.s., 21 (1983), 1-132 (Venecia: Comune di Venezia et al., 1983), Vittore Branca, *La sapienza civile: Studi sull'Umanesimo a Venezia* (Firencia: Olschki, 1998), Armando Balduino, 'Origini padovane e venete del petrarchismo', in *Francesco Petrarca: Da Padova all'Europa*, ya citado, pp. 129-144, y últimamente *Momenti del petrarchismo veneto: Cultura volgare e cultura classica tra Feltre e Belluno nei secoli XV-XVI. Atti del convegno di studi Belluno-Feltre, 15-16 ottobre 2004*, ed. Paolo Pellegrini, Studi sul Petrarca, 37 (Roma – Padua: Antenore, 2008). Sobre la presencia en el Véneto de parte de la biblioteca de Petrarca v. la bibliografía citada en la nota 44.

Hemos visto que las dos primeras ediciones de Vindelino supusieron un progreso notable con respecto a los Terencios anteriores: es normal que el texto de IGI 9409, que viene a ser una versión más conciliadora y menos radical que IGI 9408, se reprodujera con frecuencia en los años siguientes. Es algo que caracteriza a buena parte de los Terencios que se imprimen acompañados de la *Vita Terrentii* petrarquesca: así, es el caso de IGI 9411, 9418 y 9419 (solo en parte, como señalo a continuación, IGI 9412), el de IGI 9415 y 9435⁶¹ o, de otro lado, IGI 9424 y, con indicios de contaminación, IGI 9434;⁶² y, en fin, muy probablemente pueda decirse lo mismo sobre la mayoría de las ediciones — quizá sobre todas ellas — que, en el stemma de la *Vita Terrentii*, vienen agrupadas en la familia τ .⁶³

La edición de Antonio Moreto ([Venecia, 'Imprenta de las *Epistolae* de Bruno Aretino', c. 1472], IGI 9412) es un caso realmente singular tanto por lo que respecta a la *Vita Terrentii* como por lo que hace al texto de Terencio. Para las seis comedias depende, en líneas generales, de IGI 9409, aunque ha sufrido una contaminación sistemática: la sucesión de los satélites es la misma y, en particular, reproduce la didascalia rara de *Pm* y el error en la ubicación de las de *Hec.* y *Phorm.*⁶⁴ Quizá su característica más llamativa sea la colometría: aunque se le adivina — con la ayuda de los datos externos ya señalados — un origen muy similar al de IGI 9409 — o, más probablemente, esta misma edición —, casi siempre

⁶¹ Con razón los agrupa Lawton (*Contribution*, p. 271) en una misma serie. Nótese, por lo demás, que todos ellos comparten el error señalado en la nota 49 relativo a la posición de la didascalia de *Phorm.*: todos tienen el orden *Phorm.-Hec.* y, al final del libro y, por tanto, de *Hec.*, reproducen la didascalia 'Acta ludis romanis L. Postumio Albino [...] C. Fannio M. Valerio consulibus', que en realidad es de *Phorm.*; constituye una excepción aparente el caso de IGI 9435: aquí el orden es *Hec.-Phorm.*, pero al final de la obra y, por tanto, de *Phorm.*, figura la didascalia 'Acta ludis romanis Sexto Cesare [...] Q. Fulvio L. Marco edilibus curulibus', que es de *Hec.* La indicación de Lawton, naturalmente, no quiere decir que todas las ediciones en cuestión presenten un texto idéntico.

⁶² Se diría que IGI 9434 ha sido contaminado por un texto muy similar al de IGI 9423, pero no cabe duda de que en última instancia desciende de IGI 9409.

⁶³ La familia τ está integrada por los siguientes impresos: IGI 9415, 9424, 9426, 9429, 9430, 9432, 9434, 9435, 9437, 9444, 9466, 9470 y ISTC it00081230 (y por dos mss.). En relación al texto de la *Vita Terrentii* tengo que remitir una vez más a Ruiz Arzalluz, 'La transmisión impresa'.

⁶⁴ En rigor, lo que encontramos en IGI 9412 — que tiene el orden *Phorm.-Hec.* — es que *Phorm.* va precedido de la didascalia 'Acta ludis romanis Sexto Cesare [...] Q. Fulvio L. Marco aedilibus curulibus' (recoge escrupulosamente el diptongo) y *Hec.* está encabezada por la didascalia antes aludida, es decir, 'Acta ludis romanis [...] Modos fecit Otho Lucretius [Otho Lucrecius aquí] [...] C. Fannio M. Valerio consulibus'. Sobre este error v. más arriba la nota 49.

distribuye los versos de manera totalmente caprichosa o, al menos, ajena a lo que se encuentra en la tradición manuscrita y que, si realmente merece la fama de editor erudito y cuidadoso de la que disfrutó en su tiempo, quizá valdría la pena de examinar con detenimiento.⁶⁵

Pero la influencia de los Terencios de Petrarca — y de Pietro da Moglio — no solo se dejó notar en las ediciones que reproducían la *Vita Terrentii*: lo hemos podido ver ya en IGI 9406 y, sobre todo, 9408. Es también el caso de la primera edición de Angelo Sabino ([Roma, Georgius Lauer, 1472-1474],⁶⁶ IGI 9410) que, *tamen tanto nomine*, resulta decepcionante:⁶⁷ va precedida de la misma versión rara de la *Praefatio Monacensis* que encontramos en la edición — supuestamente romana también — de Riessinger de c. 1469 (ISTC it00063800)⁶⁸ y el texto de las comedias está dispuesto como prosa, igual que en aquellos primeros impresos examinados más arriba y que son anteriores o, en cualquier caso, ajenos a las innovaciones introducidas por Vindelino. Sin embargo, recoge el satélite de *Phorm.* puesto en circulación a partir de los Terencios de Petrarca y Pietro da Moglio y, por otro lado, el texto presenta algunas

⁶⁵ Sobre Moreto, baste aquí remitir a John Monfasani, 'The First Call for Press Censorship: Niccolò Perotti, Giovanni Andrea Bussi, Antonio Moreto, and the Editing of Pliny's Natural History', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 41 (1988), 1-31; Angela Nuovo – Ennio Sandal, *Il libro nell'Italia del Rinascimento* (Brescia: Grafo, 1998), pp. 51 y 172-173; Paolo Pellegrini, 'Cheir cheira niptei: Per gli incunaboli di Giovanni Calurnio, umanista editore', *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 42 (2001), 181-283 (p. 191 n. 27), e Id., 'Marcantonio Sabellico, Bonifacio Bembo, Ermolao Barbaro: Un'attribuzione per le *Annotationes in Plinium* (Goff S-6)', *La bibliofilia*, 103 (2001), 107-136 (p. 129). A estas deben añadirse las recientes contribuciones de Patricia Osmond recogidas en 'Antonio Moreto or Moretto', in *Repertorium Pomponianum* <<http://www.repertoriumpomponianum.it/pomponiani/moreto.htm>> [7-mayo-2012].

⁶⁶ '1471-1472' para el *Indice delle edizioni romane* citado, núm. 87.

⁶⁷ De la bibliografía sobre Angelo Sabino — quizá no tan abundante como cabría esperar — se encontrará lo esencial en Concetta Bianca, 'Sabino, Angelo', in *Enciclopedia oraziana*, ed. Scevola Mariotti, 3 vols (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1996-1998), III (1998), 460; puede añadirse Maurizio Campanelli, *Polemiche e filologia ai primordi della stampa: Le 'Observationes' di Domizio Calderini* (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2001).

⁶⁸ Se diría que el modelo del que ha partido IGI 9410 es precisamente la edición citada de Riessinger (ISTC it00063800): en esta, la *Praefatio Monacensis* lleva a modo de título y en capitales la primera frase ('Terentius afer genere civis vero cartaginensis fuit'), y a continuación sigue 'Revertente autem Scipione [...]', con la inicial miniada y una altura de seis líneas. En IGI 9410 falta por completo la frase que en ISTC it00063800 se ha destacado como título, de modo que el *accessus* empieza 'Revertente autem Scipione [...]' (y acaba, como en la edición de Riessinger, '[...] dederunt Carino sodali eius'). Véase para todo esto, más arriba, la nota 9.

lecciones que considero típicas de la edición de Pietro.⁶⁹ Más interesante es IGI 9423 ([Venecia], 1475) o, más en concreto — se trata de una edición problemática —, el incunable 1523 de la Biblioteca Ambrosiana, en el que Pietro Bembo copió las notas que Poliziano había escrito en su ejemplar al cotejarlo con el Bembino.⁷⁰ De un lado, presenta la misma colometría que IGI 9408 — que a su vez, según hemos visto más arriba, está muy próxima a la que encontramos en Oxd — y el texto apunta exactamente en esta misma dirección;⁷¹ por otro lado, contiene la períoca de *Phorm.* ‘Ex duobus fratribus [...] amanti subvenisset’ (no así, en cambio, ‘Adolescens qui meretricis [...] error fabule nascitur’ de *Hec.*) y

⁶⁹ En efecto, IGI 9410 contiene la períoca rara de *Phorm.* (‘Ex duobus fratribus [...]’), que solo llega hasta ‘[...] sustulit ex ea filiam’ (exactamente igual, por cierto, que en IGI 9407; sobre estos argumentos v., más arriba, la nota 20). De las lecciones típicas de β me limitaré a señalar la presencia de las palabras *curialis vernula est qui me vocat* (*Phorm.*, 850-851).

⁷⁰ Sobre los problemas que plantea la edición véanse Rhodes, ‘La publication’, p. 286, y Joseph A. Dane, ‘A Ghostly Twin Terence (Venice, 21 July 1475; IGI 9422, 9423)’, *The Library*, 21 (1999), 99-107; para la anotación de Bembo, añádanse Riccardo Ribaudi, *La collazione poliziana del codice bembino di Terenzio. (Con le postille inedite del Poliziano e note su Pietro Bembo)* (Roma: Storia e Letteratura, 1981), pp. 79-82, y Francesco Lo Monaco, ‘Apografi di postillati del Poliziano: Vicende e fruizioni’, in *Talking to the Text: Marginalia from Papyri to Print. Proceedings of a Conference held at Erice, 26 September - 3 October 1998, as the 12th Course of International School for the Study of Written Records*, eds. Vincenzo Fera – Giacomo Ferraù – Silvia Rizzo, 2 vols (Mesina: CISU, 2002), II, 615-648.

⁷¹ Por ejemplo, en las lecciones aducidas a la altura de las notas 31 y ss., IGI 9423 (a partir de ahora Imp) lee junto con Vin¹ y Oxd, con las siguientes puntualizaciones: el pasaje de *Andr.*, 190-191, no se encuentra en Imp porque, al menos el ejemplar de la Biblioteca Ambrosiana, tiene una laguna que abarca *Andr.*, 183-306; en *Haut.*, 24-30, Imp presenta el mismo texto y la misma colometría que Vin¹ y Oxd con la salvedad de que ha corregido la omisión de *novarum* (es decir, el verso en cuestión es *facite ~ novarum*); en *Hec.*, 791-792 y *Ad.*, 648-649, Imp coincide con los dos testimonios en cuestión; en *Phorm.*, 850-851, en cambio, ha incorporado ya la adición del grupo de Pietro da Moglio — adición, tal y como se ha señalado ya, muy extendida —. Fuera de estas, las coincidencias entre Imp y Vin¹ son muy numerosas e incuestionables: en *Andr.*, 861, donde $b\beta$ han omitido *quantum potest*, Vin¹ImpOxd lo conservan (al igual que θ) pero con la lección errónea *potes*; en *Eun.*, 826, θ ImpVin¹Oxd coinciden en la lección *aut nos aut quamobrem* (frente a *aut nos quamobrem* de $b\beta$), pero ImpVin¹ coinciden en el error *vos* por *nos*; en *Haut.*, 99, ImpVin¹Oxd leen erróneamente *humaniter* frente a *humanitus* de β y de parte de b ; en *Ad.*, 522, ImpVin¹Oxd traen el error *my Syre* (por *misere*), junto con b (y, con matices, β), pero contra la tradición que parte de IGI 9409; en *Ad.*, 655, ImpVin¹Oxd omiten erróneamente *est* en *MI. Sic est*, lo mismo que b pero en contra de β y, una vez más, de IGI 9409 y su prole; en *Phorm.*, 202, ImpVin¹ coinciden casi en solitario en la lección *nulla vita est mihi expetenda*; en *Phorm.*, 687-690, un pasaje de transmisión realmente enrevesada, ImpVin¹ coinciden también casi en exclusiva en leer *Ut te equidem ~ inferi | malis exemplis ~ huic mandes quod | recte curatum ~ auferant | quid minus ~ tangere*.

comete el mismo error de IGI 9409 con la didascalía de *Phorm.*, todo lo cual parece indicar una contaminación a partir de esta última edición o de cualquiera de sus muchos derivados.⁷²

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⁷² En IGI 9423 - que sigue el orden *Phorm.-Hec.* -, *Hec.* tiene dos didascalías, una al principio y otra al final de la comedia: la del principio es, en efecto, la de *Hec.* ('Acta ludis romanis Sexto Cesare [...] Q. Fulvio L. Marco edilibus curulibus'), y la del final es en realidad la de *Phorm.* ('Acta ludis romanis L. Postumio Albino [...] C. Fannio M. Valerio consulibus'). Así, al principio de *Phorm.* está la misma didascalía que se encuentra al final de *Hec.*, pero con algunas variantes. Véase, una vez más, la nota 49.

Jeroen LAUWERS

EXPOSITORY MORALISM IN LEONARDO BRUNI'S
*CICERO NOVUS*¹

Leonardo Bruni's (c. 1370-1444)² merits for the Quattrocento revival of Greek studies can hardly be exaggerated. As a pupil of Chrysoloras (c. 1355-1415)³, who was in 1397 summoned to teach Greek to Florentine students, Bruni soon began to translate Greek texts into Latin, making these texts available for his Italian contemporaries. For his translations, Bruni differed from many Medieval translators who translated word for word, and instead opted for the practice advocated by his teacher Salutati, consisting of a translation *ad sententiam*, in which the specific demands of the Latin word order and idiom were respected.⁴

Apart from his work as a translator, Bruni's historiographical efforts have not gone unnoticed. His *magnum opus*, *The History of the Florentine People*⁵, can be regarded as (one of) the earliest historiographical work(s) in the modern sense of the word. In any case, he was the one to introduce the historical division between Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Modern time, which has proven to be very influential until our present day.

¹ I wish to express my sincere gratitude to *Humanistica Lovaniensia*'s anonymous referee for his valuable suggestions to improve this paper.

² For a full survey of Bruni's work and career, see J. Hankins, *Humanism and Platonism in the Italian Renaissance. I. Humanism* (Roma, 2003), pp. 9-18 (the last two pages offering a brief bibliography as well).

³ Cf. Hankins, *Humanism*, pp. 244-271.

⁴ For Bruni's role in the history of translation, see Hankins, *Humanism*, pp. 177-192 and P. Botley, *Latin Translations in the Renaissance. The Theory and Practice of Leonardo Bruni, Giannozzo Manetti and Desiderius Erasmus* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 5-62. Note that Bruni himself has made his translatory assumptions explicit in his essay *De interpretatione recta* (c. 1424).

⁵ The most recent edition of this work (with an English translation) is provided in J. Hankins (ed.), *Leonardo Bruni. History of the Florentine People* (Harvard, 2001-2004), 2 vols.

Both these paths of Bruni's literary output come together in his *Cicero Novus* (1413), a work which started as a translation of Plutarch's *Life of Cicero*, but which developed into a more critical account of Plutarch's text.⁶ The scholars who studied this text have emphasized its importance for Bruni's literary career, yet their discussions of the *Cicero Novus* each focus somewhat one-sidedly on one respective interpretation of the work, obscuring other aspects that make this text an important source for Bruni's position *vis-à-vis* Plutarch's original *Life of Cicero*. The aim of this paper is to address each of these previous studies, show some weaknesses in the conducted reasonings, and suggest a more inclusive view which values the merits of each previous interpretation and adds some personal notes of my own.

The general point of this contribution is to regard Bruni's *Cicero Novus* as a double stage of reception, on the one hand of the Plutarchean text, on the other of the figure of Cicero. This view implies that the reception of a text (in this case Plutarch's *Life of Cicero*) is always already imbedded in a set of power structures guiding the mental schemes according to which an individual (in this case Leonardo Bruni) interprets this text.⁷ The text is thus appropriated to the interpreter's interpretative horizon through the mediation of values and beliefs that are both personal and culturally shared with other contemporaries, for instance, through a similar education or intellectual conversations.

An important consequence of this perspective is that the process of reception is recognized to be guided by more than strictly rational, conscious, and intentional drives. As I will show, the problems in the interpretations of the *Cicero Novus* generally revolve around the extent to which they attribute some aspects of Bruni's work to the latter's conscious and intentional ideological interventions. In my opinion, what can

⁶ It is hard to determine to what extent Bruni himself regarded the work as a translation. After all, the criteria to label a text as a translation used to be quite different from our modern standards, and even differ quite significantly from one individual to another. See the recent discussion in P. Burke, 'Cultures of Translation in Early Modern Europe', in Id. – R.P. Hsia (eds.), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 7–38.

⁷ This idea has been made the point of departure of the so-called 'reception studies', which are nowadays quite popular among (especially Anglo-Saxon) classicists. For the dynamics of modern reception studies, see, among many others, the pioneering work by C. Martindale, *Redeeming the Text: Latin Poetry and the Hermeneutics of Reception* (Cambridge, 1993), a good survey in L. Hardwick, *Reception Studies* (Oxford, 2003), and the interesting collection of methodological essays concerning these matters in C. Martindale – R.F. Thomas (eds.), *Classics and the Uses of Reception* (Oxford, 2006).

be observed about the Cicero in the *Cicero Novus* is often less the fruit of Bruni's conscious compositional genius than the results of the clash between the authority of Plutarch and the figure of Cicero as perceived and staged in the culture of early Quattrocento Florence. This may in turn explain aspects of the subsequent reception of Bruni's *Life of Cicero* in the decades to follow, as I will suggest towards the end of this paper.

1. Baron and civic humanism

In his selection of Bruni's text, Hans Baron⁸ published some excerpts of the *Cicero Novus*, omitting the rest because he apparently believed that the remainder of Bruni's *Life* was a careful reworking of Plutarch's *Life* and therefore not as interesting. Thus, Baron seemingly only attributes meaning to 'new' passages in Bruni's work, passing over some more subtle redirections of the Plutarchean text. This method is rather questionable, as it offers a disproportionately coloured reading of Bruni's *Life* in service of Baron's general thesis.⁹ Indeed, 'coincidentally', the passages selected by Baron affirm Bruni's image as an ardent defender of the ideal of 'civic humanism', blending intellectual pursuits with intervention in local politics. Quite significantly, in later publications, Baron often returns to the passages from the *Cicero Novus* already selected in 1928 to support his civic thesis. This interpretative bias may not do justice to the whole of Bruni's *Cicero Novus*.

This is of course not to say that Bruni's civic ideals are entirely absent from his description of Cicero's life. Quite to the contrary, we get the impression that Bruni did have admiration for Cicero's combination of civic life and literary activity, and that he saw such a life for himself and his contemporaries as equally desirable. However, according to Baron's presentation of the *Cicero Novus*, Bruni seems to have composed this work with the clear ideological purpose of establishing civic humanism as the model for his fellow citizens.

It is this suggestion which is a bit overblown. After all, the *Cicero Novus* is still primarily a biography (even if not in the modern sense of

⁸ H. Baron, *Leonardo Bruni Aretino. Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften mit einer Chronologie seiner Werke und Briefe* (Leipzig, 1928), pp. 113-120.

⁹ Cf. G. Ianziti, 'A Life in Politics: Leonardo Bruni's *Cicero*', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 61 (2000), 39-58, p. 41.

the word) rather than a political pamphlet. Moreover, the role of the figure of Cicero in the ideological claims for 'civic humanism' is not fully articulated. Therefore, Baron's interpretation cannot account for the reason why Bruni wrote down Cicero's life in the first place. It appears that the effects of the mediation of personal values and cultural beliefs have here been confused with the ideological purpose of the work, and therefore Baron's thesis cannot possibly satisfy as an integral interpretation of the *Cicero Novus*.

2. Fryde and the historical method

Edmund Fryde¹⁰ threw an entirely different light on Bruni's life of Cicero. His research proposed to depict the *Cicero Novus* as the result of a diligent historical method, in that Bruni consciously developed a strictly rational approach according to which he evaluated all the historical sources concerning Cicero and then corrected Plutarch where necessary. The study thus aimed to praise Bruni's work as a thorough scientific contribution to Cicero's life.

This interpretation largely passes over the idea that Cicero was for Bruni no blank reference, but a figure around whom some mental prejudices and connotations have settled themselves and which thoroughly determine Bruni's response to Plutarch's *Life*. This is strongly confirmed by Bruni's introductory letter to Niccolò Niccoli, in which Bruni narrates that he originally started to compose a translation of Plutarch's *Life of Cicero* because he was dissatisfied with the fairly clumsy translation by Jacopo Angeli da Scarperia. Subsequently, however, Bruni describes that during his rectification of Angeli's translation he was also disappointed by Plutarch's Greek version ('ne ipse quidem Plutarchus desiderium mei animi penitus adimplevit' — 'even Plutarch himself did not entirely fulfil my heart's desire')¹¹ for it did apparently not entirely correspond to Bruni's own assumptions as to who Cicero was and what his major achievements were. This inspired him to adopt a free attitude towards Plutarch's original *Life*, based on his own ideas and the confrontation of several of his sources.¹²

¹⁰ E. Fryde, 'The Beginnings of Italian Humanist Historiography: The "New Cicero" of Leonardo Bruni', *English Historical Review*, 95 (1980), 533-552.

¹¹ For the text from this passage (p. 416) and from Bruni's translation, I use P. Viti (ed.), *Opere letterarie e politiche di Leonardo Bruni* (Torino, 1996).

¹² A more extensive analysis of this dedicatory letter is offered in Botley, *Latin Translations*, pp. 21-23. Unfortunately, Botley pays no explicit attention to the translation itself.

In the light of this letter, it is quite striking that Fryde almost exclusively pays attention to the rational side of Bruni's historical work. The tone of Fryde's article is accordingly quite normative (Bruni *correcting* Plutarch's errors)¹³ and largely neglects Bruni's subjective reception of the figure of Cicero. It is therefore quite welcome to add a more descriptive approach to the analysis, showing that Bruni's interpretation of Cicero is not free from cultural and personal prejudices either (as Fryde himself is eventually forced to admit).¹⁴

Again, this does not mean that there are no valuable elements in Fryde's observations. Indeed, we can clearly see Bruni's historical criticism at work in the *Cicero Novus*, in that he solely acknowledges Plutarch's opinion when it collides with his own, and searches for other sources (both primary and secondary) when they may support his own viewpoints as opposed to Plutarch's (though I think these insertions of sources are less methodical than Fryde wants to believe).¹⁵ Moreover, Bruni definitely values the authority of objective reality. I believe that Fryde rightly observed that Bruni is not so much driven by the urge to write ideological propaganda as by the 'ethical' claim to write a truthful account on the historical Cicero as he really was (i.e., a praiseworthy man), in order to rectify the 'wrong' picture sketched by Plutarch. To this end, it must be said, Bruni is willing to suppress certain information in order to emphasize the overall positive character of Cicero.¹⁶ In other words, Bruni did not necessarily succeed in offering a truthful scientific account on Cicero, but his intentions give every impression of being sincerely directed towards the delivery of a truthful narration concerning *his assessment* of the true Cicero.¹⁷

¹³ Note that Cicero's *Life* by Plutarch is by no means Plutarch's best *Life*. See, e.g., C.B.R. Pelling, 'Plutarch's Method of Work in the Roman Lives', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 99 (1979), 74-96 who calls the biography towards the end 'scrappy and ill-informed' and chronologically places its composition together with the *Life of Lucullus* well before the other Roman *Lives*.

¹⁴ Fryde, 'Beginnings', p. 44, with discussion in Ianziti, 'Life in Politics', p. 44.

¹⁵ As the case of Bruni's *De bello italico* (1441) illustrates, he probably saw his task as a historian in giving his reader information (based on previous sources) which he — after a process of critical evaluation — approved and then presented as his own. Bruni's use of Procopius' *De bello gothico* illustrates that this approach is fairly different from our modern approach to concepts of plagiarism. See G. Ianziti, 'Writing for Procopius: Leonardo Bruni's *De bello italico*', *Rinascimento*, s. 2, 37 (1997), 3-28.

¹⁶ See Ianziti, 'Life in Politics', pp. 43 sqq.

¹⁷ Cf. Bruni's claim in his opening letter (Viti, *Opere*, p. 418: 'Est autem nihil a nobis temere in historia positum, sed ita ut de singulis rationem reddere et certa probatione asserere valeamus').

3. Ianziti and the political biography

Gary Ianziti¹⁸ has given the most inclusive and convincing analysis of the *Cicero Novus* so far, presenting an integral study of Bruni's opening letter, the function of the *Life of Cicero* for Plutarch, and Bruni's response to Plutarch's portrait of Cicero. Ianziti eventually concludes that Bruni's *Cicero Novus* ought to be interpreted neither as a moral portrait (as Plutarch's original), nor as a civic portrait (as Baron claims), nor as a scientific work (as Fryde claims), but as a political portrait in which Cicero's political history is cut loose from his moral behaviour.

Again, I believe that Ianziti's observations concerning the political character of Bruni's life of Cicero are justified, but he confuses the effects of Bruni's actions with the eventual intentions (thus repeating Baron's erroneous reasoning). Indeed, by suggesting, for example, that Bruni's life of Cicero anticipates Machiavelli's political ideas¹⁹, Ianziti implicitly situates the locus of action in Bruni's conscious intentional intellect. However, the fact that Bruni is eventually the one to hold the pen does not necessarily imply that all the discursive values that can be detected in his work are the result of his own conscious decisions. There are also wider cultural values that determine his actions, and a sort of moral obligation originating from the subject about which he writes.

To put matters more concretely: from a psychological perspective, Cicero is for Bruni no blank reference, which can freely be moulded in accordance with whatever political propaganda that he wants to put forward, but a reference which generates Bruni's sympathy and respect (so much may be clear from Bruni's introductory letter), and which determines to a certain extent how Bruni talks about it.²⁰ To give but one example of the consequences of this different view: according to Ianziti, Cicero's tragic death is kept separate from his moral behaviour because Bruni wanted to convey the message that political outcome has to be seen apart from one's personal character. According to me, by contrast, the link between Cicero's death and his character is denied by Bruni because he believed that such a link was unworthy of the life of

¹⁸ Ianziti, 'Life in Politics'.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

²⁰ This aspect is admitted by Ianziti in another contribution (cf. G. Ianziti, 'Bruni on Writing History', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 51 (1998), 369-391, p. 375.

the historical Cicero, and this subsequently forced him to change the Plutarchean narrative into one that makes a clear distinction between moral behaviour and political consequences. Both reasonings may offer an explanation for the same textual data, yet the relation between cause and effect is entirely different.

In conclusion, then, Ianziti sees the Cicero of the *Cicero Novus* not as a discursive agent in Bruni's work, but merely as a passive reference solely submitted to the discursive aims and goals of the creative composer Leonardo Bruni. Therefore, he fails to highlight the importance of Bruni's figure of Cicero in the development of the political ideas which he identifies in the *Cicero Novus* (and which may influence further generations' reflections upon politics), suggesting that it is eventually Bruni's intellect that consciously decides which discursive values he imposes on his discussion of Cicero's life. I believe that this reasoning ought to be turned on its head: the image of Cicero which Bruni wanted to uphold and convey, *forced* him, so to speak, to adapt certain passages of Plutarch's text, which was written from a completely different perspective upon the historical Cicero figure.

4. Marianne Pade's criticisms and a summary of viewpoints from previous scholarship

In her study of the fifteenth-century reception of Plutarch's *Lives* in Italy, Marianne Pade²¹ gives some pertinent criticisms of the aforementioned publications, eventually concluding that Ianziti's rejection of Baron's thesis is probably too absolute (which is in line with my discussion of both Baron's and Ianziti's interpretations). She also remarks that Ianziti's thesis, that Bruni 'liberat[ed] Cicero from the straitjacket of Plutarchean comparison',²² is contradicted by the earliest manuscripts of Bruni's 'translations' of Plutarch's *Lives*, in which the lives of Demosthenes and Cicero are closely kept together. Moreover, Pade argues that the comparison between Demosthenes and Cicero remains implicitly present in Bruni, and that it is still best to read both of Bruni's *Lives* alongside each other as well. Yet, it is my belief that Ianziti's observation that Bruni's

²¹ M. Pade, *The Reception of Plutarch's Lives in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, 2 vols (Copenhagen, 2007), I, 152-161.

²² Ianziti, 'Life in Politics', p. 49.

Cicero is more independently valued in Bruni than in Plutarch is still quite valid, in that some of Cicero's specific merits that have no parallel in Demosthenes' life (such as Cicero's *otium* and literary production) tend to be left out in Plutarch but recovered in Bruni, so that the *Cicero Novus* does undeniably contribute to a more positive and independent appreciation of Cicero's life.

Apart from making some useful remarks on Baron's, Fryde's and Ianziti's contributions, Pade herself does not include a very thorough interpretation of her own. I therefore believe that there are some extra observations to be made on aspects in the *Cicero Novus* that have escaped the attention of, or have been interpreted somewhat imprecisely in, previous scholarship. But before I start to make some additional interpretative remarks, I would like to summarize my own critique on the aforementioned publications more generally.

The problem with Baron's, Fryde's and Ianziti's interpretations is that none of them offers a clear view of what the status is of the justified observations which they present, and if the locus of the meaning of the text *has* been made explicit, it is situated (or suggested to be situated) in Bruni's conscious intellect. Baron sees the eventual meaning of the *Cicero Novus* in Bruni's conscious defense of the ideal of civic humanism through his discussion of Cicero. Fryde portrays Bruni as a conscious composer of a methodical narration that is the fruit of an objective and unprejudiced search for the true Cicero. Ianziti replaces Fryde's hypothesis with Bruni's conscious effort to write a politically inspired life of Cicero, which thus diverts from the moral portrait by Plutarch.

Admittedly, Bruni's Cicero is to a certain extent a civic model, Bruni's undertaking is to a certain extent that of an historian in search for historical truth, and Bruni's *Life of Cicero* is to a certain extent more political than Plutarch's. However, I believe that these three interpretations all focus on effects of Bruni's reception of Plutarch's *Life* and the figure of Cicero rather than on the actual reason(s) why the *Cicero Novus* takes on its present shape. I think that the prime reason for the eventual outlook of the *Cicero Novus* should be situated in the clash between the Cicero already known by Bruni before consulting Plutarch's *Life* (and this not from an entirely epistemological, but also from an ethical point of view) and the Cicero as he was portrayed in Plutarch. This point may sound quite commonsense, but it will prove instructive for a couple of observations which I will further discuss.

5. Expository versus exploratory morality

Both Fryde and Ianziti have each rightfully indicated that Bruni wrote with what they call an 'encomiastic prejudice', which urged him to depict Cicero as a good person and a good politician.²³ As we have seen, I believe that this encomiastic prejudice is not so much provoked by Bruni's programmatic motives as by his urge to portray Cicero as he was. Bruni's encomiastic discourse is thus an honorary tribute to a man whom the narrator considered worthy of this abundant praise. It is in this light that we should read Bruni's humble last sentence of his introductory letter, in which he states: 'Cicero's honour is so important to me, that I ardently hope to be surpassed by the many people who will write about the same topic' ('et mihi tanti est Ciceronis honor, ut vehementer exoptem a multis de hoc ipso scribentibus superari').²⁴ Bruni thus believes his task to be to search for words befitting the greatness of the man he is currently describing.

Bruni's encomiastic prejudice, stemming from an intense sympathy for Cicero's character, is to my mind the key difference between Plutarch's approach and that of Bruni, as it may explain all further aspects that make Bruni's biography different from Plutarch's. Whereas Plutarch presents parallel lives that stimulate the reader's sense of moral evaluation, Bruni here turns Cicero's life description into a laudatory and apologetic document, making Cicero a self-evident model for his audience. A clear example of Bruni's approach to Cicero is the following passage (which conspicuously does not occur in Plutarch):

Per tot ille viros, tam longa itinera, tam varias regiones, tanto exercitio, tanta cura, tantis laboribus eloquentiam persecutus est; et tamen sibi ipsi non satisfacere in ea arte fatetur. At nostre etatis si semel libellos legerint, si iterum ac rursus pulpitem ascenderint, oratoriam facultatem se possidere arbitrantur.²⁵

Through so many men, such long roads, such different regions, so much training, so much care, so many efforts has he (Cicero) pursued eloquence; and still he admits to not being satisfied with himself in this art. But in our time, if people have once read small books or if they have ascended a pulpit once or twice, they believe that they possess the art of oratory.

²³ See Fryde, 'Beginnings', p. 44 and Ianziti, 'Life in Politics', pp. 44-45.

²⁴ Viti, *Opere*, p. 418.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 422-424.

Cicero is here presented as a figure greater than Bruni's contemporaries. Cicero's self-critical conduct is a standard according to which Bruni's ideal reader could try to evaluate his own behaviour, not through critical assessment of Cicero's attitude, but through imitation of Cicero's character.

Ianziti has identified a couple of binary oppositions between Plutarch's and Bruni's compositions (parallel lives versus one single life, moral versus political), but has largely passed over a more obvious difference between both approaches. In an important fairly recent study of Plutarch's *Lives*, Timothy Duff²⁶ has shown that Plutarch's *Lives* are mainly part of his exploratory ethics, in that they presuppose a reader who is willing to reflect critically on the behaviour of the great figures such as described by Plutarch. Bruni has turned this exploratory morality into expository morality, which presupposes a different reader response. Bruni's reader may accept that the Cicero whom Bruni presents him with is a model whose life can be taken as a fruitful norm for his own. Quite significantly, Plutarch's ethical project may be placed in the philosophical tradition, where autonomous ethical judgment is a desirable product of the on-going process of philosophical self-perfection, whereas Bruni's project can be situated in a more rhetorical sphere, where imitation of accepted and venerated models is the prime method to improve one's talent. Thus, Bruni's preference for expository over exploratory ethics is indicative of a more rhetorical approach to Cicero's life.²⁷

It is therefore not the case, as Ianziti suggests, that Bruni has put Plutarch's moral perspective plainly aside. Rather, he has exchanged one

²⁶ T. Duff, *Plutarch's Lives. Exploring Virtue and Vice* (Oxford, 1999). See also the valuable work (with particular attention for Plutarch's *Life of Cicero* and *Life of Demosthenes*) in H. Erbse, 'Die Bedeutung der Synkrisis in den Parallelenbiographien Plutarchs', *Hermes*, 84 (1956), 398-424. More recently, we find the following assessment in P.A. Stadter, 'Plutarch's *Lives* and Their Roman Audience', in E.N. Ostenfeld (ed.), *Greek Romans and Roman Greeks. Studies in Cultural Interaction* (Aarhus, 2002), pp. 123-135, p. 132: '[Plutarch] allows his readers to discover fundamental guidelines in the life histories of great men, and invites them to consider the implications of their stories for their own action in the contemporary world'.

²⁷ Cf. J.E. Seigel, '"Civic Humanism" or Ciceronian Rhetoric? The Culture of Petrarch and Bruni', *Past and Present*, 34 (1966), 3-48, p. 25: '[Bruni] discusses political issues whenever they were relevant to his literary tasks, but politics was never his major concern and political concerns did not shape his thought. His career was that of a practising rhetorician, and his association with Florence was formed in terms of it'. Cicero's influence must also be regarded in this light, not as an exclusively political example, but as 'a model of intellectual activity' (p. 32).

moral perspective for another. The expository perspective has basically forced Bruni to place the reasons for Cicero's demise outside the latter's moral responsibility. Otherwise Bruni's Cicero would lose his exemplary status, a status which, as Bruni must have believed, the historical Cicero definitely deserved.

6. Moral defense

When Ianziti analyzes Bruni's comments on Cicero's self-praise, he comes to the conclusion that Bruni acknowledges that Cicero cannot be a perfect moral being. To this end, he tendentiously interprets a passage which I will reproduce here:

Nimis profecto insolentes fastidiosique sumus: virtutes ab hominibus ad unguem exigimus; eos de illis ipsis loqui non toleramus.²⁸

Certainly we are too arrogant and squeamish: we demand virtues from people to the very last detail, but we do not tolerate that they *speak* about these very virtues.

Ianziti makes the following comments: 'Perhaps it must be accepted that no one — not even Cicero — can be perfect. (...) The problem (...) lies not in our selves but in our standards, which are too rigid and uncompromising. What Bruni says here amounts to a relativization of moral standards in the light of actual human behaviour'.²⁹

This interpretation at best only partly grasps what is going on here. To my mind, it is clear that Bruni is not referring to Cicero, but to 'us', we who are interpreting Cicero's actions. By formulating his remarks in the first person plural, Bruni acknowledges that he is familiar with the human trait that causes people (among whom he most probably reckons Plutarch) to be too intolerant of self-praise. Yet the fact that Bruni rejects this common viewpoint (see below) suggests that he does not consider Cicero as a member of the class of people displaying moral deficits but as a victim of the erratic judgments of others.

It is interesting to read this passage in the light of Aristotelian ethics, a perspective that offers a fairly important background to Plutarch's

²⁸ Viti, *Opere*, p. 480.

²⁹ Ianziti, 'Life in Politics', p. 54. Note that in the beginning of the paragraph about Cicero's self-praise, Bruni does not subscribe to the opinion that Cicero's self-praise was hard to bear, introducing the opinion with 'they say' (*dicunt*).

moral assessments³⁰ and which apparently also appealed to Bruni.³¹ Aristotle sees virtues as the right middle point between two extremes. This implies that virtuous behaviour is not a matter of full commitment to or avoidance of certain feelings and emotions, but a matter of temperance and moderation (the idea of the *aurea mediocritas*). Of course, in passing moral judgments on others, a moralist basically has to decide where the right middle point is (what is acceptable and what is not), and his judgment is of paramount importance for the eventual assessment.³²

Here again, we can witness an opposition between Plutarch's exploratory and Bruni's expository ethics. As Ianziti indicates, Plutarch sees Cicero's excessive self-praise as an important reason for his downfall. It is this perspective against which Bruni reacts by using a different moral standard than his philosophical counterpart. Quite significantly, if Cicero is actually defended by Bruni for his self-praise (which is not explicitly labelled as *too excessive*), the place where the concept of excessiveness does come to the fore is in Bruni's assessment of 'us' (cf. '*Nimis profecto insolentes fastidiosique sumus*' — For sure we are *too* arrogant and squeamish). Thus, Bruni does certainly not acknowledge that Cicero committed a moral flaw in praising himself. Rather, it is 'we' who are too arrogant in passing an unfair moral judgment on Cicero's self-praise.

This interpretation corresponds well with the reader response to Bruni's expository perspective which we identified above. Rather than questioning Cicero's moral standards, the reader is encouraged to evaluate his own behaviour against the model presented in the biography. Therefore, if there is anything in Cicero's character that might seem to Bruni's contemporaries as a moral error, the reader should look for the reason in his own interpretation, not in Cicero's behaviour.

In the light of this interpretation, the last sentence of the paragraph should also be considered differently:

Sed non est propositi nostri causam agere, sed vitam moresque describere.
Ad rem igitur redeamus.³³

But it is not our intention to plead a case, but to describe [Cicero's] life and character. Let us thus return to the matter at hand.

³⁰ Quite significantly, in one of Plutarch's most important treatises concerning practical ethics, i.e. *De virtute morali*, we can find ample references to Aristotelian ethics.

³¹ Bruni's translation of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (1416) was finished only three years after the *Cicero Novus* (1413).

³² Cf. Plut., *De virt. mor.* 444DE.

³³ Viti, *Opere*, p. 480.

In this sentence, Bruni does not indicate that he wants to refrain from moral judgements (as Ianziti interprets it), but rather that he does not consider it necessary to treat Cicero's life as if there is any doubt concerning Cicero's moral virtues. It is as if Bruni, seized by the moment, finds himself defending Cicero against 'ill-tempered' judgments (such as Plutarch's), but then realizes that he is not standing in court (cf. *causam agere*) but sitting at his writing desk, confident that his reader will share the same opinion concerning Cicero's elevated morality.

One further example demonstrating that Bruni's moral assessments can be read in the light of Aristotelian ethics can be found in his treatment of Cicero's humour. First of all, as he does with all the flaws which Plutarch relates to Cicero's tragic ending, Bruni eliminates the link between Cicero's biting humour and his bad political ending, but the discursive re-evaluation does not stop there. Quite significantly, Bruni says that Cicero joked and lived '*paene intemperanter*' ('almost licentiously'), which is again an indication that Cicero is still on the right side of Bruni's moral scale. Further in the discussion, Bruni turns Cicero's humour into a characteristic of a good man, praising it in terms of '*hoc urbanitatis genere*' ('this sort of sophistication') and '*letitiam iucunditatemque*' ('elation and charm').³⁴ Again, we can see that Bruni's treatment of Cicero's life may rather be motivated by a different moral value scale than by a radically different (political) perspective.

7. Plutarch's, Cicero's and Bruni's authority

Bruni's *Cicero Novus* is caught between two different dynamics: that of the authority of the author Plutarch and that of the authority of the subject Cicero. Meanwhile, it may be clear that when both authorities pull in different directions, Bruni is more inclined to follow his reverence for Cicero than the authoritative voice of Plutarch. Plutarch was seen rather as a source for the reconstruction of Cicero's life³⁵, and not even as a particularly good one, since Plutarch's moral assessment significantly differs from Bruni's own judgment (which he believes to be true).

³⁴ All these quotations come from Viti, *Opere*, p. 482.

³⁵ Cf. J. IJsewijn, 'Die humanistische Biographie', in A. Buck (Hrsg.), *Biographie und Autobiographie in der Renaissance. Arbeitsgespräch in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel vom 1. bis 3. November 1982* (Wiesbaden, 1983), pp. 1-19, p. 5, with discussion in Pade, *Reception*, p. 25.

In this respect, there is an interesting anecdote in the *Cicero Novus*, which is plainly narrated by Plutarch but receives a small extra comment in Bruni's narration. The anecdote is that of Cicero's Rhodian teacher of rhetoric Apollonius. When Cicero had delivered a declamation before him, Apollonius remained silent for a while, after which he expressed his praise for Cicero, but at the same time told him that he was saddened by the idea that the last thing in which the Greeks outstandingly excelled, i.e. rhetoric and public speaking, was now through Cicero claimed for Rome as well. For Plutarch, this anecdote seems just a *fait divers* saying more about Cicero's talent than about the relation between Romans and Greeks. Therefore, it deserves no further comment by the original biographer. Bruni, by contrast, writes the following two short sentences after Apollonius' quotation:

Hec Apollonius graviter simul divineque locutus est. Sic enim re vera fuit.³⁶

These things Apollonius said in a serious and divine manner. For so it was in reality.

These two short sentences do not really add anything substantial to the narrative, but they testify to Bruni's explicit approval of what he just recorded. Apollonius' intervention is called serious and divine (perhaps even prophetic), and its truthfulness is explicitly emphasized.

It is not so difficult to find a reason why Bruni considers this anecdote worth emphasizing. Apollonius' comment is, as it were, *gefundenes Fresen* for Bruni, for whom Roman culture was definitely equally (if not more) valuable as (than) its Greek counterpart. Even a Greek is apparently forced to admit that in Cicero the Greeks have found their equal. Implicitly in the background here is of course the comparison between Cicero and Demosthenes, in that the Apollonius anecdote refutes the obvious preference for the Greek Demosthenes over the Roman Cicero. However, the implications can be taken on a higher level as well. The fact that Cicero was on par with the Greeks undermines the moral judgment of the Greek Plutarch on the Roman Cicero. Bruni may thus have found in this anecdote a firm encouragement to discard the authority of Demosthenes and Plutarch as no more cogent than that of his model Cicero.

³⁶ Viti, *Opere*, p. 424. Cf. Bruni's assertion *ibid.*, p. 468: 'Hic dicendi precepta et artem prius quam ulli nostri, doctius quam ulli Greci patefecit et tradidit'.

8. The afterlife of the *Cicero Novus*

On the basis of my above analysis, it may be possible to tentatively put forward some remarks on the reception of the *Cicero Novus*, which remained the most canonized account of Cicero for almost a century, after which it sank into oblivion, ceding the ground again to Plutarch's *Life*.³⁷

I believe that the view of Cicero pervading Bruni's life of Cicero was shared by many of his contemporaries. Both Cicero's exemplary status and the greater attention for his political merits must in many humanist eyes have seemed a truthful picture of Cicero, in line with the greatness of thought by which readers must have been impressed during the consultation of his *ipsissima verba*. Yet, as transpires from the annotations in the manuscripts, the part that was considered most useful was Bruni's overview of Cicero's literary production³⁸, which indicates that most readers were not as much interested in the discursive dimensions of Bruni's *Cicero Novus* as in the potential it had to introduce someone to the work and life of Cicero. This again illustrates that the discursive values in Bruni's *Cicero Novus*, whether civic, scientific, or political, are rather part of the general background than the explicit topic. In other words, they are *thema*, not *rhema*.

Why then was Bruni's life of Cicero again replaced by Plutarch's? Although this reconstruction is destined to offer a simplification of historical reality, I would suggest that one of the main reasons is the growing knowledge in the West about Plutarch's literary production. We should not forget that, by Bruni's time, Plutarch was primarily and almost exclusively seen as the author of the *Lives*, whereas his other moralistic work, which portrays him more thoroughly as the versatile philosopher he is still considered to be today, was much less known. It is not unthinkable that the gradual promulgation of Plutarch's *Moralia* may have inspired a different attitude towards Plutarch, which lifted his status from an imprecise and sometimes prejudiced biographer (as he was for Bruni) to a full-blooded and deeply reflective philosopher.

Bruni's *Cicero Novus* was probably at first seen as a short-cut to the real Cicero (without the 'unnecessary' mediation by Plutarch). Plutarch's increasing authority may however have put this view under pressure, until

³⁷ See Ianziti, 'Life in Politics', p. 39.

³⁸ See Pade, *Reception*, p. 158.

finally Plutarch's authoritative biography re-entered the canon. But what are the implications of all this for Cicero? This question goes beyond the scope of this paper, but in all likelihood the re-entrance of Plutarch's *Life of Cicero* also gradually brought about a different, less laudatory view of Cicero, a view that was temporarily repressed by Bruni's expository rhetoric. Each era faces new negotiations concerning the power structures between discursive elements, and Plutarch's, Cicero's, and Bruni's authority in this case constantly interact with one another.

9. Conclusion

I have tried to show some aspects of Bruni's *Cicero Novus* that I believed to be insufficiently or imprecisely addressed in previous scholarship, adding some insights to the debate rather than bluntly replacing other scholarly interpretations. I aimed to demonstrate that it is valuable to regard Bruni's *Cicero Novus* as a biography rather than a political pamphlet, as a double stage of reception and as a product of expository moralism, inspired by both cultural and personal values and prejudices.

If I were to formulate some wider considerations about the methodology used in this paper, I would emphasize the importance of mental (power) structures in the development of ideological ideas. Cicero was no passive reference for Bruni, but a fascinating historical person who, through his exemplarity (even over time), helped give political and ideological ideas shape. Remarkably enough, Plutarch as an authoritative author appeared to have had a much smaller discursive influence on Bruni. However, a small comparison with our own modern value scale (with a canonical place for both Cicero and Plutarch) may prove the relativity of Bruni's personal assessment. In this respect, many receptions remain to be studied, many histories to be written.

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MAXIME OMNIUM LEGITIME AMAVIT SOCRATES
MARSILIO FICINO E I RIFERIMENTI ALL'OMOSESSUALITÀ
NEI DIALOGHI DI PLATONE

L'eliminazione dei contenuti che non erano conformi alla dottrina e alla moralità cristiana era un fenomeno diffuso nelle traduzioni rinascimentali dei testi della letteratura greca. Nella prima metà del XV secolo in particolare è visibile la tendenza ad eliminare, o almeno velare, attraverso interventi di vario tipo, quegli elementi delle opere tradotte che potevano esporre i loro autori all'accusa di immoralità ed i loro traduttori a quella di propagarla. La portata di questo fenomeno è difficile da valutare, certamente però essa non fu marginale.¹ In ogni caso, interventi di tipo censorio si registrano nelle traduzioni di importanti testi realizzate da personalità tutt'altro che secondarie, di diversa formazione intellettuale e talvolta portatori di diverse idee relativamente all'arte della traduzione. Ecco quindi che passi 'immorali' vennero eliminati dal testo di Platone da Leonardo Bruni, eminente rappresentante del primo umanesimo fiorentino;² ma anche il suo critico, l'erudito camaldolese Ambrogio Traversari, censurava il testo di Diogene Laertio³ e l'emigrante bizantino Giorgio di Trebisonda cancellava gli elementi eterodossi della *Praeparatio evangelica* di Eusebio;⁴ e gli esempi si potrebbero facilmente moltiplicare.

¹ Cf. Ernesto Berti, 'La traduzione umanistica', in *Tradurre dal greco in età umanistica. Metodi e strumenti, Atti del Seminario di studio, Firenze, Certosa del Galluzzo, 9 sett. 2005*, ed. Mariarosa Cortesi (Firenze: Sismel – Edd. del Galluzzo, 2007), pp. 3-16 (pp. 12-13).

² Cf. James Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition, 17 (London – Leiden: Brill, 1991), II, 396-400.

³ Cf. Juliusz Domański, 'Sokrates humanistów', in *Philologica, litteraria, humaniora. Studia i szkice z dziejów recepcji dziedzictwa antycznego* (Warszawa: Instytut Filologii Klasycznej UW, 2009), pp. 310-338 (pp. 325-326); Hankins, *Plato*, I, 81 e n. 120; James Hankins, 'Socrates in the Italian Renaissance', in *Socrates from Antiquity to the Enlightenment*, ed. Michael Trapp (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 179-208 (p. 187).

⁴ Cf. Berti, 'La traduzione umanistica', pp. 12-13.

Tra i testi antichi che più spesso e con attenzione particolare venivano sottoposti alla censura nelle traduzioni rinascimentali c'erano quei passi delle opere antiche che contenevano riferimenti alla pederastia greca e che potevano rivelare che essa era stata un fenomeno diffuso nella società greca e persino qualcosa di commune tra i filosofi greci. I traduttori umanistici cancellavano o almeno velavano in qualche modo la maggior parte dei riferimenti e delle allusioni di questo tipo, solitamente per non fornire un'arma agli avversari dello studio dell'antichità classica. Alla base della censura di un testo potevano esserci anche le convinzioni del traduttore.⁵ Da questo punto di vista particolarmente delicati si rivelarono alcuni passi dei dialoghi di Platone, prima di tutto quelli da cui risultava chiaramente che a Socrate non erano estranee le inclinazioni omosessuali dei suoi amici filosofi. Si ritiene che solo Marsilio Ficino, il cui Platone latino (prima edizione a stampa; Firenze, 1484) costituisce il vertice dell'attività versoria degli umanisti quattrocenteschi, abbia rinunciato alla pratica che in inglese viene definita con il comodo termine di *bowdlerization*⁶ e che in italiano si potrebbe invece descrivere come 'espurgazione del contenuto imbarazzante' dell'opera di Platone. Cosa che non dovrebbe stupire, considerando che Ficino trattava gli scritti platonici, o almeno una loro parte, alla stregua di testi nati per divina ispirazione. È vero che anche nei suoi *Platonis opera omnia* sono stati osservati tentativi di occultamento delle allusioni omoerotiche; secondo gli studiosi, tuttavia, essi sono piuttosto rari e per di più non sempre del tutto consapevoli. James Hankins segnala un passo del *Gorgia*⁷ e suppone che in questo caso la causa dell'intervento di Ficino non sia stata

⁵ Come osserva Hankins (*Plato*, II, 396-397), sembra che Bruni provasse un autentico ribrezzo per i comportamenti omosessuali, come si deduce dalle sue parole nell'*Isagogicon moralis disciplinae* (v. *Opere letterarie e politiche di Leonardo Bruni*, ed. Paolo Viti (Torino: UTET, 1996), p. 238).

⁶ Termine derivante dal nome di Thomas Bowdler, l'autore di un'edizione purgata di Shakespeare (1818).

⁷ *Grg.*, 481d1-5, λέγω δ' ἐννοήσας ὅτι ἐγὼ τε καὶ σὺ νῦν τυγχάνομεν ταῦτόν τι πεπονθότες, ἐρῶντε δύο ὄντε δύοῖν ἑκάτερος, ἐγὼ μὲν Ἀλκιβιάδου τε τοῦ Κλεινίου καὶ φιλοσοφίας, σὺ δὲ δύοῖν, τοῦ τε Ἀθηναίων δήμου καὶ τοῦ Πυριλάμπους. Nel brano citato Socrate parla dell'amore che egli e Callicle provano rispettivamente per Alcibiade e Demo (il figlio di Pirilampi), e collega questo sentimento con il proprio amore per la filosofia e con l'amore di Callicle per il popolo ateniese. Ficino traduce: 'Nempe animadverto me atque te nunc idem pati; cumque duo simus, duo quaedam amare. Nam ego philosophiam amo, tu vero populum Atheniensem'. Cf. anche Antonio Carlini, 'Marsilio Ficino e il testo di Platone', *Rinascimento*, 39 (1999), 3-36 (p. 35). (Carlini erroneamente attribuisce a Ficino la traduzione di Bruni: 'duo enim cum simus...' etc.).

la volontà di censurare l'originale, quanto una sovverchia stima per la versione dello stesso dialogo eseguita precedentemente da Leonardo Bruni⁸; secondo questo studioso, le traduzioni moraleggianti di alcuni brani del *Liside* si possono invece spiegare come 'pious misreadings'.⁹ Come unico esempio di consapevole censura morale Hankins riconosce l'omissione di un più esteso passo del *Carmide*, nel quale Platone mostra Socrate invaso dal desiderio perchè affascinato dalla bellezza di un giovanotto;¹⁰ Ficino in questa circostanza spiega l'omissione nell'argomento premesso alla traduzione, il che proverebbe che questo tipo di censura è più che altro un'eccezione. Il traduttore scrive nell'argomento che tutto nel *Carmide*, in particolare i passi dedicati all'amore (*amatoria*), è una mirabile allegoria (analoga a quella del *Cantico dei cantici*)¹¹, dato che però certi brani del testo potrebbero disturbare i suoi lettori, ha deciso di ometterli.¹² Altrove nella sua traduzione Ficino non cancella i riferimenti all'omosessualità. Non li cancella — circostanza più importante di tutte — nel *Fedro* e *Simposio*, rimanendo fedele al testo di Platone, nonostante un certo numero di semplificazioni che però risultano del tutto secondarie per il problema qui discusso.¹³

Questa interpretazione delle traduzioni di Ficino come sostanzialmente libere da una censura morale potrebbe essere accettata senza riserve, non fosse che Ficino sopprime altri passi pederastici disseminati nei dialoghi di Platone, passi che — a quanto pare — gli studiosi non hanno finora esaminato con sufficiente attenzione. Restando sempre al *Gorgia*, salvo il già notato passo a 481d1-5, si possono individuare alcuni altri esempi dell'eliminazione delle allusioni alla pederastia. A

⁸ Hankins, *Plato*, I, 312-313 e II, 396.

⁹ *ibid.*, I, 313.

¹⁰ *Chrm.* 155c2-e2.

¹¹ Ficino usa spesso l'allegoresi laddove il significato di un testo antico non si può armonizzare con la dottrina cristiana, ad esempio quando spiega la teoria della trasmutazione delle anime; cf. James Hankins, 'Bessarione, Ficino e le scuole di Platonismo del secolo XV', in *Dotti bizantini e libri greci nell'Italia del secolo XV, Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Trento 22-23 ott. 1990*, eds. Mariarosa Cortesi – Enrico V. Maltese (Napoli: M. D'Auria Editore, 1992), pp. 117-128 (pp. 126-127).

¹² Su questa dichiarazione di Ficino v. Hankins, *Plato*, I, 313-314.

¹³ Tale è, ad esempio, l'impostazione di Domański, 'Sokrates', p. 336. Ficino traduce i termini ἐραστής e παιδικά abbastanza coerentemente come *amator* – *amatus* (anche se talvolta sostituisce il primo termine con il participio *amans*), oppure rende queste parole al plurale come in *Smp.*, 180b: 'amati amantibus'; una volta non dà un equivalente del primo termine (*Smp.*, 193c7-8, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ παιδικῶν τυχεῖν κατὰ νοῦν αὐτῶν πεφυκότων = 'hoc est, ut quilibet eos, qui natura ipsi cordi sunt, nanciscatur').

481d5-e4 (αἰσθάνομαι οὖν σου ἐκάστοτε, καίπερ ὄντος δεινοῦ, ὅτι ἂν φῇ σου τὰ παιδικὰ καὶ ὅπως ἂν φῇ ἔχειν, οὐ δυναμένου ἀντιλέγειν, ἀλλ' ἄνω καὶ κάτω μεταβαλλομένου· ἐν τε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐάν τι σοῦ λέγοντος ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων μὴ φῇ οὕτως ἔχειν, μεταβαλλόμενος λέγεις ἃ ἐκεῖνος βούλεται, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πυριλάμπους νεανίαν τὸν καλὸν τοῦτον τοιαῦτα ἕτερα πέπονθας = 'Sentio itaque, si in contione tibi populus contradixerit, te consuevisse mutare sententiam atque dicere quae illi placere intelligas nec ullo modo posse voluntati eius obsistere')¹⁴ Ficino omette il brano che si riferisce al ragazzo amato (παιδικά)¹⁵ da Callicle; il 'bello, giovane figlio di Pirilampi' è stato invece sostituito dal pronome *eius* (che si riferisce al *populus*), il che era la conseguenza della traduzione del passo precedente sopra menzionato. A 481e5-482a1, per le stesse ovvie ragioni la traduzione tralascia l'inizio della frase: τοῖς γὰρ τῶν παιδικῶν βουλευμάσιν τε καὶ λόγοις οὐχ οἷός τ' εἶ ἐναντιοῦσθαι; la sua conclusione — εἰ μὴ τις παύσει τὰ σὰ παιδικὰ — viene resa con il neutrale 'nisi is, quem tu amas, populus mutet sententiam'.¹⁶ A 482a-b, seguendo ancora una volta Leonardo Bruni, Ficino ha omissso le parole καὶ μοί ἐστιν τῶν ἐτέρων παιδικῶν πολὺ ἤττον ἔμπληκτος, nella parte ulteriore del discorso ha invece velato le allusioni omoerotiche, sostituendo il figlio di Clinia con un indeterminato *familiarium quidam*.¹⁷

Ma è proprio vero che all'origine di questi interventi di Ficino c'era solo l'eccessiva stima per la traduzione di Bruni alle origini di questi interventi di Ficino? O forse ebbe qualche ruolo anche quella particolare 'immoralità' del dialogo, che consisteva nel glorificare, da parte degli

¹⁴ Tutte le citazioni dalla traduzione di Ficino derivano da: B. de Choris – S. De Luere, *Platonis opera latina Marsilio Ficino interprete* (Venezia: per Andrea Torresano, 1491). Confronto i testi dei primi dieci dialoghi di Platone tradotti da Ficino anche con la versione del MS Bodleianus Canon. Class. Lat. 163. Laddove il testo del manoscritto di Oxford non presenti differenze nei dettagli che siano importanti per questo studio, non registro le sue lezioni.

¹⁵ Se si tratta del significato preciso dei termini legati al contesto qui discusso, come παιδικά, ἐραστής, ἐρώμενος, rinvio al noto studio di Kenneth J. Dover (*Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978), pp. 15-17).

¹⁶ Resa esatta della traduzione di Bruni.

¹⁷ Bruni ha omissso l'intero brano. L'omissione ficiniana della persona di Demo a 513b (εἰ μέλλεις τι γνήσιον ἀπεργάζεσθαι εἰς φιλίαν τῷ Ἀθηναίων δήμῳ καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία τῷ Πυριλάμπους γε πρὸς = 'si magnum aliquid assecuturus sis ad benivolentiam Atheniensis populi comparandam, ac per Iovem insuper Pylilampi') è la conseguenza di un'erronea comprensione del testo (il traduttore non aveva notato che Πυριλάμπους è un genetivo), e non degli interventi censori.

interlocutori di Socrate, non solo la retorica, ma anche un particolare anti-ethos ad essa legato, e Ficino voleva privare questo carico antifilosofico almeno del suo contenuto omosessuale? Forse potremmo accettare una di queste spiegazioni, si dá però il caso che Ficino ha soppresso o quantomeno velato dei contenuti del genere anche nelle versioni di altri dialoghi di Platone. Questa supposizione perciò non trova conferma. Nella parte iniziale del *Liside*, infatti, alla domanda di Socrate che entra nella palestra: τίς ὁ καλός (204b1-2), il ‘bello’ viene sostituito con *honestior* (‘quis honestior adsit’)¹⁸, e le parole del filosofo sui progressi di Ippotale nell’amore (οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἐρᾷς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόρρω ἤδη εἶ πορευόμενος τοῦ ἔρωτος, 204b7-8) sono rese con una frase sull’ ‘amore per gli onestissimi’ (‘novi enim, quam vehementer honestissimos quoque diligere soleas’); l’abilità di Socrate di riconoscere facilmente ‘colui che ama e colui che è amato’ (ταχὺ οἶω τ’ εἶναι γινῶναι ἐρῶντά τε καὶ ἐρώμενον, 204c1-2) diventa la capacità di riconoscere gli ‘amici’ (‘ut primo aspectu amicos agnoscam’). Subito dopo (204d6) il termine παιδικά, che si riferisce all’amato Ippotale, viene reso al plurale come *amici* (‘alta admodum voce in amicos quotidie cantat’), e così anche in 205a, accanto a ἐραστής tradotto come *amicus* (ἃ χρὴ ἐραστήν περὶ παιδικῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἢ πρὸς ἄλλους λέγειν = ‘quae de amicis amicum decet ad se et ad alios dicere’). Nello stesso passo, ἔρως (in riferimento al giovane amato da Ippotale – Liside) è tradotto con *beniuolentia* (ὥς γενναῖον καὶ νεανικὸν τοῦτον τὸν ἔρωτα πανταχῇ ἀνηῦρες = ‘quam generosam constantemque beniuolentiam nactus es’, 204e9-10). A 205b1-3 il plurale *amici* sostituisce due parole – ‘giovannotto’ (τὸν νεανίσκον) e ‘l’amato’ (τὰ παιδικά) (πεποίηκας εἰς τὸν νεανίσκον [...] τίνα τρόπον προσφέρει πρὸς τὰ παιδικά = ‘in amicos composuisti [...] qua mente in illos [sc. amicos] sis’). Nel brano che tratta della scelta dell’amato (205e1-206a2) παιδικά è di nuovo reso, per di più due volte, con *amicus*, e con il pronome *ille* che si riferisce a quell’*amicus*; la saggezza nelle cose d’amore diventa ‘saggezza nella scelta degli amici’, e il lodare ‘l’amato’ – il lodare ‘gli amici’ (ὅστις οὖν τὰ ἐρωτικά, ὃ φίλε, σοφός, οὐκ ἐπαινεῖ τὸν ἐρώμενον πρὶν ἂν ἔλῃ = ‘Quicunque igitur in comparandis amicis sapiens est, non prius quen-

¹⁸ Come osserva Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, p. 16, ‘the Greeks did not call a person ‘beautiful’ by virtue of that person’s morals, intelligence, ability or temperament, but solely by virtue of shape, colour, texture and movement’. La resa ficiniana del καλός greco con l’aggettivo *honestus* è stata notata anche da Hankins, *Plato*, I, 313, n. 129.

quam eorum laudat, quam ipsorum familiaritatem fuerit assecutus'). A 210e3 παιδικά è tradotto con *adolescentes*. Una traduzione più fedele di questa parola imbarazzante appare nel *Liside* solo nell'ambito di considerazioni più astratte, che prescindono dai personaggi concreti, come a 212b7-c1 (ἄρα ἔστιν καὶ μισεῖσθαι φιλοῦντα; οἷόν που ἐνίστε δοκοῦσι καὶ οἱ ἔρασται πάσχειν πρὸς τὰ παιδικά: φιλοῦντες γὰρ ὡς οἷόν τε μάλιστα οἱ μὲν οἷονται οὐκ ἀντιφιλεῖσθαι = 'Numquid et odio haberi amatorem saepe contingit? Quod nonnumquam amatoribus erga amatos accidit, amantes enim quam ardentissime nonnumquam, minime redamantur') oppure a 222a6-7 ('Αναγκαῖον ἄρα τῷ γνησίῳ ἔραστῇ καὶ μὴ προσποιήτῳ φιλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν παιδικῶν = 'Ergo necessarium est, ut legitimus et minime simulans amator, mutuo ab amatis ametur').

Identici interventi balzano agli occhi nella traduzione ficiniana dell'*Eutidemo*. A 273a6, 274b5 e 274c5, nel discorso di Socrate, gli 'amanti' (ἐρασταί) di Clinia diventano i suoi 'amici' (*amici*); egli stesso invece è presentato come 'amico' (*amicus*), e non παιδικά di Ctesippo (274c3 i 300c1). Gli *erastai* di Eutidemo e Dionisodoro (οἱ ἔρασται τοῖν ἀνδρῶν, 276d2) diventano loro 'seguaci' (*illorum astipulatores*), e il servizio che un giovane offre 'all'amante e a qualsiasi uomo' (ἐραστῇ καὶ παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ, 282b5), allo scopo di acquistare la saggezza (pratica che Socrate considera del tutto giustificata), diventa nella traduzione il servire a 'chiunque' (*cuilibet*).¹⁹

Nella traduzione dell'*Alcibiade I* pseudo-platonico sono state sopprese le allusioni all'interesse di Socrate per la bellezza di Alcibiade: i rapporti tra i due sono caratterizzati nella versione di Ficino come 'amicizia' e 'benevolenza'²⁰ (104e4-5, χαλεπὸν μὲν οὖν πρὸς ἄνδρα οὐχ ἥττονα

¹⁹ Un'eccezione nell'*Eutidemo* è la traduzione di παιδικά come *amati* nel 283d8; questa traduzione però si trova nel contesto di un'affermazione generale che non riguarda persone concrete; del resto la ripresa della forma *amici* è ostacolata dal suo precedente utilizzo nella traduzione di φίλοι (283d6-8, καίτοι πολλοὺν ἂν ἄξιον οἱ τοιοῦτοι εἶεν φίλοι τε καὶ ἐρασταί, οἵτινες τὰ παιδικὰ περὶ παντὸς ἂν ποιήσαιεντο ἐξολωλέναι = 'At vero quam cari habendi sunt huius generis vel amici vel amatores, qui amatos omni cura perdere student'). La conseguenza di tutto ciò è il modo in cui viene reso παιδικά nella frase successiva (283e1-2, Καὶ ὁ Κτήσιππος ἀκούσας ἡγανάκτησέν τε ὑπὲρ τῶν παιδικῶν = 'Haec audiens Ctesippus amati gratia graviter tulit'); altrimenti sarebbe difficile spiegare perché il ragazzo amato di Ctesippo non è qui chiamato *amicus*, come nei passi discussi sopra.

²⁰ Ho già segnalato la traduzione di ἔρως come *beniuolentia* nel *Liside*, 204e9-10, il che conferma che questa è un'interpretazione consapevole e meditata. Cf. anche sotto, n. 27.

ἐραστῶν προσφέρεσθαι ἐραστῇ = 'Arduum quidem est cum eo qui amicos ceteros superaverit amicitiam consuetudinemque inire'; 104e8 πάλαι ἂν ἀπηλλάγημην τοῦ ἔρωτος = 'iamdium [...] benivolentiam erga te meam deposuissem'). Nello stesso dialogo Ἀλκιβιάδης ὁ καλὸς ὁ Κλεινίου (113b9) diventa 'Alcibiades bonus Cliniae filius'. Un'allusione alla fascinazione di Socrate per la bellezza del giovane amico è contenuta nelle parole iniziali del *Protagora*. A Socrate viene chiesto se 'torna dalla caccia alla grazia di Alcibiade' (Ἀλκιβιάδου ὥρα, 309a2), che nella versione di Ficino viene sostituita con 'honesta Alcibiadis indoles' ('An videlicet e venatione illa venis, ad quam honesta Alcibiadis indoles provocare te solet?'); Agatonte invece, secondo Socrate 'molto bello da guardare' (τὴν [...] ἰδέαν πάνυ καλός, 315e1), diventa nella traduzione 'generosa indole praeditus' e per questo motivo 'Pausaniae carissimus' (nell'originale: παιδικὰ Πανυσανίου, 315e3).²¹ Alla luce di queste traduzioni ciò che attira Socrate non è la bellezza fisica, ma la nobiltà d'aspetto che — si potrebbe completare — tradisce la nobiltà del carattere. Solo la traduzione del passo 309c2-3 del *Protagora* (οὐ γὰρ δήπου τινὶ καλλίονι ἐνέτυχες ἄλλῳ ἔν γε τῇδε τῇ πόλει = 'Neque enim formosior ullus e nostris civibus adesse poterat') costituisce un'eccezione, che peraltro non è difficile da spiegare. Protagora, infatti, sembra a Socrate 'più bello' di Alcibiade in quanto egli è il più saggio di tutti; Socrate, dunque, antepone l'amore per la saggezza all'amore per i bei giovani.²² Questo contenuto non scandalizzerà di certo i lettori della traduzione ficiniana di Platone.

Ma per tornare alle manipolazioni del traduttore: un altro esempio può essere tratto dal *Fedro* dove, secondo gli studiosi, Ficino non cancellerebbe le allusioni omoerotiche (contrariamente a Leonardo Bruni). Questa affermazione però non risulta del tutto vera se si guarda a traduzioni come: ὃ παῖ καλέ = 'o egregie puer' (243e9, Socrate a Fedro) oppure: ὃ παῖ καλέ = 'o ingenue adolescens' (252b2, di nuovo Socrate a Fedro). Ficino traduce in maniera identica l'aggettivo καλός nell'*Eutidemo*:

²¹ Cf. la traduzione del *Fedro*, 279b1-3: ταῦτα δὲ οὖν ἐγὼ μὲν παρὰ τῶνδε τῶν θεῶν ὡς ἐμοῖς παιδικοῖς Ἰσοκράτει ἐξαγγέλλω, σὺ δ' ἐκεῖνα ὡς σοῖς Λυσία = 'Haec ego, ab iis Diis accepta, Isocrati mihi dilectissimo nuntio; tu illa Lysiae tibi carissimo'.

²² È evidente che Ficino traduce l'aggettivo greco καλός con gli esatti equivalenti latini laddove non c'è il rischio che ciò possa indicare l'interesse di Socrate per la bellezza maschile, cf. p.es. *Tht.*, 185e3-5: 'Pulcher es o Theaetete, nec, ut aiebat Theodorus, deformis, nam qui pulchre loquitur, pulcher est atque bonus' (Teeteto è bello, perchè parla in maniera bella).

ὃ καλὲ παῖ = ‘ingenue puer’ (289b5, parole di Socrate indirizzate a Clinia). Sempre nel *Fedro* troviamo la traduzione di 237b2-3 Ἦν οὕτω δὴ παῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ μεираκίσκος, μάλα καλός· τούτῳ δὲ ἦσαν ἐρασ-
ταὶ πάνυ πολλοί come ‘Erat puer quidam, immo vero adulescentulus, egregia indole praeditus, huic autem erant amatores complurimi’. Questo esempio è significativo perché è chiaro che le manipolazioni di Ficino tendono a suggerire che il giovanotto descritto ha molti amanti non per la sua bellezza, ma grazie al suo carattere eccellente (*egregia indoles*). Lo conferma la traduzione del passo 154a3-6 del *Carmide*. Crizia, vedendo dei giovani che entrano nella palestra, si rivolge a Socrate con le seguenti parole: Περὶ μὲν τῶν καλῶν, ἔφη, ὃ Σώκρατες, αὐτίκα μοι δοκεῖς εἴσεσθαι· οὗτοι γὰρ τυγχάνουσιν οἱ εἰσιόντες πρόδρομοί τε καὶ ἐρασταὶ ὄντες τοῦ δοκοῦντος καλλίστου εἶναι τὰ γε δὴ νῦν. Ficino traduce: ‘Socrates, inquit, quod de honestis percontabaris, mox cogniturus videris, nam qui nunc ingrediuntur, praecursores sunt amatoresque cuiusdam, qui omnium huius temporis honestissimus et speciosissimus iudicatur’. ‘Belli’ è sostituito con ‘onesti’, e gli amanti di colui che pare ‘il più bello’ [sc. Carmide] diventano gli amanti di un uomo che è prima di tutto ‘il più onesto’.

Capita poi che Ficino semplicemente ometta l’aggettivo καλός, come nella traduzione del *Filebo* 11c8: Φίληβος γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ καλὸς ἀπείρηκεν = ‘Philebus quidem noster iam dicendo defessus est’; altrove nello stesso dialogo il traduttore impiega l’aggettivo *bonus* (26b8, ὃ καλὲ Φίληβε = ‘o bone Philebe’), come nel passo già riportato dell’*Alcibiade I*. Sempre nel *Filebo* Ficino evita una traduzione esatta del termine παιδικά, questa volta reso con un alquanto oscuro *obiecta* (53d9-10, Παιδικά που καλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ τεθεωρήκαμεν ἅμα καὶ ἐραστὰς ἀνδρείους αὐτῶν = ‘Vidimus saepenumero pulchra quaedam bonaque obiecta et quosdam insuper qui ea nimium affectarent’).²³ In maniera ancora diversa questo termine imbarazzante viene reso da Ficino nella traduzione della parte iniziale del *Parmenide* (127b5-6), dove Cefalo ricorda che Zenone di Elea era παιδικά del protagonista del dialogo, vale a dire come *Parmenidis familiaris*. Alla domanda se questo sia un intervento deliberato²⁴,

²³ Questo esempio di censura morale intenzionale da parte del traduttore è registrato da Ernesto Berti, ‘Osservazioni filologiche alla versione del *Filebo* di Marsilio Ficino’, in *Il Filebo di Platone e la sua fortuna, Atti del Convegno di Napoli, 4-6 nov. 1993*, ed. Paolo Cosenza (Napoli: M. D’Auria Editore, 1996), pp. 93-167 (p. 126, n. 64).

²⁴ Cf. Hankins, *Plato*, II, 477: ‘Ficino... bowdlerizes (intentionally?) the assertion that Zeno had been Parmenides’ catamite’.

possiamo, credo, rispondere affermativamente, alla luce delle osservazioni precedenti. Anche nella traduzione del *Fedone* si nota almeno un esempio evidente di censura intenzionale, che questa volta va abbastanza lontano. Nel passo che spiega il fenomeno dell'anamnesi (73d5-8) παιδικά è sostituito con *puellae amatae*; subito dopo Ficino rende coerentemente con *puella* il sostantivo παῖς (Οὐκοῦν οἴσθα ὅτι οἱ ἐρασταί, ὅταν ἴδωσιν λύραν ἢ ἱμάτιον ἢ ἄλλο τι οἷς τὰ παιδικὰ αὐτῶν εἶωθε χρῆσθαι, πάσχουσι τοῦτο· ἐγνωσάν τε τὴν λύραν καὶ ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ ἔλαβον τὸ εἶδος τοῦ παιδὸς οὗ ἦν ἡ λύρα; = 'An ignoras hoc amantibus evenire, cum lyram aut vestem aut quid aliud ex his aspiciant, quibus uti eorum puellae amatae consueverunt? Nam et agnoscunt lyram et simul mente recolunt puellae, cuius erat lyra').²⁵

Tuttavia, la forma più radicale di censura del testo di Platone, consistente nell'eliminazione totale di un passo esteso, si trova nella traduzione del *Menone*. L'intero passo 76b1-c2, nel quale Socrate dice a Menone che 'è bello e ha amanti' (ὅτι καλὸς εἶ καὶ ἐρασταί σοι ἔτι εἰσίν), aggiungendo che lui stesso 'non è in grado di resistere ai belli' (ὅτι εἰμὶ ἡττῶν τῶν καλῶν), viene accorciato: 'Quamquam in imperando superbior es quam deceat, gratificabor tamen ac breviter respondebo'. Diversamente da quanto aveva fatto nel *Carmide* Ficino non giustifica questa omissioni nell'argomento.

Un esempio di censura del titolo di un dialogo sono invece gli Ἐρασταὶ ἢ περὶ φιλοσοφίας pseudo-platonici. Sebbene il codice Laurenziano 85.9, che apparteneva a Ficino, trasmetta titolo nella sua forma intera, il traduttore usa solo il sottotitolo *De philosophia* invece che — come ci si aspetterebbe — *Amatores sive de philosophia*.²⁶ Nel primo capitolo di *Amatores* (132a1-3) Socrate, entrando nella scuola del grammatico Dionigi, scorge dei giovani eccellenti ed i loro amanti, καὶ τούτων ἐραστάς, che nella traduzione diventano 'eorum [...] familiares'. Socrate dà una gomitata d'intesa a uno di loro, che nella traduzione risulta 'un'amico' (132b3-4, κινήσας οὖν αὐτὸν [sc. ἐραστήν] τῷ ἀγκῶνι = 'Ego autem

²⁵ Ficino segue qui Leonardo Bruni che traduceva: 'Nescis igitur, inquit, hoc amantibus evenire, cum lyram aut pallam aut quid aliud ex his rebus aspiciant, quibus eorum amate consueverint uti? Nam et cognoscunt lyram et simul accipiunt mente formam puellae, cuius erat lyra: hoc vero est meminisse'. Sulla traduzione del *Fedone* di Bruni si veda Hankins, *Plato*, I, 47 e n. 41.

²⁶ Cf. Carlini, 'Marsilio Ficino e il testo di Platone', p. 35. Carlini (p. 35, n. 114) osserva anche che nella parte iniziale di un altro scritto pseudo-platonico, l'*Assioco*, Ficino traduce in maniera moraleggiante l'espressione ἐραστὴς ἅμα καὶ ἐρώμενος (364b1) come 'hic autem mutata quadam benivolentia coniunctus erat'.

alterius illorum amicum [...] cubito tangens'); diventano *amici* anche i ragazzi (παιδικά, 133b4) che sono oggetto dell'amore degli ἐρασταί. L'ἀντεραστές che sta seduto accanto a Socrate è reso con *aemulus* (così anche più avanti, a 133b3), termine che sarebbe comprensibile solo se tutto il contesto fosse reso fedelmente. Invece, gli interventi qui descritti oscurano questo contesto e lo oscura anche la mancanza dell'equivalente del duale τοῖν ἐρασταῖν a 132d1 (οὗτος μὲν τοῖν ἐρασταῖν = 'iste'). Subito dopo, ancora una volta ci imbattiamo in una censura radicale che consiste nella totale omissione di alcune frasi (133a3 καὶ ὅτι μὲν οἱ ἐρασταὶ ἔπαθον — 133a6 ἔμοῦ ἀγωνιᾶν), nelle quali Socrate dice che prova sempre imbarazzo alla presenza di bei giovani e aggiunge che il secondo degli *amatores* era non meno imbarazzato di lui. Dato che il tema del dialogo è la definizione della filosofia, come dice lo stesso traduttore nell'argomento, è probabile che Ficino ritenesse che interventi di questo tipo non avrebbero ostacolato una resa esatta del suo contenuto sostanziale.

L'occultamento delle allusioni omoerotiche si osserva poi in altri dialoghi pseudo-platonici. Nel passo 141d7-9 dell'*Alcibiade II* si legge che l'amante (παιδικά) del re macedone Archelao, desiderando il potere non meno di quanto il re desiderasse giovani amanti (ἐρασθέντα τῆς τυραννίδος οὐθὲν ἥττον ἢπερ ἐκεῖνος τῶν παιδικῶν), uccise il re suo ἐραστής (ἀπέκτεινε τὸν ἐραστήν). Nella traduzione di Ficino παιδικά viene sostituito con *aliquis* e il desiderio per i giovani amanti con il desiderio dei piaceri del potere ('cum Archelaum Macedonum tyrannum, tyrannidis amantem delitias, aliquis huiuscemodi delitias non minus quam ille sitiens, interfecit'). Nella traduzione del passo 318b4-5 del *Minosse*, Olimpo, l'amante di Marsia, diventa il suo discepolo (ὁ Μαρσύας [...] καὶ τὰ παιδικὰ αὐτοῦ Ὀλυμπος ὁ Φρύξ; = 'Marsya et discipulus eius Olympus Phrygius'). Infine, nella storia di Armodio e Aristogitone dell'*Ipparco*, la traduzione di Ficino oscura la vera natura dei rapporti tra questi famosi vincitori della tirannia. Questo passo merita di essere discusso più in dettaglio a causa delle differenze tra la prima versione ficiniana del 1464, conservata nel manoscritto di Oxford, e la versione posteriore delle edizioni a stampa. Ecco il testo greco ed entrambe le versioni:

Hipparch. 229b7-229c2: λέγεται [...] καὶ ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι οὐ δι' αὐτοῦ οἱ πολλοὶ φήθησαν, διὰ τὴν τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἀτιμίαν τῆς κανηφορίας [...] ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν Ἀρμόδιον γεγονέναι παιδικὰ τοῦ Ἀριστογείτονος καὶ πεπαιδεῦσθαι ὑπ' ἐκείνου [...]. ἐν ἐκείνῳ δὲ

τῷ χρόνῳ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀρμόδιον τυγχάνειν ἐρῶντά τινος τῶν νέων τε καὶ καλῶν καὶ γενναίων τῶν τότε.

MS Canon. Class. Lat. 163: 'Traditur autem [...] mortis eius [sc. Hipparchi] causam extitisse non eam quam vulgo fertur, sororis scilicet Canephoriae contemptum — nam id credere absurdum est — sed Armodium adoptatum ab Aristigitone fuisse tradunt [...]. Interim contigisse, ut Harmodius cum nobili quodam cuius nomen non satis teneo, amicitiam coniungeret'.

Ed. Veneta 1491: Traditur autem [...] mortis eius [sc. Hipparchi] causam extitisse non eam quam vulgo fertur, sororis scilicet Canephoriae contemptum — nam id credere absurdum est — sed Harmodium amatum eruditumque ab Aristigitone fuisse tradunt [...]. Interim contigisse, ut Harmodius nobilem quendam, cuius nomen non satis teneo, amaret'.

Ficino, avendo in precedenza eliminato le allusioni omoerotiche, ha deciso poi di ripristinarle (*adoptatum* → *amatum eruditumque*; *amicitiam coniungeret* → *amaret*); ciononostante, al posto delle tre determinazioni — τῶν νέων τε καὶ καλῶν καὶ γενναίων τῶν τότε — ne ha lasciato una sola, *nobilem*, oscurando in questo modo l'aspetto della giovinezza e della bellezza e lasciando quello della nobiltà. È un intervento senz'altro consapevole, che si può chiamare attenuazione della censura, anche se non sua totale eliminazione.

Riassumendo, è evidente che Ficino elimina oppure vela in maniera sistematica molti elementi dei dialoghi di Platone che potevano disturbare i suoi lettori.²⁷ Una reazione alla critica nei confronti di Socrate, visto come una personalità rozza e dedita a passioni ignobili (tale era l'immagine di Socrate nei dialoghi antifilosofici di Luciano, molto diffusi all'epoca), è la sua rappresentazione come una specie di santo pagano, il cui comportamento richiama alla mente i martiri cristiani; anzi, come una prefigurazione di Cristo stesso.²⁸ Socrate quindi, insieme ai suoi discepoli, viene assolto dall'accusa di coltivare inclinazioni moralmente dubbie attraverso una serie di manipolazioni più o meno sottili come quelle che ho presentato. Si sa che Ficino si oppone ad accuse di questo tipo nei propri scritti: nella *Vita Platonis* nega il fatto che Socrate, Platone e Senofonte abbiano composto dei versi licenziosi per meretrici e ragazzi,

²⁷ Lo prova l'argomento premesso alla traduzione del *Carmide* sopra menzionato. Cf. anche Hankins, *Plato*, I, 315: 'Ficino must, certainly, have been influenced by the needs of the audience he was addressing'.

²⁸ *Confirmatio Christianorum per Socratica* (Marsilii Ficini Opera omnia, p. 868).

sottolineando che Platone dormiva da solo e che stigmatizzava una condotta contraria a questa.²⁹ Ficino ammette che Platone e Socrate avevano inclinazioni omosessuali, rilevando però subito che sapevano controllarle³⁰, e rimandando al suo commento al *Simposio*, il *De amore*, dove descrive ‘come divinamente amassero’ (‘quam divine amaverint’) e dove si espone quello che essi dicevano su questo tema. In questo commento Ficino ricorda che l’accusa di *inhonesti amores* non venne opposta a Socrate né dal suo derisore Aristofane né dagli accusatori davanti al tribunale di Atene.³¹ ‘Maxime omnium legitime Socrates amavit’ – assicura Ficino.³²

Resta però la questione del *Fedro* e del *Simposio*. Sebbene certe alterazioni volontarie si osservino anche in queste traduzioni, esse sono così rare da non determinare un cambiamento del significato complessivo dei due testi. Possiamo dunque ripetere con Domański e con Hankins che Marsilio Ficino, il platonico cristiano, ha conservato la maggior parte dei riferimenti all’omosessualità nelle traduzioni di questi due dialoghi. Non credo che ciò sia dovuto all’incoerenza così caratteristica di tanti aspetti dell’opera letteraria del Ficino; lo contraddice l’accuratezza con cui altrove Ficino difende Platone dagli attacchi e dalle accuse di comportamenti immorali. La stessa dottrina ficiniana dell’amore platonico, esposta nel commento al *Simposio*, fu alla fine — almeno nell’intenzione originaria dell’autore — ‘una risposta esegetica alle accuse di immoralità formulate dagli avversari del platonismo’.³³ Sembra dunque che la spiegazione sia alquanto più complessa. Marsilio Ficino aveva osservato che Platone, se mai aveva accettato l’omosessualità, lo faceva solo collocando questo fenomeno in una sfera spirituale, e inoltre che Socrate del *Simposio* e del *Fedro* sublimava le sue inclinazioni omosessuali intendendole come il grado iniziale nell’ascesa all’Eros sublime che sceglie

²⁹ V. Mikołaj Szymański (ed.), ‘Marsilii Ficini Vita Platonis’, in *Humanistyczne żywoty filozofów starożytnych*, eds. Włodzimierz Olszaniec – Krzysztof Rzepkowski (Warszawa: Warsaw University Press, 2008), pp. 466-505 (pp. 502 e 504).

³⁰ ‘Ad amandos adolescentes — quemadmodum et Socrates suos — videbatur paulo prior, verum uterque tam ratione continens quam sensu proclivis’ (Szymański (ed.), ‘Marsilii Ficini Vita Platonis’, p. 478).

³¹ *Marsilii Ficini Opera omnia*, pp. 1356-1357.

³² Con il commento al *Simposio* è concorde la traduzione di *Smp.*, 211b5-7, dove Ficino rende il verbo παιδεραστεῖν con *legitime amando* (ὅταν δὴ τις ἀπὸ τῶνδε διὰ τὸ ὀρθῶς παιδεραστεῖν ἐπανίων ἔκεινο τὸ καλὸν ἄρχηται καθορᾶν, σχεδὸν ἂν τι ἅπτοιο τοῦ τέλους = ‘Quando vero ab his aliquis legitime amando ascendens illud ipsum pulchrum suspicere incipit, ferme iam finem attingit’).

³³ Hankins, *Plato*, I, 261.

come oggetto le anime belle. Se dunque Socrate resiste al desiderio, come nel noto racconto di Alcibiade nel *Simposio*, questo vuol dire che non accetta l'omosessualità nel suo aspetto sensuale. Essa può invece costituire il primo passo verso un altro e più alto livello di amore. Collocando i riferimenti all'omosessualità nell'ambito della tradizione dell'Eros metafisico — la tradizione che trae origine dallo stesso *Simposio* — Ficino può permettersi di non censurare il testo di Platone almeno in questi due dialoghi.³⁴

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³⁴ Così anche Hankins ('Bessarione, Ficino e le scuole di Platonismo del secolo XV', p. 127), discostandosi dall'opinione che egli stesso aveva precedentemente espresso in *Plato*, I, 355: 'The Neoplatonists, followed by St. Augustine, in general held that evil had no positive being of its own, but was rather a privation of being which diminished the reality of an essence without working substantial change. Hence in the dialogues, whenever Plato appears to be speaking of an illicit love, one must read him as speaking of its higher spiritual essence'.

Han LAMERS

MANILIUS CABACIUS RHALLUS OF SPARTA (ca. 1447-ca. 1523):
A STUDY OF HIS LIFE AND WORK WITH AN EDITIO MINOR
OF HIS LATIN POETRY

Chartarum monumenta, inscripti aut saxa sepulchri,
Atria imaginibus aut uariata patrum,
Quaecunque est saeculis nostrum extendentia nomen,
Non nisi naturae deficientis opus.
Hinc etiam laeti thalamos taedasque iugales
Iungimus, hinc placidus concelebratur hymen,
Unde manens suboles stirpique simillima proles
Consurgat, patrios ludat et ante lares.
Scilicet hoc cuicumque datum est instinctu animai,
Quaerat ut esse aliquid quomodocunque potest.

Manilius Cabacius Rhallus, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, cod. Hamiltonianus 561, fol. 35^v, ll. 37-46.

Introduction*

In the summer of 1710, Antoine Galland — the famous French orientalist who introduced the *One Thousand and One Nights* to Europe — conversed about the poetry of Manilius Cabacius Rhallus of Sparta with a friend in Paris.¹ We cannot know what they discussed. But Galland's

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¹ *Journal Parisien d'Antoine Galland (1708-1715) précédé de son autobiographie (1646-1715)*, ed. by Henri Auguste Omont, *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, 46 (Paris: Champion, 1919), p. 81: 'Je lui [M. de La Monnaie] parlai des poésies de Rhallus, dont j'avois acheté un manuscrit pour M. Foucault; il me

interest in the poems of this Byzantine expatriate was exceptional. After the sixteenth century, the poetry of Rhallus rapidly faded into oblivion. His own 'chartarum monumentum', printed in 1520, could not preserve his name for posterity and remained on the shelf for almost five centuries. His reputation was effaced by the fame of his prolific fellow expatriate Michael Marullus. Before Antonio Altamura rediscovered Rhallus's work in the 1940s, some knew the poet as Marullus's more fortunate but less talented comrade.² This is surely not indicative of the poet's popularity in his own time. Apart from the manuscripts Antoine Galland purchased during his oriental voyages, almost a dozen additional codices with poems by Rhallus circulated in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The Roman humanist Angelus Colotius, for instance, gathered many of his poems in his voluminous compilations of ancient and contemporary poetry. Fellow humanists such as Pontanus and Politianus praised him for his Latinity.³

dit qu'il n'avoit pas encore entendu dire qu'elles eussent esté imprimées et qu'il faisoit grande estime de tous les ouvrages des sçavants de ces tems-là en Italie, à cause des faits qu'ils contenoient'. (dated 14 July 1710).

² This is the judgement of Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus, *De poetis nostrorum temporum*, ed. by Karl Wotke, Lateinische Literaturdenkmäler des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts, 10 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1894), pp. 16-17: 'Ex eadem Pontani academia fluxere Michael Marullus et Manilius Rhallus, ambo parentibus Graecis nati, in Italia enutriti, Latinis tamen litteris magis imbuti atque invicem amici, uterque epigrammatum poeta, sed Rhallus Marullus cultior et argutiorque, Marullo Rhallus fortunatior, quippe qui a Leone X. his mensibus Cretensium sit pontificatu honestatus' (emphasis is mine).

³ That Rhallus was far from unknown in his own time appears from the contemporaries who mention or address him in their work: (1) Callimachus Experiens (Filippo Buonaccorsi), *Callimachi Experientis Carmina*, ed. by Francesco Sica, Riscontri, 10 (Naples: Conte, 1981), pp. 231-34 (nrs. 97 and 98). On the relation between Callimachus and Cabacius Rhallus see Émile Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique, ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs aux XVe et XVIe siècles*, 4 vols (Paris: Leroux & Maisonneuve, 1885-1906), III (1903), 259-260. (2) Petrus Gravina, introductory poem to *Manilii Cabacii Ralli Iuueniles ingenii lusus* (Naples: Pasquet de Sallo, 1520), fol. 2^r (see p. 199 below). (3) Tranquillus Gravina, introductory poem to *Manilii Cabacii Ralli Iuueniles ingenii lusus*, fol. 2^r (see p. 199 below). (4) Adeodatus Marivorda, *Poematon libellus*, ed. by Jozef IJsewijn, 'The Life and Works of the Neo-Latin Poet Adeodatus Marivorda (1556-1584) (1)', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 17 (1968), 1-49 (pp. 13-37 with the poem about Rhallus and Marullus on p. 23, nr. 41). (5) Michael Marullus, *Michaelis Marulli Carmina*, ed. by Alessandro Perosa (Zurich: Thesaurus mundi, 1951), p. 24 (*Epigr.* 1, 55), pp. 28-29 (*Epigr.* 1, 63), pp. 77-78 (*Epigr.* 3, 47). Additionally, Cabacius Rhallus is mentioned in *Epigr.* 1, 16 (pp. 8-9) and 1, 54 (p. 24); note that *Epigr.* 3, 29 (p. 67) was also dedicated to him in other redactions. (6) Politianus, *Prose volgari inedite e poesie latine e greche edite e inedite*, ed. by Isidoro Del Lungo (Florence: Barbèra, 1867), pp. 131-140 (nrs. 43-52). Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique*, III, 76, n. 1 identified the addressee 'Mabilius' with Cabacius Rhallus, but this identification is questioned by Giovanni Bat-

Cabacius Rhallus's work is a powerful reminder that the activities of Byzantine scholars in Renaissance Italy entailed more than the transmission of learning from the ruins of Constantinople to the shores of the Tiber and the Arno. Together with the Latin poetry of, for instance, Michael Marullus and Ianus Lascaris, Cabacius Rhallus's epigrams illustrate that post-Byzantine intellectuals not only reproduced the Greek classics to cater to the interests of European humanism. They can be seen as humanists in their own right.⁴ In connection with this, Rhallus's poetry may yield insight into the role and function of epigrammatic poetry and poetic collections in early modern humanist culture. A more detailed study of epigrams and epigrammatic collections such as Rhallus's may contribute to the ongoing discussion over the role and function of humanist short-form poetry.⁵

The aim and scope of this contribution is more modest. Even if Rhallus has received some attention from Antonio Altamura in the 1940s and from Fred Nichols in the 1990s, a critical inventory of what we know about the poet and his work, an overview of relevant sources for his poetry, let alone a critical edition, are still serious *desiderata*.⁶ In order

tista Picotti, 'Marullo o Mabilio? Nota Polizianesca', in *Raccolta di studi di storia e critica letteraria dedicata a Francesco Flamini* (Pisa: Mariotti, 1918), pp. 241-276. (7) Pontanus, *Ioannis Ioviani Pontani Hendecasyllaborum libri*, ed. by Liliana Monti Sabia (Naples: D'Auria, 1978), pp. 122-124 (nr. 2, 24). (8) A poem addressed to Cabacius Rhallus by the scribe of cod. Hamiltonianus 561 (Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin), Ioannes Luchinus Curtius, is on fol. 1^r of the manuscript (see p. 200 below). (9) An anonymous elegy (by Thebaldeus?) addressed to Cabacius Rhallus in Vat. lat. 3353, fol. 13^v (see p. 200 below). Note in this context also that in cod. 504 (B V 47) of the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome, containing an *epigrammatum libellus* of Franciscus Uberrus Caesenas (Francesco Uberti of Cesena), Kristeller identified the addressee of one of the epigrams probably correctly with Manilius Cabacius Rhallus. Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Iter Italicum: A finding list of uncatalogued or incompletely catalogued humanistic manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and other libraries*, 6 vols (London: University of London. Warburg Institute, 1963-1997), II (1967), 98-99.

⁴ See, for a critique of traditional approaches to the Byzantines of the Renaissance, George E. Karamanolis, 'Was There a Stream of Greek Humanists in the Late Renaissance?', *Ελληνικά*, 53 (2003), 19-47.

⁵ The role and function of epigrammatic poetry has been explored from various angles in *The Neo-Latin Epigram: A learned and witty genre*, ed. by Susanna de Beer, Karl Enenkel, and David Rijser, *Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 25 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2009).

⁶ Antonio Altamura, *L'Umanesimo nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia: Storia, bibliografie e testi inediti*, Biblioteca dell'Archivum Romanicum, 1, Storia – Letteratura – Paleografia, 29 (Florence: Bibliopolis, 1941); Id., *Manilius Rhallus*, Biblioteca dell'Accademia d'Ungheria, N.S. 18 (Rome: [s.n.], 1947) = 'Manilio Rallo', in *Studi e ricerche di letteratura umanistica*, Studi e Testi Umanistici, 4 (Naples: Vitti, 1956), pp. 127-145. The

to begin filling this gap, the present contribution aims to present in a critical fashion (1) the available historical data regarding the life of Manilius Cabacius Rhallus, (2) an overview of the sources for his poetry, and (3) a sample or *editio minor* of his Latin poems in order to offer a more informative edition of his work than is currently available. The collection of old prints and manuscripts is not intended as an exhaustive inventory, and this article does not provide a complete collation of the available evidence. Yet it intends to offer a solid basis and useful starting point for anyone interested in the works of Cabacius Rhallus, and paves the way for a complete edition of his works.

1. A Byzantine poet in Italian exile: Manilius Cabacius Rhallus's life

Manilius Cabacius Rhallus's Byzantine background

Manilius Cabacius Rhallus was born in about 1447 in the Peloponnesus (probably in Mistra),⁷ and died in about 1523 in Rome, where he was buried next to his father in the Santi Apostoli.⁸ Although his youth in the

only assessments of Cabacius Rhallus's poetry after him are Fred J. Nichols, 'The Exile's Grief: Manilius Rhallus', *Journal of the Institute of Romance Studies*, 2 (1993), 123-140 and Han Lamers, 'A Byzantine Poet in Italian Exile: Manilius Cabacius Rhallus's self-presentation in the context of Leo X's philhellenism', in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Upsaliensis: Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies (Uppsala 2009)*, ed. by Astrid Steiner Weber (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 593-604. See also Fred J. Nichols, 'Greek Poets of Exile in Naples: Marullus and Rhallus', in *Ut granum sinapis: Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Honour of Jozef IJsewijn*, ed. by Gilbert Tournoy and Dirk Sacré, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, 12 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997), pp. 152-170. In part, this article is a reworking of my thesis 'A Byzantine Poet in Italian Exile: Politics and identity formation in the Latin epigrams of Manilius Cabacius Rhallus of Sparta (ca. 1447-1522)' (unpublished MA thesis, Leiden University, 2008).

⁷ Fred J. Nichols, 'The Exile's Grief', p. 124 assumes that Rhallus was born in about 1440; Nikos A. Bees, 'Demetrios Rallis Kabakis und der Marcianus IX 9', *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, 15 (1939), 137-140 (p. 137) proposes 1445; Manoussos Manoussacas, 'Cabacio Rallo, Manilio', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, ed. by G. Pignatelli et al. (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960-), XV (1972), pp. 669-671 (p. 669) suggests 1447; Carol Kidwell, *Marullus: Soldier Poet of the Renaissance* (London: Duckworth, 1989), p. 65 puts forward 1450; finally, Antonios Chatzi, *Οι Παούλ, Πάλ, Πάλαυ (1080-1800). Ιστορική μονογραφία* (Kirchhain: Schmiersow, 1909), p. 56 claims that Rhallus was born before 1450.

⁸ In an undated letter, Ianus Lascaris informed Arsenios Apostoles that Rhallus had died. According to Lascaris' account, the late ('μακαρίτης') pope Leo X had made promises to Apostoles about the see and Apostoles should go to Venice in order to claim his

Morea remains obscure, the epitaph he composed for his father at least gives us the names of his parents. It thus reveals us something about his Byzantine background.⁹ It appears that Rhallus was the only son of Thomais Bochalis-Megadouka (Μποχάλη-Μεγαδούκα) and Dimitrios Rhallis Kavakis (‘Ραούλ Καβάκης’).¹⁰ His mother was the daughter of Theodoros Bochalis, seen as a key figure in the Peloponnesus.¹¹ Members of his mother’s family were involved in the defence of the Morea against the Turks. Cabacius Rhallus composed an epitaph for his uncle Dimitrios Bochalis who suffered many injuries when he fought ‘pro laribus patriis, pro libertate focisque’ (25, 1).¹² Unlike his father, Rhallus’ mother died young. In a poem to Pontanus, the poet expressed his relief that she had not witnessed the final obliteration of her beloved lands, and expressed his own hopes to be buried in his native country (2, 59-73).

rights. Since Leo X died on December 1, 1521, the letter was not written before that date. As Arsenios and his rival Filippo Arrivabene settled an agreement in January 1524, Geanakoplos dates Lascaris’ letter in 1523 (see Deno John Geanakoplos, *Byzantium and the Renaissance* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Book, 1973), p. 188). This means that we may assume that Rhallus died between 1521 and 1523. Lascaris’ letter to Apostoles is reprinted in Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique*, I, clxix-clxx and, more recently, in Anna Pontani, ‘Per la biografia, le lettere, i codici, le versioni di Giano Lascaris’, in *Dotti bizantini e libri greci nell’Italia del secolo XV: Atti del convegno internazionale, Trento 22-23 ottobre 1990*, ed. by Mariarosa Cortesi and Enrico V. Maltese (Naples: D’Auria, 1992), pp. 363-433 (p. 385).

⁹ Vincenzo Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d’altri edifici di Roma dal secolo XI fino ai giorni nostri*, 14 vols (Rome: Tipografia delle Scienze Matematiche e Fisiche, 1869-1884), II (1873), 230 (nr. 676). With three differences with respect to Forcella’s text (‘D.M.’ instead of ‘D.O.M.’, ‘ex Thome’ instead of ‘ex Thomaide’, and ‘Bochali’ instead of ‘Bocchali’) the epitaph is also included in the *Iuueniles ingenii lusus* (see poem nr. 28 on p. 191 below). Cf. Chatzi, *Oi Paóλ*, p. 48.

¹⁰ Hody claims, however, that ‘Nicolaus Ríallus’ (the general who commanded Michael Marullus during one of his missions) was Rhallus’s brother. See Humphrey Hody, *De Graecis illustribus linguae Graecae literarumque humaniorum instauratoribus, eorum vitis, scriptis et elogiis libri duo* (London: Davis, 1742), p. 292: ‘Fratrem habuit [Manilius Rhallus] Nicolaum Rhallum ducem istum sub quo militavit Marullus’. The same view is expressed by Antonio Altamura, *Manilius Rhallus*, p. 3 (= Id., ‘Manilio Rallo’, p. 129) on authority of Hody. Manilius does, however, not mention a brother in the *Iuueniles ingenii lusus*, neither does his father in his small genealogy of the family (see p. 133 with n. 18 below).

¹¹ Chatzi, *Oi Paóλ*, p. 42.

¹² Sphrantzes further recalled that one Manuel Bochalis defended Gardiki against the Turks but after the defeat fled to Naples. See Georgios Sphrantzes, *Memorii 1401-1477*, ed. by V. Grecu, *Scriptores Byzantini*, 5 (Bucarest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1966), p. 545. Also later, the Bochalis family was involved in military campaigns against the Turks. So, for example, in his *Vita* of pope Leo X, Paulus Iovius mentioned one ‘Constantinus Boccalus’ as a leader of the Greeks. See *Pauli Iovii Vitae*, ed. by Michele Cataudella (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1987), p. 83.

Rhallus's father, on the other hand, died in good health at the age of ninety in Rome. It seems that Kavakis held a considerable social status. His contemporaries addressed him as 'ἄρχων', 'αὐθέντης', and 'κύριος', titles which express social distinction.¹³ From his correspondence it further appears that Rhaoul Kavakis stayed in Constantinople, 'ὕπηρετῶν βασιλεῖ καὶ οἰκίας ἐπιμελούμενος'; this suggests that he was part of the imperial household in the capital city for a while.¹⁴

The Rhalli were very conscious of their nobility. In the grave epigram he composed for his father, for instance, Rhallus proudly called him an 'eques Spartanus' (see poem nr. 28 below). On one of the manuscripts he copied, Kavakis himself self-consciously stated that he was 'not a scribe, but of the noble senatorial order'.¹⁵ He further styled himself 'Spartan and Byzantine', 'Hellene and Thracian', and so identified both with his region (Hellas and the Peloponnesus) and with the imperial capital and its immediate hinterland (Constantinople and Thrace).¹⁶

Although it is unclear if Kavakis himself was born in Constantinople, he derived much of his aristocratic pride from his connection with the

¹³ See the letters of Matthaïos Kamariotes and Georgios Scholarios in *Cent-dix lettres grecques de François Filelfe*, ed. by Émile Legrand, Publications de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, 3/12 (Paris: Leroux, 1892), pp. 311-314 together with Chatzi, *Oi Paoúl*, p. 46 for the letter of Plethon. Fassoulakis further suggests that Kavakis was the son or brother of one 'Manouel Kabakes', who is mentioned as an ambassador of the Despot of the Peloponnesus in a Venetian document of 1422, but this cannot be confirmed. See Sterios Fassoulakis, *The Byzantine Family of Raoul – Ral(l)es* (Athens: Papadakis, 1973), p. 83.

¹⁴ Chatzi, *Oi Paoúl*, pp. 42, 46; Ihor Ševčenko, 'The Decline of Byzantium Seen Through the Eyes of its Intellectuals', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 15 (1961), 167-186 (p. 175, n. 31); *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, ed. by Erich Trapp et. al. (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976-), I/5, 2 (nr. 10016). When Zoë Palaiologina married Ivan III in 1472, he was sent from Rome to Moscow as a representative of her brothers at the wedding ceremony. See Robert Croskey, 'Byzantine Greeks in Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Century Russia', in *The Byzantine Legacy in Eastern Europe*, ed. by Lowell Clucas (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), pp. 33-56 (pp. 47-49), where it is suggested (but without citing evidence) that Cabacius Rhallus accompanied his father and remained a while in Russia.

¹⁵ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1293, fol. 419^r, cited in A. Keller, 'Two Byzantine Scholars and Their Reception in Italy', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 20 (1957), 363-372 (p. 367) and Chatzi, *Oi Paoúl*, p. 44. Miller briefly characterised Kavakis as 'a soldier and scholar' (see William Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921), p. 369).

¹⁶ 'Σπαρτιάτης καὶ Βυζάντιος', 'Ἑλλήν τε καὶ Θράξ', and 'Ἑλλήν Λακεδαιμόνιος'. See esp. Chatzi, *Oi Paoúl*, pp. 41-48 and Fassoulakis, *The Byzantine Family*, p. 83.

capital city.¹⁷ For example, he traced his ancestry back to the famous Theodore Metochites (1270-1332), statesman, scholar and patron of the arts. In one of his manuscripts, he asserted that he stemmed from Metochites from his mother's side, and added a notable pedigree of his family.¹⁸ A similar concern for his family's link with Constantinople and the city's nobility is revealed in a Greek letter he wrote to his son.¹⁹ In this note, Kavakis claimed a close connection with the Lascaris, Metochites, and Palaiologos families. He called Metochites' chapel in Constantinople 'our and our family's Monastery of the Holy Saviour in Chora' and cited the epitaph of Irene Rhaoulaina Palaiologina to indicate the family's close relationship with the imperial family.²⁰ Irene

¹⁷ Fassoulakis, *The Byzantine Family*, p. 83 argues that Kavakis was born in Constantinople. Cf. M.J. McGann, '1453 and All That: The End of the Byzantine Empire in the Poetry of Michael Marullus', in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Sanctandream: Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, St. Andrews, 24 August to 1 September 1982*, ed. by I.D. McFarlane, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 38 (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1986), pp. 145-151 (p. 147). This was also suggested in Keller, 'Two Byzantine Scholars', p. 367. Historically, it is likely that Kavakis' lineage goes back to Constantinople — whether it be via the Metochites-family or not — for the Rhaoul-family (originally of Norman extraction) entered the Peloponnesus via the capital city in the eleventh century, where it intermarried with the Byzantine aristocracy. In the Hesychast controversies, the Rhaouls supported the side of the anti-Palamites, and it was probably for this reason that some members of the family fled to the Peloponnesus in the second half of the 14th century. Though the family's importance in the capital city subsequently declined, their importance in the Morea increased until the fall of the peninsula in 1460. A succinct summary of the family's history can be found in Fassoulakis, *The Byzantine Family*, pp. 1-6.

¹⁸ Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, cod. T. 8.12, fol. 152^r, cited after Chatzi, *Oi Paoul*, p. 41 ('Τὸν πρὸς μητρὸς πρόπαππον ἡμέτερον Θεόδωρον τὸν Μετοχίτην. Θεόδωρος. Δημήτριος. Θεόδωρος. Δημήτριος. Μήτηρ ἐμή. Δημήτριος. Μανίλιος').

¹⁹ The letter was first edited with a Latin translation by Leo Allatius, *In Roberti Creyghtoni apparatus, uersionem, et notas ad historiam concilii Florentini scriptam a Silvestro Syropulo de unione inter Graecos et Latinos, exercitationum pars prima* (Rome: Mascardus, 1665), pp. 616-621 and later again by Konstantinos Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη ἢ συλλογὴ ἀνεκδότων μνημείων τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἱστορίας*, 7 vols (Venice: Chronos, 1872-1894), I (1872), ρκς'-ρλα. The editions of Allatius and Sathas seem to be based on another text than the autograph I had before me in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (probably cod. T.S. 12 of the Biblioteca Estense in Modena), and which I plan to publish elsewhere with an English translation and notes. All quotations below are from my transcription of Vat. gr. 1359. I normalised spelling and accents, but retained peculiarities of grammar.

²⁰ Vat. gr. 1359, fol. 487^v: 'ἡ δὲ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἐτάφη ἐν τῷ ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν Μοναστήριον τὸν Χριστὸν τὴν Χώραν...'. The tomb Kavakis referred to is in the present-day Kariye Djami in Istanbul. For its identification see Paul Atkins Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, 2 vols, Bollingen Series, 70 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1966), I, 280-288.

Rhaoulaina had been married to Constantine Palaiologos, the son of Michael VIII, the founder of Byzantium's last imperial dynasty. Their offspring 'were called worthy of kings, and reckoned themselves among their royal descendants'.²¹ Although Kavakis did not explain how he was related to Irene, it is clear that he saw her as an ancestor to be proud of.²² Tellingly, he wrote his letter to his son 'because of the complete destruction of [their] family'.²³ In order not to forget the family's noble background, and to communicate it to a Latin audience, he urged Rhallus to translate his note into Latin 'out of love for [his] family and in order to help [his] father because he is ignorant'.²⁴ At the end of the letter, he consoled his son by saying that, in the last analysis, descent (as 'a gift of fortune') is less important than one's virtue (which is really 'one's own and voluntary'), and quoted Glaukos's famous words about the generations of men which 'come and go as leaves year by year upon the trees' (Hom., *Il.* 6. 145-149).²⁵

While Constantinople was pivotal to Kavakis's self-image as a Byzantine nobleman, the city of Mistra on the Peloponnesus dominated his intellectual outlook. This is clearly reflected in his appreciation of the eccentric late-Byzantine philosopher Gemistos Plethon, whom Kavakis cited as a main source for his family history.²⁶ On a safe distance from the more conservative capital, Plethon had created a philosophical circle in Mistra, where he taught the last *fine fleur* of Byzantium. So, for example, he received at his school the young Bessarion (who later became a distinguished cardinal in Rome in 1439) and Laonikos Chalkokondylas (who wrote a much-reprinted history of the rise of the Ottoman Turks in the 1460s).²⁷ In the West, Plethon was mainly known for his presence at

²¹ Vat. gr. 1359, fol. 487r: 'καὶ οἱ ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς Παλαιολογίνας γεννηθέντες πάντες καὶ πάντες ἄξιοι ἐλέγοντο καὶ ἐγράφοντο πρὸς γένους τῶν βασιλέων'.

²² We happen to know that the only son of Irene Rhaoulaina and Constantine Palaiologos married to the daughter of Theodore Metochites (see Du Cange, *Historia Byzantina* (Paris: L. Billaire, 1680), pp. 232-234), but Kavakis' pedigree suggests that his mother's lineage went back to one of Metochites' sons.

²³ Vat. gr. 1359, fol. 487r: 'διὰ τοῦ γένους τοῦ καθόλου τὴν φθορὰν'.

²⁴ Vat. gr. 1359, fol. 489r: 'Πρέπον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς, ὃ υἱὲ μοῦ, ποιῆσαι λατινικῶς ταῦτα διὰ τὴν ἀγαπὴν τοῦ γένους, καὶ ἵνα βοηθήσης καὶ τῷ σῶ πατρί, ἀνεπιστήμονα ὄντα'.

²⁵ Vat. gr. 1359, fol. 489r: 'μηδὲν ἄρα πρέπον περὶ εὐγενείας μεγάλως φρονῆσαι τις· ἡ γὰρ εὐγένεια ἐστὶ τύχης δῶρον, ἡ δ' ἀρετὴ οἰκεῖον καὶ ἐκούσιον ἔργον'.

²⁶ Vat. gr. 1359, fol. 487r.

²⁷ On the relation between Bessarion and Plethon see Christopher M. Woodhouse, *George Gemistos Plethon: The Last of the Hellenes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986),

the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-1439). There, he impressed Italian humanists with his views on the relative merits of Aristotle and Plato; he is generally considered pivotal to the emergence of neo-platonism in Florence.²⁸ In his *Book of Laws* (his most controversial work) he designed a new political order based on a theology inspired by a combination of Hellenic pantheism, Zoroaster and Plato, a Platonic and Stoic ethics, and a less rigorous form of a Spartan political organisation. Gennadios Scholarios — the first patriarch under Ottoman rule — burnt the work as he considered it to be incompatible with orthodoxy.²⁹ It was Dimitrios Kavakis who saved the remaining fragments of the work.³⁰ He probably studied with Plethon at Mistra,³¹ and he surely shared the philosopher's interest in controversial ideas. In a manuscript of Julian the Apostate's *Address to King Helios*, for example, Kavakis confessed that he was a convinced

pp. 13-16, 32-33. In a manuscript, Kavakis recorded a conversation with Bessarion, where the latter states that 'Greece brought forth no wiser man than Plethon' (BAV, Vat. gr. 2236, fol. 141^v). The relevant Greek text is faithfully reproduced in Giovanni Mercati, *Opere Minori*, 6 vols (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1937-1984), IV (1937), 173, n. 2 (cf. François Masai, *Plethon et le platonisme de Mistra* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1956), pp. 385-386). Though Bessarion's admiration for a controversial philosopher like Plethon might strike us as odd for a Roman Catholic cardinal, similar attitudes towards Gemistos are expressed in his letter of consolation to the philosopher's sons and his epitaphs for him, all in Greek, and reprinted in Ludwig Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann: Funde und Forschungen*, 3 vols (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1933-1942), III (1942), 468-469.

²⁸ On Plethon's influence during the Florentine Council see Woodhouse, *George Gemistos Plethon*, pp. 171-188.

²⁹ Judging on the surviving preface, Plethon's *Book of Laws* treated theology, ethics, poetics, ceremonies, natural science, logic, Hellenic antiquities, and matters of health. English summaries of parts of the text are available in Woodhouse, *George Gemistos Plethon*, pp. 325-356, 354-356. For a German translation of parts of the text see 'Die Gesetze', trans. by Wilhelm Blum, in W. Blum, *Georgios Gemistos Plethon (1355-1452): Reformpolitiker, Philosoph, Verehrer der alten Götter*, Tumult: Schriften zur Verkehrswissenschaft, 29 (Zurich & Berlin: Diaphanes, 2005), pp. 7-23. Translations of the entire work are available in Greek: *Νόμων Συγγραφή*, trans. by Dimitrios K. Chatzimichail (Thessaloniki: Zitros, 2005), Spanish: *Tratado sobre las leyes. Memorial a Teodoro*, trans. by Francisco L. Lisi and Juan Signes ([s.l.]: Tecnos, 1995), and French: *Pléthon: Traité des lois*, ed. by C. Alexandre and trans. by A. Pelissier (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1966).

³⁰ See *Pléthon: Traité des lois*, ed. by C. Alexandre and trans. by A. Pelissier (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1966), p. 2, n. 1 and pp. 136-137, n. 4. together with Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique*, I (1885), 288.

³¹ Plethon addressed two letters to Cabacius Rhallus's father, in which the philosopher calls him his 'son' and 'brother'. This suggests that Kavakis and Plethon were very familiar (Chatzi, *Oi Paouli*, p. 46). Masai, *Plethon*, p. 76 called him 'un grand ami de Pléthon'. For a concise overview of the relation between Kavakis and Gemistos see Woodhouse, *George Gemistos Plethon*, pp. 34-35 and Dionysios Alexios Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée*, revised by Chryssa Maltezos, 2 vols, II (London: Variorum 1975), 375-376.

worshipper of the sun. He also asserted that his love of the sun had been conceived before he was 17, to which he later added that it still persisted at the age of 74, when he lived in Rome.³² In the same vein, he composed a *Theorema* of his own in which he promoted the active worship of the god Helios.³³ In his intellectual outlook, Kavakis was clearly closer to the more experimental atmosphere of the provincial periphery than to that of the rather conservative imperial centre.

After the Ottoman occupation of the Despotate (1460), the Rhalli moved to the Italian peninsula. As to Rhallus's whereabouts in Italy, his later years in Rome are best documented. In the dedicatory letter to his collection of poems, published in 1520, Rhallus claimed that, at the moment of writing, he had lived in Rome for 56 years (see below p. 170, ll. 60-62). This suggests that he arrived in Rome after 1464, i.e. two years before his father.³⁴ While after their move to Rome Kavakis retained his worship of the sun, Cabacius Rhallus eventually became Roman bishop of Malvasia. This points at a notable gap between two generations of Byzantine migrants. Like most of his literate countrymen, Rhallus's father found employment as a copyist in Rome. He associated with Byzantine Greek circles, did not hold a position of conspicuous social status, and spent much of his time copying Greek literature. Unlike many of his countrymen, his son showed no persistent interest in Greek literature, but

³² Joseph Bidez, *La tradition manuscrite et les éditions des discours de l'Empereur Julien* (Ghent: Van Rysselberghe & Rombaut, 1929), p. 78.

³³ On this *Theorema* and its intellectual significance see Keller, 'Two Byzantine Scholars', pp. 368-370.

³⁴ In a manuscript, now in the Vatican Library and copied by Kavakis, he declared: 'in the third full year of pope Innocent [i.e. 1487], we have been in Rome for 21 years'. BAV, Vat. gr. 1359, fol. 491v: 'πληρουμένου τοῦ τρίτου ἔτους τοῦ πάπα Ἰντζενσίου, ἔχωμέν ἐν Ῥώμῃ χρόνου Κα'. There can be various explanations for the gap of two years between the arrival of Rhallus's father and his own. Perhaps the most likely explanation is that Rhallus arrived in Rome before his father. The example of Michael Marullus shows that migrant families did not travel together all the time: Marullus's father sent his wife and children ahead to Calabria, while he himself stayed behind in Ragusa. Cf. Karl A.E. Enenkel, *Die Erfindung des Menschen: Die Autobiographik des frühneuzeitlichen Humanismus von Petrarca bis Lipsius* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008), p. 388. Moreover, young adolescents commonly travelled without their parents to cultural and economic centres in Italy, either for education, or to find a post. So, it is in itself not unlikely that Rhallus in his later teens went to Rome without his father in order to seek the protection of Bessarion or Thomas Palaiologos, or to study with Valla or Laetus, who lectured in Rome in the 1460s. A second explanation might be that Rhallus wrote his dedicatory letter to Giulio de' Medici not in 1520, but later, which would complicate the printing history of the *Iuueniles ingenii lusus* (on which see pp. 155-156 below). A third explanation presupposes chronological imprecision of either Rhallus or his father.

trained himself as a Latinist and Latin poet.³⁵ He not only embarked upon an ecclesiastical career in the Roman church, but also participated in the Latin literary circles in Rome.

Cabacius Rhallus's Roman career

Marino Sanuto offers valuable details about the poet's *cursus* in Rome. In his diary of November 1517, he summarised a letter of the Venetian Geronimo Lippomano, written in Rome on 21 October, 1517. Sanuto's summary suggests that Rhallus had a rather continuous career in Rome and that it was neatly interwoven with the Roman upper classes, notably the families of Della Rovere and De' Medici. Sanuto records that Rhallus, 'homo dotto e da bene, stete col Cardinal San Marco, poi con Papa Julio hessendo Cardinal, poi con li do Vincula, e adesso con Medici'.³⁶ The cardinal of San Marco, Marco Barbo, probably was Rhallus's earliest Roman alliance as he was cardinal from 1467 until his death in 1491. Giuliano della Rovere became cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli in 1471 and ascended the papal throne as Julius II in 1503. Della Rovere was the uncle of Galeotto Franciotti della Rovere who succeeded him as cardinal of the San Pietro in Vincoli, and who is also mentioned by Sanuto as one of Rhallus's affiliations. Galeotto della Rovere kept the post until his death in 1507, when he was succeeded by his brother Sisto Franciotti (1507-1517). In 1517, according to Sanuto, Rhallus stayed with the 'Medici'. This points to his affiliation with Giovanni de' Medici (who was elected pope to succeed Julius II in 1513) and his cousin Giulio de' Medici (who acted as vice-chancellor of the Holy See under his pontificate).

Sanuto's account is echoed in Rhallus's poetry. The collection comprises, for example, an epitaph for Marco Barbo (13 = *IIL* 25), a eulogy on the daughter of Giuliano della Rovere, Felice della Rovere (31 =

³⁵ An overview of the manuscripts owned and/or copied by Kavakis is in Spyridon Paulos Lambros, 'Λακεδαιμόνιοι βιβλιογράφοι', *Νέος Ελληνομνήμων*, 21 vols (Athens: Sakellarios & Phoenix, 1904-1927), III (1907), 303-357. Herbert Hunger recorded one Greek manuscript copied by Cabacius Rhallus (BAV, Vat. gr. 1378). See Hunger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten (800-1600)*, 9 vols. (numbered 1/A-C, 2/A-C, 3/A-C) (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981-1997), 3/A (1997), 153 (nr. 412) and 3/B (1997), 151 (nr. 412). By contrast, Hunger recorded 15 manuscripts (partly) copied by Rhallus's father. See Hunger, *Repertorium*, 3/A, 73-74 (nr. 162).

³⁶ Marino Sanuto, *I diarii*, ed. by Rinaldo Fulin, 58 vols (Venice: Visentini, 1879-1903), XXV (1889), col. 66.

III 55), and several poems to Galeotto della Rovere (5; 14; 20 = *III* 9; 38; 44) to whom Rhallus also dedicated a collection of poems that is now in Berlin (see below p. 154). The collection of *Iuueniles ingenii lusus*, on the other hand, was dedicated to Giulio de' Medici, the right hand of pope Leo X. In the dedicatory letter, Rhallus addressed him as his *patronus* (see p. 175 below). This shows that by the time he published the *Iuueniles ingenii lusus* in 1520, Rhallus was still associated with the vice-chancellor of the Roman Church. The central and longest poem of the collection for Giulio de' Medici is a crusade appeal in dactylic hexameters to pope Leo X (see pp. 152-153; 176-179). The major personages in Rhallus's Roman career are thus present in Rhallus's poetry.

Further evidence shows that Rhallus was affiliated with Julius II and his successor Leo X. His relation with the papal court moreover reveals all we know about his ecclesiastical career and offices. Rhallus was member of the family or *familia* of both Julius II and Leo X. Moreover, he assisted in the religious celebrations at the papal court. So, for instance, the papal *caeremoniarius* Ioannes Burchardus (Johann Burchard, 1450-1506) recorded that 'quidam scutifer SS D.N. Manilius' pronounced a prayer in the papal Capella Maior on Ash Wednesday on 5 February 1505.³⁷ On Christmas Day, Rhallus chanted the Greek Epistle in the papal celebration in Saint Peter's Basilica.³⁸ It seems that Rhallus held a very similar status at the court of pope Leo X. He not only was the pope's *familiaris*,³⁹ but also acted as his *acolythus capellae* and *cubicularius* (at least in 1513).⁴⁰ In addition, he is recorded as the

³⁷ Ioannes Burchardus, *Liber notarum ab anno MCCCCLXXXIII usque ad annum MDVI*, ed. by Enrico Celani, 2 vols, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 32 (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1907-1913; Bologna: Zanichelli, 1913-1942), II, 471.

³⁸ Burchardus, *Liber notarum*, II, 503: 'In mane, circa horam XVI, papa venit ad basilicam sancti Petri sub regno, recepit cardinales omnes et prefectos in reverentiam. Primam aquam dedit orator Florentinorum, II orator Venetorum, III d[ominus] Constantinus, IIII prefectus. Assistens tam in vesperis, quam hoc mane in missa, fuit camerarius; evangelium latinum dixit cardinalis Constantinopolitanus; epistolam d[ominus] Bernardinus Gambaria, subdiaconus apostolicus; epistolam grecam d[ominus] Manilius grecus; et evangelium d[ominus] Cosmas, episcopus aretinus. Alia more solito'.

³⁹ Konrad Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi: Saeculum XVI ab anno 1503* (Münster: Libraria Regensbergiana, 1923), p. 248 ('famil[i]aris S[uae] S[an]ctitatis').

⁴⁰ See Hergenroether, *Regesta gloriosis auspiciis Leonis D.P. PP. XIII. feliciter regnantis e tabularii Vaticani manuscriptis voluminibus aliisque monumentis adiuvantibus tum eidem archivio additis tum aliis erudit[is] viris* 8 vols (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1884), I, 15 ('accolit[us] capell[ae] ac cubicul[ario]'). It is notable, though, that Cabacius Rhallus is not among the *cubicularii* in the official *rotulus* of the papal court, drawn up in 1514 for the period between 1514 and ca. 1516. See Alessandro Ferrajoli, *Il ruolo della*

vice-chancellor's *commensalis*.⁴¹ It is generally difficult to pinpoint the duties that went with these titles.⁴² While the *scutiferi* of honour could carry the insignia of the pope in processions, the *acolythus* assisted in the service in the papal chapel. The office of *cubicularius* covered a very wide range of possible tasks from the care of papal clothing to the administration of the pope's correspondence.⁴³ Despite uncertainty about the specifics of these labels, the fact that Cabacius Rhallus was reckoned among the papal *scutiferi* under Julius II, among the acolytes and *cubicularii* under Leo X and among the *commensales* of Giulio de' Medici, demonstrates that he was more than a regular *familiaris*. He was part of the more intimate circles of the papal court and probably resided in, or in the close proximity of, the Apostolic Palace.

As a papal *familiaris*, Rhallus naturally enjoyed certain privileges. The prerogatives of the members of the papal family changed from office to office, but an important advantage was the privileged access to ecclesiastical benefices.⁴⁴ It seems that Rhallus's ecclesiastical career in particular benefitted from this. It was probably as a *familiaris* of Julius II that he obtained the church of San Marco in San Marco dei Cavoti (Benevento) from which he resigned under the reign of Leo X on 15 July 1513. For his resignation, the pope awarded Rhallus a pension to cover his expenses.⁴⁵ In March of the same year, Leo X had already awarded

corte di Leone X, ed. by Vincenzo de Caprio (Rome: Bulzoni, 1984), pp. 9-33 (esp. pp. 17-21).

⁴¹ Franz Hergenroether, *Regesta*, p. 217 ('Card[inalis] Vicecancellarii commensali[s]').

⁴² Cf. Elke von Boeselager, 'Fiat ut petitur: Päpstliche Kurie und deutsche Benefizien im 15. Jahrhundert' (Habilitationsschrift, Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf, 1999), pp. 125-126.

⁴³ On the structure of the papal court in the early modern period see Maria Antonietta Visceglia, 'The Pope's Household and Court in the Early Modern Age', in *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A global perspective*, ed. by Jeroen Duindam, Tülay Artan, and Metin Kunt, Rulers and Elites, 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 239-264 (with particular attention for the court of Leo X on pp. 249-253). Note that Leo X wrote a papal edict on the *cubicularii* and *scutiferi* at his court, which was issued as *Bulla officii cubiculariorum et scutiferorum apostolicorum* ([Rome]: [s.n.], [1515]).

⁴⁴ On the prerogatives and privileges of the *familiares* see Viscelia, 'The Pope's Household', pp. 251-264.

⁴⁵ Hergenroether, *Regesta*, p. 217: '[Leo X] Manilio Rallo cler[ico] Spartan[o], Card[inalis] Vicecancellarii commensali, qui par[ochialem] eccl[esi]am S[ancti] Marci de S[ancto] Marco de Canotis Beneventan[ae] dioec[esis] resignavit, pensionem ex dicta eccl[esi]a assignat per Angelum Parmerium eius rectorem cler[icum] Alifan[ensem] solvendam eum jure regrediendi, accedendi seu ingrediendi'.

him an annual endowment of forty golden ducats.⁴⁶ Four years later, the pope made him bishop of Malvasia in Greece. Rhallus resigned from this post in October 1520, but retained his title and half of the returns generated by the diocese.⁴⁷ Apart from these scattered indications, we know nothing more about Cabacius Rhallus's ecclesiastical career.⁴⁸

A Spartan poet in Rome

Apart from his professional and ecclesiastical career, another indication of Rhallus's position in Roman society was his fluency in humanist Latin and his participation in the literary circles of his time. Politianus praised him for his Latinity and wrote that he was 'a Greek man, but learned in Latin letters to the highest degree'.⁴⁹ Petrus and Tranquillus Gravina composed two laudatory epigrams that were attached to the only printed edition of Rhallus's poetry (see pp. 199-200 below). In his epigram, Petrus Gravina wrote that Rhallus's readers should be amazed that 'a

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p. 15: '[Leo X] Manilio Rallo accolito Capell[ae] ac cubicul[ario] suo concedit pens[ionem] super fructibus monast[erii] S[ancti] Antonii Januan[sis] dioec[esis] R[omanae] C[ivitatis]'.

⁴⁷ There is some confusion about the bishopric of Rhallus in the scholarship, but the evidence confirms that he held the see of Malvasia from 4 November 1517 until September or October 1520. See Konrad Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevii: Saeculum XVI, ab anno 1530* (Münster: Libraria Regensbergiana, 1923), p. 248. It seems that with the see of Malvasia, Rhallus also obtained the sees of Hierapetra and Herronesou whose union was confirmed on 5 March 1520 (Eubel, *Saeculum XVI*, p. 248 with n. 3). The union of these episcopal sees also explains the confusion about Rhallus's bishopric in, e.g., Hody, *De Graecis*, p. 291, Gyraldus, *De poetis*, p. 16, and Paulus Iovius, *Elogia uirorum illustrium*, ed. by Renzo Meregazzi (Rome: Istituto poligrafico Poligrafico dello Stato, 1972), p. 63. On the quarrel with Arsenios Apostoles about the post see Manousacac, 'Cabacio Rallo', p. 670.

⁴⁸ Another uncertain and puzzling connection of Cabacius Rhallus is his possible link with Split in Dalmatia, which was a Venetian harbour city. Rhallus was called a 'clericus Spalatensis' according to Eubel, *Saeculum XVI*, p. 248. I have hitherto not been able to find further evidence for a connection with Split. In his poems, Rhallus does not refer to the city at all, while Michael Marullus did praise his Croatian safe haven Ragusa (see *Epigr.* 4, 17). The fact that Cabacius Rhallus is only related to Split as a cleric in the ecclesiastical administration suggests the possibility that his position as a member of the clergy was somehow related to the Dalmatian city. But it might also be that the abbreviation 'Spalat.' is a misreading of 'Spartan.' as we find it in Hergenroether, *Regesta*, p. 217.

⁴⁹ Angelus Politianus, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Ida Maier, 3 vols, Monumenta politica, philosophica, humanistica rariora ex optimis editionibus phototypice expressa, 16-18 (Turin: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1970-1971), I (1970), 284 (= *Miscellanea*, I, 73): 'Graecus homo sed Latinis litteris adprime excultus'.

man, born in Sparta, could speak the Roman tongue so graciously'.⁵⁰ Also in this respect, Rhallus notably differed from his father. In his letter about his family history, cited above, Kavakis urged his son to translate his letter into Latin since he was unable to do so himself.⁵¹ Rhallus, on the other hand, studied the Latin language and Latin literature with so much care that he was able to participate in the sophisticated literary circles of Rome.⁵²

According to Rhallus, Iovianus Pontanus had described the distinctive features of his Latin style as 'flowery and dense'.⁵³ While Rhallus's Latin is denser than Michael Marullus's and much denser than Ioannes Gemistus's, it is generally easier than the terse poetic language of Ianus Lascaris. Rhallus has a particular predilection for postponed conjunctives and relatives, and sometimes explores the limits of regular Latin syntax. Still, his Latin exhibits few real idiosyncrasies (a notable exception being *concutiere* instead of *concussere* in 3, 6).⁵⁴ Some other unusual features of his language are shared by fellow Renaissance writers,

⁵⁰ See nr. 1 among the testimonies below on p. 199. Together with the poem of Tranquillus Gravina, the poem is also available in the collection of BAV, Vat. lat. 3353, fols. 133^v-134^r.

⁵¹ See note 24 above. The difference between father and son is also subtly reflected in the first library register of the Vatican Library (BAV, Vat. lat. 3964), showing (on fols. 25^r and 33^v) the registrations of both Dimitrios Kavakis (in Greek) and his son (in Latin). See Chatzi, *Oi Paoul*, pp. 47 and 57. The text is most conveniently available in Maria Bertolà, *I due primi registri di prestito della Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, codici vaticani latini 3964, 3966* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1942), ix, pp. 25 and 35.

⁵² On the Roman societies see, e.g., Julia Haig Gaisser, 'The Mirror of Humanism: Self-reflection in the Roman Academy', in *On Renaissance Academies*, ed. by Marianne Pade, *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici, Supplementa*, 42 (Rome: Quasar, 2011), pp. 123-132.

⁵³ Cabacius Rhallus recalled Pontanus's judgement on his poetry himself in his dedicatory letter to Giulio de' Medici in the *Iuueniles ingenii lus* (see p. 169, l. 21 below). Pontanus's qualifications traditionally denoted *dicendi genera* in oratory. Quintilianus (*inst.* 12, 10, 58-63) distinguished three 'dicendi genera', one of them being 'medium' or 'floridum'. Best suited for the purposes of pleasing and conciliating, the flowery style is characterised by its richness of metaphors and figures, its well-structured composition, and seductive *sententiae*. Quintilianus compared it to a gentle river, clear but shaded by green banks on either side (12, 10, 60). The qualification 'pressum' was associated with the Attic as opposed to the Asianic style. Quintilianus (12, 10, 16) states that the Attic orators were thought to be 'pressi et integri', whereas the Asianic orators seemed 'inflati et inanes' (cf. *Tac. dial.* 18, 4).

⁵⁴ *-cutiere* is an extremely rare form which I have as yet not been able to trace elsewhere in the searchable corpus of Latin literature. However, the earliest retrievable occurrence of *-cutierunt* is in Eddius's *Vita Wilfridi I episcopi Eboracensis* (see the edition of Wilhelm Levison in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum*

such as the use of *dicatura* instead of *dedicatio*,⁵⁵ and the verb *desuescere* with an accusative case.⁵⁶ Rhallus was able to compose verses in a wide range of metres (the selection presented below displays, for instance, elegiac distichs, dactylic hexameters, hendecasyllables, various kinds of Asclepiads, and Glyconic and Pherecratean stanzas). Together with the appreciative words of Politianus and the Gravina brothers, Rhallus's poems show that he was not only able to *use* Latin. He rather participated in the skilled modes of humanist communication of which poetry, just as letter writing, formed such an essential part.

It has been asserted that Rhallus was part of the literary circle of Johann Göritz in Rome,⁵⁷ but the relevant evidence (if it exists) remains unpublished.⁵⁸ His poems are, on the contrary, prominent in the voluminous collections of epigrams compiled by Angelus Colotius (see pp. 161-165 below). In these volumes, Colotius brought together poems of ancient and contemporary poets and arranged them according to themes such as 'fortitudo', 'irrisio', 'moralia', 'munera', 'de se', and 'imagines'. In these poetical 'reference books', Rhallus's poems feature prominently together with those of, among many others, Janus Panonius, Petrus Bembus, Marullus, and Colotius himself. Along with the other manuscripts I have been able to localise, Colotius's compilations illustrate *that* and — what is more interesting — *how* Rhallus's poetry was collected and read by his fellow humanists. The dissemination and digestion of humanist poetry outside the circuits of printed editions is a promising domain of research that can teach us a lot about the social and cultural functions of humanist small form poetry.

Merovingicarum, 6 (Hannover & Berlin: Hahn, 1913), p. 230). It seems that *-cutierunt* had at least some currency in later (especially seventeenth-century) Latin.

⁵⁵ It occurs in this sense, for instance, in a letter by Ioannes Faber to Beatus Rhenanus (dated 28 February 1519) for which see *Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus*, ed. by Adalbert Horawitz and Karl Hartfelder (Leipzig: Teubner, 1886), p. 139 (line 10). See also René Hoven, *Lexique de la prose latine de la Renaissance* (Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2006), s.v.

⁵⁶ Compare Rhallus's 'aegrum hominem desuescere' (4, 40) with 'mortalemque hominem desuescere', used by Marcus Hieronymus Vida in a comparable context in his *Hymni de rebus divinis* 4, 115-121 (121). I used the edition of Vida's *poemata omnia* by Giovanni Antonio and Gaetano Volpi (Padua: Josephus Cominus, 1736) (here p. 261). The use of *desuescere* with an accusative case is rare but not entirely unknown in ancient Latin (cf. Apul., *flor.*, 15).

⁵⁷ Pierre de Nolhac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini: Contributions à l'histoire des collections d'Italie et à l'étude de la Renaissance* (Paris: Vieweg, 1887), p. 147.

⁵⁸ See the helpful 'Index poetarum corycianorum', in *Coryciana*, ed. by Jozef IJsewijn (Rome: Herder, 1997), pp. 393-403.

Cabacius Rhallus's established position among the humanists and poets of Rome appears with particular clarity from his contribution to a curious project of Roman humanists in 1513. In that year, pope Leo X decided to grant Roman citizenship to his brother and cousin. Shortly after the solemn ceremony at the Campidoglio, the Sicilian poet Iulius Simon (Giulio Simoni) published a poem in celebration of the event and the pope. As a token of his appreciation, the pope offered Simon a lectureship at the Sapienza. This roused the anger of Roman humanists. Seventy-two of them responded to the Sicilian's poem in a well-orchestrated effort to ruin the newcomer's reputation. To this effect, they produced a devastatingly critical commentary to his poem. Together with an ironic mock *vita* of the Sicilian poet, they attached it to the printed version of his work (extant in cod. Vat. lat. 5356).⁵⁹ Together with, among other apogees of Roman humanism, Colotius, Paulus Iovius, Pierius Valerianus, and Marcus Hieronymus Vida, Rhallus participated in the project. Another post-Byzantine scholar, Ianus Lascaris, also joined the protesters.⁶⁰ The incident illustrates that, by 1513, Rhallus was among those intellectuals who found themselves in the position to protest against unwelcome 'outsiders'. He was part of the Roman establishment.

Rhallus's ability in Latin presupposed a thorough training in Latin language and literature. It is unknown where the poet received his education in the language, and clear information about the poet's previous education is lacking. As he arrived in Rome in the 1460s, it is very likely that Rhallus attended Pomponius Laetus's courses and that he was part of the group of humanists associated with him. Although Rhallus's work

⁵⁹ See for a short assessment of the affair Julia Haig Gaisser, *Pierio Valeriano on the Ill Fortune of Learned Man: A Renaissance humanist and his world* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999), pp. 27-28. Unfortunately, Vat. lat. 5356 (BAV), fols. 95^r-128^v remains unedited. The arrangement of the original printed text with commentary is as follows: fols. 95^r-102^v: *Epulum populi Romani eucharisticon per Siculum. Impressum Romae per Magistrum Stephanum et Magistrum Herculem socios. Anno M.D.xiii Die.xviii.Septembris* [= the printed text of Simon's poem]; fol. 103^r: *Iul. Simonis siculi epulum cum duobus et septuaginta commentatoribus singulorum nomine suis locis reddito*; fols. 104^r -110^v: *Iulii Simonis Siculi uita per Sauoiam*; fols. 111^r-114^v: *Iulii Simonis Siculi epulum cum duobus et septuaginta commentatoribus singulorum nomine suis locis reddito* [= commentary to Simon's introductory letter]; fols. 115^r-128^v [= commentary to Simon's poem].

⁶⁰ BAV, Vat. lat. 5356, fol. 116^r: '*Orbem ego iam cerno*. Sphericam rotunditatem poetae notissimam. Notum praeterea quas tranent poetae Symplegades ne aciem oculorum refundant, Manilius Rallus'. His comment must be read with fol. 96^r, where Simon wrote: '*Orbem ego iam cerno redeuntem et dona ferentem. Europam atque Asiam gestantes cerno tributum*'.

does not document his relation with Laetus, it includes few poems to Laetus's associates. So, for instance, Rhallus wrote a *tumulus* for Augustinus Maffaeus (1496) and addressed one 'Geminianus', probably Callimachus Experiens. In two of his poetic invectives, Callimachus attacked a certain 'Manolius Graecus', who might be identified with Manilius Rhallus.⁶¹ Another link with Laetus's circles might be the poet's connection with Demetrio Guazzelli and Bartholomaeus Platina. He wrote a consolatory poem for Guazzelli's anthology in honour of Alessandro Cinuzzi, who died in 1474 (see p. 160 below). For Platina, he wrote a laudatory epigram included in posthumous editions of the *Vitae pontificum* (see pp. 161, 198 below).

The only more direct evidence to connect Rhallus and Laetus is a remark by Politianus. In his *Miscellanea*, the Florentine humanist recorded that Cabacius Rhallus showed him a manuscript of Festus. This codex (identified as Farnesianus IV.A.3) circulated among Laetus's friends, and Laetus himself possessed a part of it. All the same, this does not reveal much about the relation between Rhallus and Laetus. The same holds true for the edition of Paul the Deacon's epitome of Festus that one 'Manilius Romanus' dedicated to Laetus in 1475. The identification of this Manilius with Cabacius Rhallus is questionable at best, even if it is commonly accepted in modern scholarship.⁶²

Rhallus, Pontanus, and Naples

Whereas Cabacius Rhallus's connection with Laetus remains obscure, he is often mentioned as a pupil of Pontanus in one breath with his fellow exile poet Michael Marullus. So, for instance, Gyraldus claimed that both refugees had 'come forth from the same Academy', namely Pontanus's

⁶¹ If this is true, Callimachus Experiens probably alluded to Rhallus's role in the rediscovery of the Festus-codex in one of them (Callimachus Experiens, *Carmina*, p. 231 (nr. 97, ll. 1-3): 'Solertissime gregulationis | librorum carie reconditorum | qui fraudas tineas').

⁶² The scant evidence connecting Cabacius Rhallus with Laetus is brought together in a critical overview in Han Lamers, 'Manilio Cabacio Rallo', *Repertorium Pomponianum*, ed. by Marianne Pade and Johann Ramminger (URL: www.repertoriumpomponianum.it/pomponiani/rallo.htm, visited on 19/11/2011). On the editorship of *De uerborum significatione* (Rome: Reinhardi, 1475) (ISCT No.: if00144000) see Han Lamers, 'Creating Room for Doubt: A reexamination of the editorship of Festus' *Collectanea* (Rome, 1475)', which is forthcoming in *Philologus. Zeitschrift für antike Literatur und ihre Rezeption*.

in Naples.⁶³ Moreover, Marullus mentioned Rhallus among his Neapolitan *sodales* in his *Epigrammaton liber* (*Epigr.* 1, 54). Nevertheless, Rhallus's connection with the Pontanian academy remains just as vague as his connection with Laetus's circle in Rome. The poet himself repeatedly suggested that he was familiar with Pontanus, but remained implicit about his actual relationship with him. In his dedicatory letter to Giulio de'Medici, he quoted Pontanus judgement about his Latin style and called Marullus (not himself) Pontanus's 'discipulus' (see p. 169, l. 23). He also wrote a substantial elegiac letter to the Neapolitan humanist in which he presented him as his intellectual and literary mentor (see pp. 173-175). It is notable that Rhallus wanted to stress his relation with Pontanus in his *Iuueniles ingenii lusus* even almost twenty years after the poet's death. Pontanus's poetry enjoyed special popularity in Rome. Angelus Colotius's *sodalitas*, for instance, celebrated Pontanus as a paragon of Latin poetry.⁶⁴ Rhallus probably wanted to affirm the place of his poetry in the Pontanian tradition in order to augment his own literary status in Roman circles.

When Rhallus visited Naples is uncertain. He probably spent some time there between 1495 and 1503, when his patron Giuliano della Rovere lived in effective exile and travelled between France, Rome, and Naples.⁶⁵ In 1494, Della Rovere journeyed to Avignon to join powers

⁶³ Gyraldus, *De poetis*, pp. 16-17: 'Ex eadem Pontani academia fluxere Michael Marullus et Manilius Rhallus, ambo parentibus Graecis nati, in Italia enutriti, Latinis tamen litteris magis imbuti atque inuicem amici, uterque epigrammatum poeta, sed Rhallus Marullus cultior et argutiorque, Marullo Rhallus fortunatior, quippe qui a Leone X. his mensibus Cretensium sit pontificatu honestatus'. Probably on the basis of Gyraldus, Camillo Minieri-Riccio, *Biografie degli accademici alfonisini detti poi pontaniani dal 1442 al 1543*, Italica gens, 7 ([s.l.a.], repr. Bologna: Forni, 1969) listed both poets among the 210 members of Pontanus's Academy between 1442 and 1543. However, Michele Maylender, *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia*, 5 vols (Bologna: Capelli, 1929-1930), IV (1929), 334 pointed out that this is not to say that all these 210 scholars were actual members of the Academy for a long time, if they were at all. The contacts with the Academy of some (or most) of them might well have been more incidental. All in all, the idea of an Academy with some kind of protocol and formal membership is probably not how we must understand the more informally organised study-groups like those of Pontanus in Naples. See James Hankins, 'Humanist Academies and the Platonic Academy of Florence', in *On Renaissance Academies*, pp. 33-46 (pp. 36-39).

⁶⁴ Gaisser, 'The Mirror of Humanism', p. 124.

⁶⁵ It has often been claimed that Rhallus lived in Naples from 1492 to 1497, but without citing evidence. See Altamura, *Manilius Rhallus*, p. 4; Mario Emilio Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and of the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy, 1300-1800*, 6 vols, 2nd rev. edn (Boston, MA: Hall, 1962-1967), IV (1962), 3029; Nichols, 'Greek poets', p. 156; Id., 'The Exile's Grief',

with the king of France against pope Alexander VI. The cardinal planned to conquer Naples and use the city as a basis for an ambitious expedition against the Ottoman Turks.⁶⁶ Maybe Rhallus joined his new patron. Maybe he felt, with the cardinal, that the election of Alexander VI was tantamount to treachery, and that they should flee, to use the words of Giovanni de' Medici, 'the jaws of a rapacious wolf'.⁶⁷ In any case, Rhallus more than once ridiculed Alexander VI in his verse (poems 11, 12, and 33 in the edition below).

If indeed Rhallus accompanied his patron on his way to France, this would explain a remarkable poem to Augustinus Moravus (24 = *III* 47), in which he quite vaguely stated that after having been 'deceived' ('proditus', 24, 7) he left the 'tectā Remi' (referring to Italy, 24, 8).⁶⁸ If this is so, the poet probably also joined the cardinal when he travelled to Naples, together with the French king, in early 1495. His comrade Marullus also joined the company for he hoped that Charles VIII would actually use his conquest of Naples as the basis for a crusade.⁶⁹ It is possible that Rhallus stayed in Naples after the French retreat, possibly until 1503, when Giuliano della Rovere was elected pope. His anthology contains a poem to the king of Naples Federico I of Aragon whose reign (1496-1501) overlaps with Della Rovere's period of exile. In the poem, Rhallus expressed his gratitude for Federico's generosity for he had alleviated the 'profugi naufragium' (29, 10). This might support the idea that Rhallus was in Naples during the reign of Federico. Of course, we must not overrate the value of humanist poetry as a source for trustworthy historical facts. On the other hand, Rhallus's stay in Naples in the period just indicated seems to be more plausible than the traditional hypothesis that he stayed in Naples from 1492 to 1497. Only further research can settle the question.

p. 124. Manoussacas argued that Rhallus's departure from Rome was motivated by the death of his patron Marco Barbo (1491) and the subsequent ascension of Alexander VI (1492) (see Manoussacas, 'Cabacio Rallo', p. 669).

⁶⁶ Christine Shaw, *Julius II: The Warrior Pope* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), pp. 81-115.

⁶⁷ Herbert M. Vaughan, *The Medici Popes: Leo X and Clement VII* (London: Methuen, 1908), pp. 34-35; Carlo Falconi, *Leone X: Giovanni de' Medici* (Milan: Rusconi, 1987), pp. 188-189.

⁶⁸ On the identification of the 'tectā Remi' see McGann, '1453 and All That', p. 146. Elsewhere Rhallus used a similar expression to refer to the Italian peninsula ('domus Remi' in 30, 3 on p. 192 below).

⁶⁹ Kidwell, *Marullus*, pp. 201-232.

Insider or outsider?

So far emphasis has been on Cabacius Rhallus as an insider to humanist culture in Rome. All the same, his poetry gives a very different impression. In his poems, Rhallus lamented his forced displacement ('exilium') from his fatherland and his status as an expatriate. So, for example, he claimed that his people's honour ('gentis honos'), his family properties ('census avitus'), and his ancestral home ('materno stemmate fulta domus', 1, 29-32) had all perished, and that he had become an 'obprobrium' (1, 20). Even though he wrote Latin poetry (earning him general admiration), Rhallus insisted that it was not his primary language. As he pointed out to Ianus Lascaris, his Muse (born 'in patria Atthide') thundered forth in Roman sounds only in order to avoid vanishing altogether (30, 15-21). More importantly still, Rhallus stressed that his 'exilium' and the loss of his fatherland 'Graecia' had devastated his poetical abilities. As a consequence, more than once his voice must be stirred out of silence, either by Pontanus (nr. 2, pp. 173-175), by Mnemosyne (nr. 3, pp. 175-176), by Apollo (nr. 17, pp. 185-186), or by Felice della Rovere (nr. 31, pp. 193-194).

In an elegiac letter to Iovianus Pontanus, Rhallus explicitly connected his inability to write 'high' (i.e. philosophical) poetry with the fall of 'Graecia'. Along with his literary 'ingenium' (2, 1-16), also Rhallus's Spartan character faded away. His forced displacement from his fatherland not only affected his ability to write poetry, but it also corroded his ability to speak, think and act like a veritable Spartan or Greek. The corrosive effect of his exile is further explicated in Rhallus's poem about exile ('De exilio'). There, the poet claims that, due to his forced displacement, he is deprived of his ancestral courage ('patrii animi') and his Spartan virtue ('Spartana uirtus'), and has to adapt to 'rudes mores' (1, 49-58). The rhetoric of loss and corrosion pervading Rhallus's poetry also explains why Rhallus referred to himself as a 'shade' or talks about 'what is left of him'. In the dedicatory letter to Giulio de' Medici, for example, the poet stated that his remainders ('reliquiae meae') have taken refuge in a stormy harbour (ll. 35-36). In his elegiac letter to Pontanus, he declared that he was nothing but a shade, a ghost on a funeral pile (2, 7-8).

Cabacius Rhallus's own corrosion parallels the cultural and national decline of 'Graecia' under Ottoman domination. Under the detrimental influence of the Ottoman Turk, 'Graecia' lost her distinctive character and her language so that she has become unrecognisable. 'Graecia' is

now both Rhallus's 'patria' and 'hostica tellus' (2, 39-52). In this respect, Rhallus radically differed from his fellow poet and expatriate Michael Marullus. While Marullus tried to revive Spartan traditions, and to show their value for the present, Cabacius Rhallus on the contrary insists on loss and rupture. Seen from this angle, his poetry uproots and complicates the image of Rhallus as an insider (as a Roman humanist, a Neapolitan poet). As he presents himself emphatically as a *non-Greek*, stressing his inability to write, his exilic persona radically opposed the expectations of his audience.⁷⁰ Most Byzantines represented themselves as heirs and descendants of the ancient Hellenes and their literary heritage. They not only claimed their literary heritage, but also their genius and character.⁷¹ Shortly after the fall of Constantinople, for example, cardinal Bessarion expressed his hope that his collection of Greek manuscripts would help contemporary and future Hellenes not to become a 'voiceless' people, not unlike 'barbarians' and 'slaves'.⁷² By adopting a rhetoric of barbarisation, enslavement, and poetic aphasia Rhallus inverted the image most Byzantine scholars in Italy presented of themselves. While he was an insider to Rome, he had become an outsider to his Greek homeland.

2. The works of Manilius Cabacius Rhallus

There is no modern critical edition of Rhallus's poetry available. Individual poems (or parts of them) are at the reader's disposal in the few articles and anthologies that include Cabacius Rhallus.⁷³ Even so, an

⁷⁰ See on this specific aspect of Cabacius Rhallus's poetry, and esp. its strategic usage, Han Lamers, 'A Byzantine Poet'.

⁷¹ The self-representation of Byzantine scholars in Renaissance Italy is discussed in more detail in Han Lamers, *Reinventing the Ancient Greeks: The self-representation of Byzantine scholars in Renaissance Italy* (PhD Dissertation, Leiden University, 2013).

⁷² Bessarion expressed his ambition to rescue the Greek heritage for his fellow Greeks in his letters to Michael Apostoles, published in Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion*, III, 478-484 (esp. p. 479, ll. 10-21).

⁷³ Altamura, *Manilius Rhallus*, *passim*; Altamura, *L'Umanesimo*, *passim*; *Antologia poetica di umanisti meridionali*, ed. by Antonio Altamura, F. Sbordone, and E. Servidio, *Studi e testi di letteratura Italiana*, 4 (Naples: Società Editrice Napolitana, 1975), pp. 147-151; Chatzi, *Oi Paoûl*, p. 48; *Formosissimus Puer: Gedichte auf den Tod des Pagen Alessandro Cinuzzi, 1474*, ed. and trans. by Markus Wesche (Hamburg: Männerschwarm, 2009), pp. 88-91, 94-95; Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique*, III, 258-263; Nichols, 'The Exile's Grief', *passim*. Note also the curious Italian poem to Benedetto Gareth (Chariteo) attributed to Rhallus and printed in *Le rime di Benedetto Gareth detto il Chariteo secondo le due stampe originali*, ed. by Erasmo Pèrcopo (Naples: Tipografia dell'Accademia delle Scienze, 1892), pp. ccxc-ccxc. Pèrcopo believes that the poem is not authentic, but was forged by the eighteenth-century antiquarian Gian Vincenzo Meola.

overview of the sources for his poetry is still lacking. To fill this lacuna, this section presents all prints and manuscripts with poems by Cabacius Rhallus that I have as yet been able to localise (there are probably more). These amount to three old prints (an incunable and two post-incunables) and eleven manuscripts (none of them autographs). Only two of them (the incunable and one manuscript) exclusively contain Rhallus's poetry.

The "Iuueniles ingenii lusus" (Naples: Pasquet de Sallo, 1520)

The text of the *Iuueniles ingenii lusus* (abbreviated to *IIL*) was printed for the first and last time by Giovanni Pasquet de Sallo in Naples in 1520.⁷⁴ The first scholar in the modern period to draw attention to Rhallus's poetry, Antonio Altamura, described the work as very rare ('il rarissimo volumetto')⁷⁵ and mentioned only two copies, both of them in Naples (today to be found in the Neapolitan Biblioteca Universitaria and the Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III).⁷⁶ Fred Nichols additionally pointed to a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, bound together with another volume,⁷⁷ and Pietro Manzi identified further copies of the work in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana and the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome.⁷⁸ In addition to the aforementioned, copies of Pasquet de Sallo's edition are available in the Biblioteca Estense Universitaria in Modena, the Oxford University Library, the Harvard University Library, and the Royal Library in The Hague. Some of the surviving copies have a printed errata-sheet attached to them.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ For a concise overview of Giovanni Pasquet de Sallo's life and printing activities see Pietro Manzi, *La tipografia napoletana nel '500* (Florence: Olschki, 1971), pp. 227-264. Persico's assumption that the *Iuueniles* were (re)published in 1535 is a confusion of the publication year and the day of the month in the *impressum* of the book: 'MD.XX.XV Decembr[is] Leon[e] x. pontif[ice]' (see Eberhard Gothein, *Il Rinascimento nell'Italia meridionale*, trans. by Tommaso Persico (Florence: Sansoni, 1915), p. 122, n 1). The year 1535 is incompatible with the pontificate of Leo X, who died in 1521.

⁷⁵ *Antologia Poetica*, p. 147. Cf. Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique*, I, clxviii who only knew a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris ('cette plaquette est de la plus insigne rareté').

⁷⁶ Altamura, *l'Umanesimo*, p. 136, n. 2. Later he added the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. See Altamura, *Manilius Rhallus*, p. 6.

⁷⁷ Nichols, 'The Exile's Grief', p. 123; Nichols, 'Greek Poets', p. 152. For the bibliographical details of the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale I refer to Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique*, III, 263 and Manzi, *La tipografia*, p. 249.

⁷⁸ Manzi, *La tipografia*, p. 249.

⁷⁹ In addition, the first poem to Licinna ('Elegia Erotice de discessu Licinnae') is separately available in the Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana in Rome (Manzi, *La tipografia*, p. 249).

The title of the collection, *Iuueniles ingenii lusus*, should not be taken at face value. Although the collection contains poems written during the poet's youth (e.g. his epitaph for Simonetta Vespucci who died when Rhallus was in his twenties), other poems are clearly compositions of later date (e.g. his address to pope Leo X, not composed before 1513, when he was in his late sixties). In his dedicatory letter to Giulio de'Medici, Cabacius Rhallus characterised his poems as 'trifles [he] used to amuse himself with when [he] was still young' (see p. 168, ll. 15-16). In the Latin phrase some programmatic words of the title recur: '*nug[ae] plane meas quas iuuenis admodum luseram*' (italics mine). He further described his collection as the 'work of juvenile fantasies' ('*feturam iuuenilium cogitationum*', l. 51), and as '*quicquid hoc sit libelli et operis*' (l. 40). In general, the evaluative language the poet employs (both in the title of the collection and in the dedicatory letter) is reminiscent of Catullus's famous dedication poem to Cornelius Nepos (Catullus, 1), where he programmatically set apart his poetry as '*nugae*' and described his booklet as '*quidquid hoc libelli qualecumque*'. Rather than an apt description of what the *Iuueniles ingenii lusus* actually are, such a vocabulary boils down to an approved and obligatory topos of modesty. While the label '*lusus*' highlights the unpretentious character of the poetry, the addition '*iuueniles*' reduces both its significance and its actuality.⁸⁰ As such, the booklet can be aptly contrasted with the works and industry of the dedicatee as in Catullus' first *carmen*.

In form and content, the *Iuueniles ingenii lusus* constitute a miscellaneous poetic collection with fifty-seven poems covering a wide range of

⁸⁰ Helga Bütler-Schön points at a similar rhetoric of *otium* and unpretentiousness in connection with the works of the German poet Johann Christian Günther (1695-1723) and his contemporaries. She suggests that 'die galanten Dichter ein Interesse daran [hatten], die Bedeutung ihrer Werke herunterzuspielen, denn sie rührten thematisch an gesellschaftliche Tabus und legten Wert darauf, nicht mit ihren Aussagen identifiziert zu werden' (H. Bütler-Schön, *Dichtungsverständnis und Selbstdarstellung bei Johann Christian Günther: Studien zu seinen Auftragsgedichten, Satiren und Klageliedern*, Studien zur Germanistik, Anglistik und Komparatistik, 99 (Bonn: Bouvier, 1981), p. 60). This claim is equally valid for Quattro- and Cinquecento Italy, especially as regards erotic poetry. When, for instance, Beccadelli violated the taboo on sexuality by publishing his *Hermaphroditus* in 1425, he felt the need to stress that a man's poetry does not mirror his way of life (an apology which he inherited from Catullus, Martial and Ovid, on which see especially Donatella Coppini, '*Dummodo non castum: Appunti su trasgressioni, ambiguità, fonti e cure strutturali nell'Hermaphroditus del Panormita*', in *Filologia Umanistica: Per Gianvito Resta*, ed. by Vincenzo Fera e Giacomo Ferraù (Padova: Antenore, 1997), pp. 391-410).

meters and topics, and varying in length from two to more than one hundred lines. Elegiac self-complaints and mournful epitaphs alternate with consolations for others, and vehement invectives against enemies are opposed to delightful eulogies for friends and patrons. The lively universe of Rhallus's collection is inhabited by fictitious personages, historical figures, friends, patrons, enemies and family members of the poet. Typically, the poet treated contrasting but interconnected themes: life versus death, youth versus old age, high poetry versus low poetry. Poems with erotic and exilic themes are prominent. So, for instance, the collection opens with a lengthy elegiac poem about the absence of Rhallus's beloved Licinna.⁸¹ The typical themes of Roman love elegy, the servitude of love (*servitium amoris*) and love as a military campaign (*militia amoris*), are recurring themes. This explains why, among his contemporaries, Cabacius Rhallus was mainly known as a love poet.⁸² Writing about the absence or loss of a beloved country and writing about the loss or absence of a beloved share a good deal of vocabulary and imaginary.⁸³ In his poetry, Rhallus explores this relationship in the second poem of the collection 'De exilio'. The poet is not a regular 'slave' but a slave of love or his mistress; he is not aimed at regaining his lost wealth but at chanting Licinna's beauty.

In addition to erotic and exilic themes, epitaphs are also frequent in the collection. In these, the contrasts between youth-life and old age-death climaxes. While his father died in good health at a very advanced

⁸¹ Like Michael Marullus's Neaera, Licinna is a literary invention of the poet rather than an identifiable historical individual. Rhallus's love poems to Licinna, Paula, Aucta, and the Hungarian Catia do not reflect a clear and coherent psychological or chronological development. In fact, it is not possible to schematise his love poems in the form of a coherent love history. Cf. P. Floriani, 'Alcune osservazioni sui primi *Epigrammata* di Michele Marullo', in *Studi filologici letterari e storici in memoria di Guido Favati*, ed. by G. Varanini and P. Pinagli, Medioevo e Umanesimo, 28-29 (Padova: Antenore, 1977), pp. 285-297 (pp. 292-293) and Han Lamers, 'Marullo's Catullus Imitations in the Context of his Poetical Criticism', in *The Neo-Latin Epigram*, pp. 191-231 (p. 192).

⁸² This is reflected in the poems by Petrus and Tranquillus Gravina attached to the *Iuueniles ingenii lus* and in an anonymous poem in BAV, Vat. lat. 3353, fol. 13^v (see below on pp. 199-200). Also Ioannes Luchinus Curtius, the scribe of cod. Hamiltonianus 561 (see below on pp. 153, 200), expressed special interest in Rhallus's love poetry in the elegy he attached to the manuscript. Rhallus was however also appreciated as an exile poet. See the poem by Adeodatus Marivorda in his *Poematon libellus*, p. 23 (nr. 41).

⁸³ Also, in 15th- and 16th-century medical treatises exilic and erotic feelings of loss were associated, on which see Henriette Roscher 'La nostalgie, maladie, mélancolie dans la littérature de médecine ancienne, et les poètes latins dans l'Europe de la Renaissance', *Journal of the Institute of Romance Studies*, 2 (1993), 141-149.

age in Rome (nr. 28, p. 191), Rhallus's maternal uncle died in defence of his country (nr. 25, p. 189), just like the heroic Swiss Guards who are honoured in the very last poem of the collection (*ILL* 57). Simonetta Cattaneo da Vespucci, nicknamed 'la bella Simonetta', prematurely died in 1476, and the clever and handsome Galeazzo died when he was eleven (nr. 21, p. 187). Especially the epitaphs for Simonetta and Galeazzo confuse the opposition of youth and old age by connecting youth with death. Apart from these epitaphs Rhallus also included epitaphs for Ioannes Antonius Quinterius (nr. 8, p. 181), his friend Alexander Cortesius (d. 1490, nr. 9, p. 182), his patron Marco Barbo (d. 1491, nr. 13, p. 183), Augustinus Maffaeus (d. 1496, nr. 18, p. 185), and the Hungarian bishop of Esztergom Tamás Bakócz (d. 1521, nr. 27, p. 191).⁸⁴

The central piece of the collection is an elaborate poem-letter to pope Leo X in 127 dactylic hexameters (nr. 4, pp. 176-179). In the poem, Rhallus urged the pope to undertake a crusade against the Ottoman Turks and to liberate the Holy Land. For this purpose, he brought to bear the basic arguments of humanist crusade rhetoric: the necessity of action against the infidel barbarians, the relative ease of winning victories over them, and the benefits that will accrue to the addressee.⁸⁵ However, Rhallus's poem is not a regular crusade appeal. Like his fellow expatriate Ioannes Gemistus, the poet worked the liberation of his fatherland 'Graecia' into the general crusade argument.⁸⁶ Whereas Gemistus depicted 'Graecia' as an important European country worthy of restoration, Rhallus tried to solve the rhetorical problem by playing on the pope's notorious philhellenism. In the opening lines, the poet addressed the pope as 'the greatest defender of both the language and the fatherland of the Greeks' (4, 2), and in the final lines, he urged him to start the war 'that must be fought in defence of the liberty and homes of the Greeks'

⁸⁴ In 'De nouo amore' (*ILL* 4), Rhallus connects youth and old age with the phases of poetical production. The poet states that he will compose cosmic poetry about the heavenly spheres in his old age. But like Pontanus in his youth, the youthful poet will now play the erotic lyre (*ILL* 4, 31-56).

⁸⁵ See Michael J. Heath *Crusading commonplaces: La Noue, Lucinge, and rhetoric against the Turks* (Geneva: Droz, 1986) and James Hankins, 'Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmet II', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 49 (1995), 111-207.

⁸⁶ On Ioannes Gemistus's crusade poem for pope Leo X in the context of humanist crusade rhetoric see Han Lamers, 'The Imperial Diadem of Greece: Giovanni Gemisto's strategic representation of 'Graecia' (1516)', in *Discourses of Power: Ideology and politics in Neo-Latin literature*, ed. by Karl Enenkel, Marc Laureys, and Christoph Pieper, *Noctes Neolatinae*, 17 (Hildesheim: Olms, 2012), pp. 65-94.

(4, 125). Rhallus strategically presented the reconquest of 'Graecia' as the crowning fulfilment of Florentine philhellenism as it had been instigated by the pope's father, Lorenzo il Magnifico (4, 74).⁸⁷ The question if Rhallus actually sent the poem to the pope, recited it in his presence, or intended it to reach him only indirectly via the dedicatee of the *Iuueniles ingenii lusus* cannot be answered. In any case, the presence of the poem in the collection shows that, far from being a potpourri of insignificant 'nugae', anthologies like the *Iuueniles ingenii lusus* could contain socially and politically relevant messages.

The codex Hamiltonianus 561 (Staatsbibliothek, Berlin)

The most important manuscript with poems by Cabacius Rhallus is the preciously executed parchment codex Hamiltonianus 561 (abbreviated to Ham. 561), now in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin.⁸⁸ It was bought by Antoine Galland for the French bibliophile Nicolas-Joseph Foucault (1643-1721) whose *ex libris* is still visible in the codex along with that of the Venetian antiquarian Apostolo Zeno (1669-1750). The scribe of the codex made himself known as 'Ioannes Luchinus Curtius', but his identity remains obscure.⁸⁹

Most poems in the Berlin manuscript are also in the *Iuueniles ingenii lusus*, but three of them do not appear in the printed edition of Rhallus's poetry (see the comparative table of contents on pp. 157-159 below). One of these is important as it offers more conclusive evidence for Alessandro Perosa's argument that one of Politianus's Latin poems must be attributed

⁸⁷ On various aspects of the philhellenic policy of Leo X see Giorgio Fedalto, *Ricerche storiche sulla posizione giuridica ed ecclesiastica dei Greci a Venezia nei secoli XV e XVI*, *Civiltà Veneziana*, 17 (Florence: Olschki, 1967), pp. 44-53; Stefano Pagliaroli, 'Giano Lascari e il ginnasio greco', *Studi Medievali e Umanistici*, 2 (2004), pp. 215-293 and Jean Christophe Saladin, *La bataille du grec à la Renaissance* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2000), pp. 101-122. Note that Saladin's work cannot be consulted without Anna Meschini Pontani's review in *Aevum*, 79 (2002), 852-867.

⁸⁸ Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, III, 367; Helmut Boese, *Die Lateinischen Handschriften der Sammlung Hamilton zu Berlin* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1966), pp. 275-276. The codex has recently been digitised by the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek and can be consulted online via <http://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de>.

⁸⁹ In his *Notizie appartenenti alla storia della sua patria*, 6 vols (Pavia: Fusi, 1823-1838), V/1 (1834), p. 217, Giuseppe Robolini mentioned a Luchino Curti who was a jurisconsult and lived in the sixteenth century, but apart from name and period there is no conclusive reason to identify him with the scribe of the Hamiltonianus 561. The poem was reprinted in W. Wattenbach, 'Die Handschriften der Hamiltonschen Sammlung', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 8 (1883), 327-346 (341).

to Rhallus. On the basis of ms. Magl. VII, 1195, fols. 117^v-118^r and ms. Vindob. lat. 3198, fols. 160^r-160^v Perosa argued that two poems normally attributed to Politianus (i.e. poems 73 and 74 in Isidoro Del Lungo's classic edition) should be attributed to Cabacius Rhallus.⁹⁰ The inclusion of 'Politianus' 74 in the cod. Hamiltonianus (not recorded by Perosa) further supports Rhallus's authorship of the poem.

Antonio Altamura claimed that the Hamilton manuscript contains an extraction of the *Iuueniles ingenii lusus* and that it was dedicated to Galeotto della Rovere. Even so, the idea that the Hamiltonianus is a *codex descriptus* is improbable.⁹¹ The arrangement of the poems is very different and the most substantial poem of the printed edition (Rhallus's letter to pope Leo X) is absent from the manuscript. It seems more probable that the Hamiltonianus was published *before* the *Iuueniles ingenii lusus*. The first poem of the collection gives us a clue for a more precise dating before 1520. It is addressed to Galeotto della Rovere in his capacity as cardinal of the San Pietro in Vincoli (which he became in 1503) and vice-chancellor of the Holy See (which he became in 1505). From this we may infer that it was written between 29 May 1505 and the cardinal's death on 11 September 1507.⁹² Together with the opening position of the poem, the colourful capital lettering of its title suggests that it functions as a dedication of the manuscript.⁹³ This is further substantiated by the coat of arms of the Della Rovere cardinal, added at the bottom of the page.⁹⁴ All in all, it seems reasonable to assume that the Hamilton manuscript was produced as a gift to Galeotto between 1505 and 1507 and that it thus preceded the *Iuueniles ingenii lusus* by at least 13 years.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ See Politianus, *Prose volgari*, p. 148 together with Alessandro Perosa, *Studi di Filologia Umanistica*, 3 vols, Studi e Testi del Rinascimento Europeo, 1-3 (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2000), I, 32-34.

⁹¹ Altamura, *Manilius Rhallus*, p. 6.

⁹² Note that Cabacius Rhallus's poem to Ianus Lascaris (nr. 32, pp. 195-196) (in which the poet announces the death of Galeotto della Rovere in ll. 11-14) is *not* included in the Hamiltonianus. Wattenbach, 'Die Handschriften', p. 341 misidentified Galeotto della Rovere with future pope Sixtus IV (who died in 1484).

⁹³ Also assumed by Altamura, *Manilius Rhallus*, p. 6. In another poem on fol. 13^v ('Ad cardinalem Galeottum' = nr. 22, pp. 187-188), Rhallus referred to the collection as a 'libellus' he sent to Galeotto della Rovere, and compared the collection to a child one sends to its caring parent to prosper and grow.

⁹⁴ In the *Catalogue of the Magnificent Collection of Manuscripts from Hamilton Palace* (London: Dryden Press, [s.a.]), p. 94 the coat of arms is identified as that of cardinal Francesco della Rovere (later Sixtus IV), which is, however, impossible for reasons of chronology: Della Rovere was appointed cardinal of the San Pietro in Vincoli in 1467.

⁹⁵ There is more than one indication that the codex Hamiltonianus was produced before the *Iuueniles ingenii lusus* were published. All poems to pope Leo X and Giulio de' Medici

There is, however, one major problem with the dating of the *Iuueniles ingenii lusus* and the Hamilton manuscript. Manoussos Manousakas first signalled that the epitaph for Tamás Bakócz (bishop of Esztergom in Hungary from 1497 until his death) complicates the publication date indicated in the impressum of the *Iuueniles ingenii lusus* ('MD.XX.XV. Decembr[is] Leone X. pontif[ice]'). Bakócz died in June 1521, i.e. half a year later than the publication date indicated in the impressum of the *Iuueniles ingenii lusus*.⁹⁶ From this fact, Manousakas inferred that the *Iuueniles ingenii lusus* were published after June 1521 or in 1522.⁹⁷ As the epitaph is also included in the codex Hamiltonianus, this would mean that both the manuscript and the print were produced after 1520.

How is this problem to be tackled? Should we assume that, against all the other evidence, both the print and the manuscript must be dated after June 1520? There is a good reason not to do so. If we suppose that the printed edition was issued after June 1520, there emerges a new problem that asks for unlikely conjectures. The impressum clearly states that Rhallus's booklet was printed on '15 December 1520 under the pontificate of pope Leo X'. Leo X died on 1 December 1521. If we assume, with Manoussakas, that the booklet was printed on 15 December 1521 or 1522, we must therefore also suppose an additional error in the impressum either in the day or in the month (on 15 December 1521 Leo X was dead) or in the name of the pope (on 15 December 1522 pope Adrian VI had already been pope for almost a year). This leaves us, however, with the epitaph for cardinal Bakócz published at least a decade before his death, namely in the Hamilton manuscript. Even though it remains curious, it is not entirely impossible. In 1506, the Hungarian bishop laid a foundation stone for the Bakócz Chapel, intended to become his own

so prominently in the printed edition are absent. Further, the manuscript contains a poem to Prospero Colonna (entitled 'Ad Prosperum de Columna') which is identical to nr. 17 on pp. 185-186 below. However, in the printed edition the poem goes under the illogical title 'De Prospero Columna'. Since in the codex Hamiltonianus the incorrect title is added in a second hand over 'Ad Prosperum de Columna', it seems reasonable to assume that it was added on the basis of the printed text of 1520.

⁹⁶ The identification is certainly sound as no other bishops with the name of 'Thomas' were appointed in Esztergom during Rhallus's life. Cf. Konrad Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi: Ab anno 1431 usque ad annum 1503* (Münster: Libraria Regensbergiana, 1914), p. 242 and Eubel, *Saeculum XVI*, p. 304.

⁹⁷ Manoussakas, 'Cabacio Rallo', p. 670: 'Il rarissimo libro ... porta la data 1520, ma è certo che uscì nel 1521 o 1522, perché contiene fra l'altro un epitaffio per l'arcivescovo di Strigonio Tommaso Bakócz, morto l'11 giugno 1521'.

sepulchral chapel, and constructed by Italian masters.⁹⁸ It is possible that the bishop had organised a contest for the best poem for his chapel, or that Cabacius Rhallus wanted to make an impression on the bishop with an appropriate epitaph for its decoration. From this perspective, it would make perfect sense that the epitaph for Bakócz features in the Hamilton manuscript, which can be dated to the period of the planning of the Bakócz Chapel and the first building activities.⁹⁹ All in all, I would suggest to stick to the evidence in support of dating the *Iuueniles ingenii lusus* in 1520 (in accordance with the impressum) and the manuscript between 1505 and 1507 (in accordance with the dedication to cardinal Della Rovere).

In order to give an overview of the contents of the *Iuueniles ingenii lusus* and the cod. Hamiltonianus 561, a comparative table of contents is added below.

⁹⁸ See Miklos Horler, *The Bakócz chapel of Esztergom Cathedral*, trans. by Lili Halápy (Budapest: Corvina, 1990), pp. 9-10, 22-32.

⁹⁹ Another reason to assume that the poem was written before 1507 is that in the codex Hamiltonianus, Tamás Bakócz is called 'Cardinalis Strigoniensis', while in 1507 he was appointed as patriarch of Constantinople, a title Cabacius Rhallus would probably not have failed to evoke.

Neapolitan 1520 edition			Ham. 561		Ham. 561		Nap. 1520	
<i>Title</i>	<i>nr.</i>	<i>fol.</i>	<i>nr.</i>	<i>fol.</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>nr.</i>	<i>fol.</i>	<i>nr.</i>
Petri Grauinæ epigramma		ii ^r	-	-	Epigramma Ioannis Luchini Curtii, scriptoris		1 ^r	-
Tranquilli Grauinæ phalaecium		ii ^v	-	-	Ad Galeottum, cardinalem Sancti Petri ad Vincula, uicecancellarium Manilius Cabacius Rallus	1	3 ^r	9
Reuerendissimo et illustrissimo domino meo (<i>dedicatory letter</i>)		iii ^r	-	-	Ad musam	2	3 ^v	10
Manilii Cabacii Ralli elegia erotice de discessu Licinnæ	1	A ^r	52	29 ^r	Ad Licinnam	3	3 ^v	11
De exilio et in eum qui primus seruiuit	2	Aiii ^r	51	26 ^v	Ad Geminianum	4	4 ^r	12
Non esse deserendos amores	3	B ^r	50	24 ^r	De se ipso conqueritur	5	4 ^v	13
De nouo amore	4	Biii ^r	53	32 ^r	Ad Licinnam	6	5 ^r	14
Laus autumnii	5	Biv ^v	54	34 ^r	In Varonem	7	5 ^v	15
Ad Pontanum Iouianum	6	C ^v	56	37 ^v	Ad Paulam	8	6 ^r	16
Diuo Iulio Medice, uicecancellario, patrono	7	Civ ^r	-	-	Tumulus Quinterii	9	6 ^v	17
Ad Leonem Decimum Pontificem Maximum	8	D ^r	-	-	Alexandro Cortesio amico	10	7 ^r	18
Ad Galeottum, cardinalem Sancti Petri ad Vincula, uicecancellarium	9	Div ^r	1	3 ^r	De Rufo Parmensi	11	7 ^r	19
Ad musam	10	Div ^v	2	3 ^v	Summum bonum frui optato, summum malum non frui	12	7 ^v	20
Ad Licinnam	11	Div ^v	3	3 ^v	De se ipso	13	8 ^r	21
Ad Geminianum	12	E ^r	4	4 ^r	Ad Licinnam	14	8 ^v	22
De se ipso conqueritur	13	E ^v	5	4 ^v	In Sextum Alexandrum	15	9 ^r	23
Ad Licinnam	14	Eii ^r	6	5 ^r	In eundem	16	9 ^v	-
In Varonem	15	Eii ^r	7	5 ^v	In eundem	17	9 ^r	24
Ad Paulam	16	Eii ^v	8	6 ^r	Tumulus Theodori Gazae	18	9 ^v	-
Quinterii tumulus	17	Eiii ^r	9	6 ^v	Epitaphium cardinalis Sancti Marci	19	9 ^v	25
Alexandro Cortesio amico	18	Eiii ^v	10	7 ^r	Ad musam	20	9 ^v	26
De Rufo Parmensi	19	Eiii ^v	11	7 ^r	Ad Licinnam	21	10 ^v	27

Neapolitan 1520 edition			Ham. 561		Ham. 561		Nap. 1520	
<i>Title</i>	<i>nr.</i>	<i>fol.</i>	<i>nr.</i>	<i>fol.</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>nr.</i>	<i>fol.</i>	<i>nr.</i>
Summum bonum frui optato, summum malum non frui	20	Eiv ^r	12	7 ^r	Ad Paulam	22	10 ^v	28
<i>Sine titulo</i>	21	Eiv ^v	13	8 ^r	Ad Leuinum venatorem	23	10 ^v	29
Ad Liciniam	22	Eiv ^v	14	8 ^v	De Simonetta	24	11 ^r	30
In Sextum	23	F ^r	15	9 ^r	In patriarcham	25	11 ^r	31
In eundem	24	F ^r	17	9 ^r	Ad Poscam	26	11 ^v	32
Epitaphium Marci Barbi, cardinalis sancti Marci	25	F ^r	19	9 ^v	Ad Falconem Simibaldum	27	12 ^r	33
Ad musam	26	F ^v	20	9 ^v	In Paulam	28	12 ^r	34
Ad Liciniam	27	Fii ^r	21	10 ^v	De Mancino	29	12 ^v	35
Ad Paulam	28	Fii ^r	22	10 ^v	Ad Angelum Politianum	30	13 ^r	36
Ad Leuinum uenatorem	29	Fii ^v	23	10 ^v	Ad Auctam	31	13 ^v	37
De Simonetta	30	Fii ^v	24	11 ^r	Ad Galeottum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae uicecancellarium	32	13 ^v	38
In patriarcham	31	Fii ^v	25	11 ^v	Ad Prosperum de Columna	33	14 ^r	39
Ad Poscam	32	Fii ^r	26	11 ^v	Tumulus Augustini de Maffeis	34	15 ^v	40
Ad Falconem Sinibaldum	33	Fii ^r	27	12 ^r	Ad Pompeium de Columna	35	15 ^v	41
In Paulam	34	Fii ^v	28	12 ^r	Ad eundem	36	16 ^r	42
De Mancino	35	Fiv ^r	29	12 ^v	Tumulus Galeatii	37	16 ^v	43
Ad Angelum Politianum	36	Fiv ^r	30	13 ^r	Ad Galeottum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae uicecancellarium	38	16 ^v	44
Ad Auctam	37	Fvii ^v	31	13 ^v	De Roma et Pannonia	39	17 ^r	45
Ad cardinalem Galeottum	38	G ^r	32	13 ^v	Ad cardinalem Strigoniensem	40	17 ^r	46
De Prospero Columna	39	G ^r	33	14 ^r	Ad Augustinum Moraum	41	17 ^v	47
Augustino Maffeo defuncto	40	Gii ^r	34	15 ^v	Tumulus Demetrii Boiochali Laconis auunculi	42	18 ^r	48
Ad Pompeium	41	Gii ^v	35	15 ^v	Parentice ad Reginam Hungariae Beatricem de Aragonia	43	18 ^r	49
Ad eundem	42	Gii ^r	36	16 ^r	Tumulus Strigoniensis praesulis	44	19 ^v	50
Tumulus Galeatii	43	Gii ^r	37	16 ^v	De Catia Pannonia	45	20 ^r	51

Neapolitan 1520 edition			Ham. 561		Ham. 561		Nap. 1520	
Title	nr.	fol.	nr.	fol.	Title	nr.	fol.	nr. fol.
Ad cardinalem Galeottum	44	Giii ^v	38	16 ^v	Ad Federicum Regem Neapolitanum	46	20 ^r	53 Hiii ^r
De Roma et Pannonia	45	Giii ^v	39	17 ^r	Ad Prosperum Columnam parenetice monocolos	47	21 ^r	54 Hiii ^v
Ad Strigoniensem	46	Giv ^r	40	17 ^r	Diuae Faelici Ruerae	48	22 ^r	55 Hiv ^v
Ad Augustinum Morauum	47	Giv ^r	41	17 ^v	Tumulus Patris D.M.	49	23 ^v	52 Hii ^v
Tumulus Demetrii Boiochali Laconis auunculi	48	Giv ^v	42	18 ^r	Eiusdem Manilii elegia erotice	50	24 ^r	3 Br
Parentice ad Reginam Hungariae Beatricem de Aragonia	49	Giv ^v	43	18 ^r	In eum qui primus seruiuit	51	26 ^v	2 Aiii ^r
Tumulus Strigoniensis praesulis	50	H ^v	44	19 ^v	De discessu Licinnae	52	29 ^r	1 A ^r
De Catia Pannonia	51	Hii ^r	45	20 ^r	De nouo amore	53	32 ^r	4 Biii ^r
Tumulus Patris D.M.	52	Hii ^v	49	23 ^v	Laus Autumni	54	34 ^r	5 Biv ^v
Ad Federicum Regem Neapolitanum	53	Hiii ^r	46	20 ^v	De ratione animarum. Erroris confessio	55	35 ^v	- -
Ad Prosperum Columnam parenetice monocolos	54	Hiii ^v	47	21 ^r	Ad Pontanum Iouianum	56	37 ^v	6 C ^v
Diuae Faelici Ruerae	55	Hiv ^v	48	22 ^r				
Iano Lascaro doctissimo ode monocolos	56	I ^v	-	-				
Laus Heluetiorum	57	Iiii ^r	-	-				

Other sources for Rhallus's poetry: Funerary anthologies and miscellaneous collections

Poems by Cabacius Rhallus feature in two funerary anthologies of a type that was popular in Rome and Florence in the later fifteenth century.¹⁰⁰ First, his poems appear in an anthology regarding the death of the young Sienese Alessandro Cinuzzi (1458-1474) who had been part of the household of cardinal Riario, but died young. Together with the poems of some fellow poets (some of them still unidentified) Rhallus's poems form an independent funerary collection ('Alexandri pueri Senensis multorum nostri temporis poetarum epigrammata') for which Ioannes Aloisius (Giovanni Alvise Toscani) wrote a very concise prose introduction. The collection survives in three manuscripts in Germany, Italy, and Sweden.¹⁰¹ The anthology not only circulated in manuscript, though. Shortly after 1474 it was put to the presses,¹⁰² and a modern critical edition of the small anthology with commentary and a German translation was published by Markus Wesche in 2009.¹⁰³

When in about 1475, Rhallus's fellow expatriate Theodore Gaza died, the poet participated in a similar project. Together with fellow humanists such as Politianus and Demetrius Chalcondylas, Cabacius Rhallus commemorated the death of Gaza (1475) in a small anthology entitled 'Epigrammata in obitum Theodori Gazae' (preserved in Vindob. lat. 3198 of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna).¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Perosa, *Studi di Filologia*, pp. 32-33.

¹⁰¹ University Library, Leipzig, cod. 1270, fols. 163^v-172^r (15th century). See Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, III, 423 (at the end: '1500 per F.M.S'.). Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, cod. S.Q. VIII C 40. See Altamura, *Manilius Rhallus*, p. 15, n. 24. Universitetsbiblioteket, Uppsala, cod. C 687, fols. 55^r-72^v (15th-16th century). See *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala. Katalog über die C-Sammlung*, ed. by Margarete Andersson-Schmitt, Hakan Hallberg, and Monica Hedlund, 8 vols, Acta Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Upsaliensis, 26, 1-6 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1988-1995), VI (1993), *Handschriften C 551-935*, 283; Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, V, 30.

¹⁰² *Alexandri pueri Senensis multorum nostri temporis poetarum epigrammata* (Rome: Apud Sanctum Marcum (Vitus Puecher), shortly after 1474) (ICST No. ia00412000). A digital copy of the booklet has been made available by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (the latter in colour). In both copies, the pages remain unnumbered.

¹⁰³ See note 73 above. Wesche's edition does not take into account the manuscripts mentioned above.

¹⁰⁴ Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, cod. Vindob. lat. 3198, fols. 160^r-161^v (15th century). Cf. Perosa, *Studi di Filologia*, pp. 32-33; Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, III, 63; Ida Maier, *Les manuscrits d'Ange Politien: Catalogue descriptif avec dix-neuf documents inédits en appendice*, Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance, 70 (Geneva: Droz, 1965),

In addition to the funerary poems for Alessandro Cinuzzi and Theodore Gaza, Rhallus's poem on the death of Bartholomaeus Platina (1481) was attached to editions of his *Vita pontificum* and often reprinted.¹⁰⁵

Apart from the Hamilton manuscript and the five manuscripts containing Rhallus's poems on the deaths of Cinuzzi and Gaza, six additional *codices* with poems by Cabacius Rhallus have as yet been localised, all of them from the sixteenth century, none of them autographs.¹⁰⁶ Some of them have been signalled before (notably by Antonio Altamura), but their content has as yet not been explicated. Of these, I have been able to examine *in situ* Vat. lat. 3352, Vat. lat. 3353, and Magl. VII, 1195 of the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence. For the contents of the other manuscripts, I had to rely on catalogues and inventories for so far they were available to me.

Individual poems by Cabacius Rhallus are in the following manuscripts. As far as I can see, the most important (and also most interesting) manuscripts are the Vat. lat. 3352 (entitled *Diversorum auctorum antiquorum et modernorum quae collegit Colotius*) and Vat. lat. 3353 (entitled *Epigrammata moderna et antiqua a Colotio collecta sub varijs titulis ac sedibus dispartita*), compiled and arranged by Angelus Colotius.¹⁰⁷ These are miscellaneous collections of poems by, among others, Thebaldeus, Marullus, Politianus, and Colotius himself. Interestingly, the poems are arranged according to themes.¹⁰⁸ As the Vatican manuscripts date from

p. 327; *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, 10 vols (Vienna: Filii Caroli Geroldi, 1864-1899), I, 230.

¹⁰⁵ Platina, *Hystoria de vitis pontificum diligenter recognita* (Venice: Pincius, 1504), fol. Fviii^r. It was reprinted in later editions of Platina's work. See, e.g., *De vita et moribus summorum pontificum historia* ([Cologne]: Cervicornus, 1529), fol. hhiii^v and *Historia de vitis pontificum Romanorum* (Louvain: Bogardus, 1572), p. 78.

¹⁰⁶ Kristeller records an eighteenth-century manuscript in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples (cod. XIII D 27) with verses attributed to, among others, Sannazarius, Elisius Gallutius, Scipio Capycius, Petrus Summontius, Petrus Gravina, Hieronymus Carbo, Pontanus, and Manilius Rhallus. See Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, I, 432.

¹⁰⁷ See on BAV, Vat. lat. 3352 (16th century) *Inventarium Manuscriptorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, 13 vols (ms.), IV, 335 (= Edward Cranz, *A Microfilm Corpus of Unpublished Inventories of Latin Manuscripts* (New York (N.Y.): Renaissance Society of America, 1988), p. 220); Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, II, 361; Boese, *Die Lateinischen Handschriften*, p. b276; Maier, *Les manuscrits*, pp. 290-293; Nollhac, *La Bibliothèque*, pp. 254-255. On BAV, Vat. lat. 3353 (16th century) see *Inventarium*, fols. 335-337; Boese, *Die Lateinischen Handschriften*, p. b276; Nollhac, *La Bibliothèque*, pp. 254-55.

¹⁰⁸ In BAV, Vat. lat. 3352 the themes of arrangement are: *enigma, amatoria, contra amorem, blanditiae, casus antiq., casus uel hystoria, dedicatio, de se, epitaphia, excusatio, experientia, fructus, fortitudo, fatum, genialia, gratitudo, gratulatio, hortatio ad pacem,*

Rhallus's lifetime or not long after (their *terminus ante quem* is 1549, the year of Colotius's death), they are not without interest. For the constitution of the text, however, they seem to be less useful. Apart from the fact that we do not know the sources for Colotius's apographs, their variant readings are generally inferior to what we read in the printed edition of 1520 and the codex Hamiltonianus. Not surprisingly, many of the readings in the Vatican manuscripts were corrected *in margine* or *supra lineam*, and these corrections often supply the correct readings that we also find in the printed edition and/or the Hamiltonianus. The Vatican collections are chiefly of interest since they show us something about the reception of Cabacius Rhallus' poetry.

If only for this reason, collation samples of two of the Vatican manuscripts were added below. These indicate what poems were included and under what rubrics they were categorised. The printed edition of the *Iuueniles ingenii lusus* served as reference point. Variants with respect to this edition have also been included. For details on the sigla used, I refer to the *editio minor* in the next section.

BAV, Vaticanus Latinus 3352				
Categoria	Titulum in codice	fols.	IIL	Variae lectiones (V1 = Vat. lat. 3352; N = Iuueniles ingenii lusus; N ^c = tabula corrigendorum editioni N addita; H = Ham. 561)
Enigma	Sine titulo	7 ^r	21	sine titulo V1 N: De se ipso H] 3, stuperas V1: stupeas N H] 4, faciant V1: faciat N H
Amatoria	Ad Licinnam	15 ^r	11	3, Bardaiçi V1: Bardiaci N H] 8, Seu quam V1 N H sed Et quam V1 <i>in marg. add.</i>
	Ad Geminianum	15 ^r	12	
	Ad Licinnam	15 ^r	14	
	Ad Paulam	15 ^r	16	3, Manlium V1 Nc H: Manilium N] 7, vis V1 p.c. N H: vix V1 a.c.] 10, Nostro quae ueniant, dic age, funere N H V1: 'nostro quae' V1 <i>in marg. add.</i>
	Ad Licinnam	15 ^r	22	
	Ad Licinnam	15 ^v	27	
	Ad Paulam	15 ^v	28	1, latrando V1: latratu V1 <i>supr. lin.</i> N H
	Ad Leuinum uenatorem	15 ^v	29	3, cursus V1 H: cursum N] 4, uiolentus: V1 uiolentes N H] 5, luxit V1 p.c. : lusit N H sed V1 's' <i>add. supr. lin.</i>] 6, quae fera capta cadat V1 p.c. N H: quam fera capta cadat V1 a.c.] 8, lapsus uterque perit V1 N H: humi perijt V1 <i>in marg. add.</i>] 9, quamcumque V1: quando-cumque N H] 11, unam ambobus V1 a.c. sed uitam <i>add. in marg. sin.</i> : unam animam ambobus N H:] 11, seruire V1 p.c. N H: seruare V1 a.c.

imprecatio, ingratia, inuitatio, iocus, ironia, ethopoeia, iudicium. The categories used in Vat. lat. 3353 (BAV) are listed in *Inventarium*, fols. 335-337.

Categoria	Titulum in codice	fols.	III	Variae lectiones (V1 = Vat. lat. 3352; N = <i>Iuueniles ingenii lusus</i> ; N ^c = <i>tabula corrigendorum editioni N addita</i> ; H = <i>Ham. 561</i>)
	In Paulam	15 ^v	34	4, mecum V1: moechum N H] 4, cursu V1: sinu N H
	Ad Auctam	16 ^r	37	
	Ad Pompeum	16 ^r	41	tit., Ad Pompeum V1 N: Ad Pompeum de Columna H
	Ad eundem	16 ^r	42	1, triste V1 N ^c H: tristi N] 7, senescit V1 N ^c : senescat N H
	De Cacia Pannonia	16 ^r	51	12, in sepulto V1: insepulto N H
Blanditiae	Ad (<i>sic</i>)	63 ^r 65 ^r	-	
	Ad Galeottum Cardinalem S ^{ti} Petri ad Vincula Vicecancell.	63 ^r 65 ^r	9	
	Ad Galeottum	63 ^r 65 ^r	38	
De se	De se ipso conqueritur	85a ^r	13	
	Summum bonum frui optata	85a ^r	20	
	Ad Musam	85a ^r	26	
Epitaphia	Quinterij Tumulus	132 ^r	17	2, Quinteri V1 <i>p.c.</i> N H: Quinteris V1 <i>a.c.</i>] 2, tumulande V1 <i>p.c.</i> N H: tumulante V1 <i>a.c.</i>] 5, putarem V1: putaram N H
	Alex ^o Cortesio amico	132 ^r	27	
	Marci Barbi Card. S ^{ti} Marci	132 ^r	25	
	De simonetta	132 ^r	30	
	Aug ^{no} Maffeo defuncto	132 ^r	40	tit., Augustino Maffeo defuncto V1 N: Tumulus Augustini de Maffeis H] 3, dictumque V1: dic tamenque N H: dictamenque V1 <i>in marg. add.</i>
	Galeatij	132 ^r	43	4, honorque V1 N H: decusque V1 <i>add. in marg.</i>] 7, ossa V1 <i>p.c.</i> N H: ossaque V1 <i>a.c.</i>
	Demetrij Baiocali laconis auunculi	132 ^r	48	tit, Baiocalus V1: Boiochalus N H] 4, et patriae V1 <i>p.c.</i> N H: e patriae V1 <i>a.c.</i>
	Strigoniensis praesulis	132 ^v	50	1, nunc V1: non N H: non V1 <i>supr. lin. add.</i>] 3, haec una V1 <i>p.c.</i> : haecque una V1 <i>a.c.</i> N H
	Untitled	132 ^v	52	1, defende V1 <i>a.c.</i> : deflende N H: deflende V1 <i>in marg. add.</i>
	Ad Demetrium de morte sodalis Manilius Rallus Spartanus	141 ^r	-	
	Idem Manilius	141 ^r	-	
Fortitudo	Laus Heluetiorum	266 ^r	57	
Gratitudo	Ad Faedericum Reg. Neapo.	283 ^v	53	14, ut acrior V1 N H: et arbiter V1 <i>in marg. add.</i>
Iocus	In Varronem	311 ^r	15	11, feraris V1: geraldus N H] 15, diras N H: giras V1
	Ad Angelum Politianum	311 ^r	36	perquiram V1 N: requiram H
	De Roma et Pannonia	311 ^r	45	

BAV, Vaticanus Latinus 3353				
Categoria	Titulum in codice	fols.	III	Variae lectiones (V2 = Vat. lat. 3353; N = Iuueniles ingenii lusus; N ^c = tabula corrigendorum editioni N addita; H = Ham. 561)
Amatoria	Ad Licinnam	14 ^r	11	
	Ad Geminianum	14 ^v	12	
	Ad Licinnam	15 ^r	14	
	Ad Paulam	15 ^r	16	3, Manlium V2 N ^c H: Manilium N] 10, age V2 p.c. N H: agere V2 a.c.
	Ad Licinnam	15 ^r	22	
	Ad Licinnam	15 ^v	27	
	Ad Paulam	16 ^r	28	1, latrato V2: latratu N H
	Ad Leuinum Venatorem	16 ^r	29	4, uiolentus V2: uiolentes N H] 7, lapsis V2: laxis N H
	Ad Paulam	16 ^v	34	
	Quinterij tumulus	79 ^v	17	2, Quinteris V2: Quinteri N H] 7, in clementia V2: inclementia N H
Epitaphia	Alexandro Cortesio amico	80 ^r	18	
	Epitaphium Marci Barbi Cardinalis S.ti Marci	80 ^v	25	
	De Simonetta	80 ^v	30	2, intumulo V2: in tumulo N H
	Aug.no Maffeo Defuncto	80 ^v	40	
	Tumulus Galeatii	81 ^r	43	
	Tumulus Demetrij Baiochali Laconis Auunculi	81 ^r	48	
	Tumulus Strigoniensis Presulis	81 ^v	50	
	Untitled	81 ^v	52	1, deffende V2: deflende N H
	Laus Heluetiorum	87 ^r	57	
	Ad Federicum Regem Neapo.	94 ^r	53	
Maledicta	De Rufo Parmensi	196 ^r	19	8, ungentes V2 N H: ingentes Altamura, 'Manilio Rallo'] 13, herialia V2: herilia N H
	In sextum Alexandri	196 ^v	23	
	In eundem	196 ^v	24	
	In Patriarcham	197 ^r	31	2, pressit V2 <i>supr. lin. add.</i>
	De Mancino	197 ^r	35	

A very similar manuscript to those from the Vatican Library as regards the arrangement of the poems is cod. lat. 358 of the Houghton Library of Harvard University (Cambridge, Massachusetts).¹⁰⁹ In the fifth volume of his *Iter Italicum*, Kristeller provides a detailed outline of the manuscript, which I here reproduce in full only with regard to the poems of Cabacius Rhallus: fol. 5 (inc. Inter mille cruces), fols. 94-95 (Ad

¹⁰⁹ Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, V, 228-230.

Galeottum Card. S. Petri ad Vincula, Idem ad Card. Galeottum), fols. 97-98 (Ad Galeottum Card.; title and first words only), fols. 127-129, fols. 227-230 (On Quinterius (fol. 227), to Alex. Cortesius (fol. 227), on Marcus Barbus Card. (fol. 228), on Aug(ustinus) Maffeus (fol. 228), Demetrius Baiocolus auunculus (fol. 229), (Thomas) Strigoniensis praesul (fols. 229-230), fols. 259-261 (Ad Demetrium, and other verses), fols. 313-314 (Laus Helvetiorum), and fols. 351-352 (Ad Angelum Politianum). There are many more miscellaneous manuscripts like these which may contain poems by Rhallus.¹¹⁰

Apart from the above-mentioned manuscripts with larger groups of poems by Cabacius Rhallus there are three further codices that must be mentioned because they contain individual poems. First, according to the Vatican *Inventarium*, Vat. lat. 2874 (entitled *Diuersorum poetarum epigrammata*) contains 'Manilij epigramma i', beginning with 'Quos fletus aut quae' (= nr. 8, p. 181).¹¹¹ Secondly, in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence, cod. Magl. VII, 1195 (16th century) contains a miscellaneous collection with poems of, among others, Michael Marullus, Alessio Lapaccino, and Bartolomeo Scala.¹¹² Together with Vindob. lat. 3198 of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, this manuscript is important as it enabled Alessandro Perosa to demonstrate that two poems normally attributed to Politianus must be attributed to Cabacius Rhallus (see above). Thirdly, in the second volume of his *Iter Italicum* Kristeller recorded that codex CCLVII of the Biblioteca Capitolare in Verona contains poems on Domizio Calderini (Domitius Calderinus) by, among others, 'Manilius Spartanus'.¹¹³ It seems that the collection of epigrams was collected by Calderini's father or someone else after his death in 1478, and it might well be that it was intended as a funerary anthology like Cinuzzi's (see above).¹¹⁴ The inventory

¹¹⁰ For example, Vat. lat. 2847 (BAV), has a section with 'poemata varia sine nomine auctoris' (*Inventarium*, IV, 193 = Cranz, *A Microfilm Corpus*, p. 220) and is associated with Colotius (Haig Gaisser, *Pierio Valeriano*, p. 296). Also, Ottobon. lat. 2860 (BAV) contains poems by several fifteenth- and sixteenth-century poets (*Inventarii codicum manuscriptorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae Ottobonianae* (ms.), p. 418 = Cranz, *A Microfilm Corpus*, p. 310). A systematic survey of such manuscripts would be worthwhile in order to know more about the social and cultural functions of humanist poetry.

¹¹¹ BAV, Vat. lat. 2874, fol. 129^r. Cf. Altamura, 'Manilio Rallo', p. 135 n. 1; *Inventarium*, fols. 198-200.

¹¹² Perosa, *Studi di Filologia*, pp. 32-33; Maier, *Les manuscrits*, p. 115.

¹¹³ Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, II, 297.

¹¹⁴ Alessandro Perosa, 'Calderini, Domizio', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, XVI (1973), 597-605.

edited by Silvia Marchi confirms that on fol. 4^v is a hendecasyllabic poem entitled 'Manilii Spartani vel Graeci', beginning with 'Lingua Doride quaque Calderinus'. Further, her catalogue shows that on fols. 334^r-335^r there are two more poems by Cabacius Rhallus (one identical to the preceding one): 'Elogion Manilii Graeci de morte Domitii Calderini Veronensis vatis orat[oris] clariss[imi]' (inc. 'Pone tuum, studiose, animum nec posce libellos') and 'Manilius Spartanus vel Graecus' (inc. 'Lingua Doride quaque Calderinus').¹¹⁵

Two signalled but unidentified manuscripts

In his *Die Renaissance in Südtalien*, Eberhard Gothein mentioned a collection of poems and letters by Cabacius Rhallus. According to Gothein, it is preserved in the 'Sammlung Arditì' in Lecce. As a sample he cites the smallest poem of the collection, namely 'Tumulus Demetri Boichali [sic] laconis auunculi', corresponding, with some variations, to an epitaph in the *Iuueniles ingenii lusus*, fol. Giv^v. Unfortunately, consultation of a member of the Arditì family has hitherto not resulted in recovering the collection Gothein referred to.¹¹⁶

In his *Séjour à Constantinople*, Antoine Galland further noted that he bought a manuscript with poems of Tibullus, Propertius and Catullus from an Ottoman Turk in Tanis in January 1672. According to his own estimation it dated from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. He also observed that apart from classical elegies the manuscript contained various epitaphs for 'un jeune homme nommé Alexandre qui estoit de Sienne'.¹¹⁷ According to Galland's indications, a 'Manilius Rallus

¹¹⁵ Biblioteca Capitolare, Verona, cod. CCLVII, fols. 2^r-10^v, 334^r-349^v. Cf. *I Manoscritti della Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona. Catalogo descrittivo redatto da don Antonio Spagnolo*, ed. by Silvia Marchi (Verona: Mazziana, 1996), pp. 290, 292; Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, II, p. 297.

¹¹⁶ Eberhard Gothein, *Die Renaissance in Südtalien*, Schriften zur Kulturgeschichte der Renaissance, Reformation und Gegenreformation, 1, 2nd edn (Munich & Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1924), p. 261, n. 38. I am grateful to Christoph Pieper for contacting a member of the Arditì family in Lecce.

¹¹⁷ *Journal d'Antoine Galland pendant son séjour à Constantinople (1672-1673)*, ed. by Charles Schefer (Paris: Leroux, 1881), p. 25: 'J'achetay pour une demy piastre un manuscrit ancien d'environ deux cents ans, d'un Tibulle, Properce et Catulle, écrit fort correctement sur du vélin, avec des notes à la marge sur une grande partie de Tibulle, avec des épitaphes à la fin sur la mort d'un jeune homme nommé Alexandre qui estoit de Sienne. Ceux qui les ont écrites et composées sont Joannes Aloisius, Sigismundus Fulginas, Manilius Rallus Spartanus, Quarqualius, Thomas Astyus, Fl. Pantagathes, Joannes

Spartanus' was among the poets whose funerary pieces were gathered in the volume. Obviously, this is the collection of funerary epigrams for Alessandro Cinuzzi printed shortly after 1474 and mentioned above. In the Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli Altamura identified a manuscript containing the Cinuzzi-anthology.¹¹⁸ This might be the manuscript Galand bought in Tanis, but I have not yet been able to verify as the hand-written *Inventario Generale di Tutti I Codici Manoscritti* of the Biblioteca Nazionale was not available to me.¹¹⁹

3. Manilii Cabacii Rhalli epigrammata selecta

Editorial note

A selection from Cabacius Rhallus's poems is presented below. It is confined to the poems where Rhallus addresses a contemporary or speaks about himself. The first poem printed after Rhallus's introductory letter to Giulio de' Medici, the programmatic 'De exilio', may stand as a typical example of his erotic and exilic poetry as in this poem in particular the poet explores the relationship between exilic and erotic writing in elegy. As there are no autographs of Cabacius Rhallus, this edition relies on the *Iuueniles ingenii lusus* and the most important manuscript with Rhallus's poems, codex Hamiltonianus 561. The *apparatus criticus* omits the incidental mistranscriptions or emendations in the few lines of Rhallus's poems that have been printed in the modern scholarship.¹²⁰ In the absence of autographs, Renaissance orthography has been normalised and regularised (mainly -i- instead of -y-, -oe- instead of -ae-, -e- instead of -oe-, -c- instead of -ch-, -t- instead of -c-), yet I have retained the typical *u* where we would expect to find *v*. Punctuation has been kept

Baptista Viterbensis, Lucidus Aristophilus et Franciscus Monetus. Il n'y en pas qui mérite d'être leu. J'ai eu ce livre d'un Turc'.

¹¹⁸ Altamura, *Manilius Rhallus*, p. 15, n. 24.

¹¹⁹ Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Latin Manuscript Books before 1600: A list of the printed catalogues and unpublished inventories of extant collections*, 4th edn, rev. by Sigrid Krämer (Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1993), pp. 625-628 (esp. p. 627).

¹²⁰ Antonio Altamura in particular corrected Rhallus's text *ope ingenii*. So, for instance, he read 'exhaustis' in 1, 47, where the printed edition and the Hamiltonianus offer 'exsuctis'. Elsewhere again he proposed 'exauctis' (compare his proposals in *L'Umanesimo* and 'Manilio Rallo'). In the same vein, he read 'hinc' instead of 'hunc' in 10, 3, 'ungentes' instead of 'ingentes' in 10, 8, and 'monstrant' instead of 'monstrat' in 10, 10 (see the quotes in his 'Manilio Rallo').

to a minimum, and comma's have generally only been added before and/or after interjections, appositions, vocative phrases, subordinated clauses (except for participial phrases), after individual elements of an asyndetic enumeration, and *before* clauses coordinated by a postponed conjunctive or relative pronoun. For bibliographical details about the individual poems, please see the table on pp. 157-159.

Sigla

N *Manilii Cabacii Ralli Iuueniles ingenii lusus*, editio Neapolitana (Neapoli: In aedibus Ioan[nis] Pasquet[i] de Sallo, MDXX XXV. Decemb[ris] Leone X. Ponti[ifice]).

N^c Tabula corrigendorum editioni N addita.

H Codex Hamiltonianus 561 (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin).

* * *

Reuerendissimo et illustrissimo Domino meo
Iulio, Cardinali Medice et Vicecancellario,
Manilius Cabacius Rallus

M. Cato principio suarum *Originum*, ut scribit Cicero,¹²¹ non inutiliter
5 admonet clarorum uirorum atque magnorum non minus otii quam negotii rationem extare oportere. Quo fit ut ego quoque — licet in summorum uirorum albo non sim — cum tamen superiori aestate quibusuis negotiis repudiatis in urbe feriatu uixerim, sic me geram ut otii mei ratio extare possit, siquidem is esse uolo, qui ea quae doctissimorum hominum iudicio sunt probata contemnere non uidear. Itaque cum furente tunc canicula
10 M. Tulli Ciceronis orationes in manibus haberem, opus ut argumento ita de industria uarium et cum necesse sit luminosum, non solum ipsius eloquentiae incircumscripto fulgore uictus sed etiam aestiuo calore languidus mei colligendi causa duxi quasi ad temperatiora minusque lucida
15 mihi commigrandum esse. Quo in secessu forte fortuna incidi in nescio quas nugas plane meas quas iuuenis admodum luseram. Et his quidem ita, me Hercules, reffectus sum (quis enim est qui suis non delectetur?) ut mox etiam non parum laboris illis emendandis impenderim. Effeci autem

¹²¹ Cic., *Planc.*, 66.

frequenti asterisco et lima usus, ne quid in his superans, ne quid deficiens
 20 iudicio quidem meo euidenter appareret, cum alioqui non admodum
 abhorreant ab illo presso et florido quale Pontanus nostrum dicendi genus
 esse dicebat. Sed hoc aliorum uel potius paucissimorum iudicio relin-
 quam. Pontano etenim Iouiano et M. Marullo ipsius discipulo, in poesi
 et oratoria primariis ac secretioris doctrinae uiris, morte sublati uix
 25 unum aut alterum comperi qui stili dicendique genera audere se distin-
 guere promittat, nedum rationem et uiam quo modo haec conficiant intel-
 ligere possit. Quamquam isthaec nollem ita accipi ut uidear ego mihi hanc
 sapientiam uelle potius asciscere quam studiosorum animos inflammare
 ad illa quae sunt magnifica et praeclara. Laborat enim hac labe fere omnis
 30 nostra aetas ut arte ipsa scribendique notitia neglecta tantum explanandis
 auctoribus ac ne his quidem exquisitis et probis, ac ui uerborum per-
 quirenda soleat insudare, praepostere scilicet et inepte, ne dixerim insi-
 pienter. Nam ut reliqua taceam, quae, malum, ista stultitia est mansuris
 posthabitis ac propemodum aeternis illa sequi quae cum uita hominis
 35 terminantur? Iam uero quali ingenio, quo iudicio hos esse putem qui
 sprete luce et hominum commercio in puerili contubernio et scholarum
 tenebris consenescent? Nisi forte epicureorum more id quoque metiri
 uolunt qui uersari in re publica non putant esse sapientis. Nunc ad te,
 pater amplissime, ueniam, cuius auspiciatissimo nomini dicatum esse uolo
 40 quicquid hoc sit libelli et operis, non quidem quo aut honores aut bene-
 ficia ab liberalitate tua promereri sic studeam quibus me pro animi mei
 moderatione satis ampliter affecisti, sed ut gratae mentis erga te meae
 signum argumentumque aliquod ex scripto appareat utque ego, cum non
 ualeam aetate iam ingrauescente neruorum laborumque corporis praestare
 45 officia, illa praestem quae sunt ingenii et quietis. Ex quibus et ego for-
 tasse fructus studiorum uberiores legissem, si mihi maiore cum otio aeta-
 tem degere licuisset nec habuissem portum hunc tempestatis plenum in
 quem post fortunae fluctus saeuissimos confugisse uidebantur reliquiae
 meae; et tu multo amplissimi uoluminis dicaturam in praesentia haberes.
 50 Nunc quod quimus id libenter et damus. Tu igitur hunc elegiarum libel-
 lum feturam iuuenilium cogitationum amorisque et obseruantiae meae
 erga te pignus fronte hilari, decus omnium, excipe. Et si sic statues ut uel
 semel duxeris legendum, his horis lege quas somno adimis. Reliquis enim
 publicorum negotiorum cumulo detentus sic es ut ne respirare quidem
 55 libere possis. Facile tamen has tot laborum curarumque continuatas
 molestias peruincit immensus amor et fides constantissima, quibus Leoni
 decimo Pontif[ici] Max[imo] non tanquam patui filius sed tanquam ab

ipso genitus deuinciris. Hac autem in administratione pontificiae rei, dii boni, quantus appares aut uerius ut eloquar quantus es! Nil ultra dicam
 60 ne adulari uidear. Dicam tamen hoc, uidisse me his sex et quinquaginta annis quibus in hac urbe uixi non paucos quidem acri ingenio et maxima uiros auctoritate qui par onus gubernando subierint. Sed quis nescit quantum solis lumen a lucernarum lumine differat? Etenim tu cum ad negotia gerenda aduenisti, quis uel patientiam in audiendo uel in respondendo
 65 eloquentiam, aequitatem in iudicando, in decernendo iudicium, grauitatem in disserendo, in te unquam desiderauit? Quis item etiam ex maleuolis et alterius rationis beneficium petiit nec accepit? Contra tu a quo unquam etiam rogatus uel tantillum muneris erasisti? Quis iracundum te pertulit? Quis superbum est detestatus? Vultu, gestu, oratione, consilio,
 70 facili aditu, frequenti denique officio et beneficiis ita omnibus placere studes ut merito non solum in hoc sacrosancto senatu et publico consilio Europae fere totius primas tenere uideare, sed etiam huic urbi ac Christianae reip[ublicae] diuinitus oblatus esse credaris. Plura his adderem de singulari ac eximia uirtute tua morumque sanctimonia. Sed uereor ne,
 75 dum in his enumerandis explicandisque demoror, transgrediar epistolae modum. Quare eiusmodi materiam magnificam quidem et uberem et quam qui tractare uolet facile ad nitorem perducatur ut ueteri uoto et animi mei desiderio morem geram alteri libello destino. Vale.

26 nedum *N^c*: ne dum *N*]
 26 nedum *N^c*: indebantur *N*]
 61 urbi *N^c*: uerbi *N*

35 hos *N^c*: hoc *N*]

38 uolunt *N^c*: uolent *N*]

48 uide-

51 foecuram *N^c*: facturam *N* :]

53 adimis *N^c*: adimus *N*]

* * *

1. (*IIL* 2). De exilio et in eum qui primus seruiuit
Metre: Elegiac distichs.

Ergo aliis alios nectis, Fortuna, labores
 Exilique mei damna iterata iuuant?
 Semper ut ignotas lustrem uagus aduena terras
 Nec locus aut fesso sit mihi certa quies
 5 Nec natale solum, Sparten, nec laeta reuisam
 Eurotas uitreis quae loca sulcat aquis
 Quaeque coronato residens Victoria curru
 Asseruit, facili saepe adiitque rota,
 Aptamagis dare iura uiris quam commoda fraudi
 10 Et loca natiuis suspicienda bonis:

- Hic ubi tergemino Ledaë bona pignora partu
Iuncta per alternas fata tulere uices
Et meruere polum, prensas ne nocte carinas
Obrueret saeue saeua procella mari.
- 15 Hei mihi, cur merui dulces fugisse penatis?
Infelix patria cur procul isse mea?
Cur terere hoc aevi totis inglorius annis?
Cur saepe imperio deteriore premi?
Et possum lucemque pati caelumque uidere?
- 20 Nec generi obprobrium iam pudet esse meo?
O nimium nostro damnatos tempore mores!
O uitae nimium tempora longa meae!
Qua licuit nasci cur non hac lege resoluor?
An mihi longa dies sic placitura uenis?
- 25 Tunc poteras placuisse tamen, cum celsa Corinthi
Moenia ab Isthmiaco robore tuta forent
Et steterat Danaum imperium concussaue dextra
Nondum barbarica Graecia tota fuit.
Nunc mihi, cui non gentis honos, non census auitus
- 30 Nec stat materno stemmate fulta domus,
Et superesse patri nimium est miserabile, uictis
Viueret uel paruo tempore supplicium.
Vix tulit Anchises Troiae superasse ruenti,
Vix manibus profugos sustinuisse Lares.
- 35 Quis Priamo dulcem post diruta Pergama uitam
Dixerit aut quis non Astyanacta senem?
Ipse etiam plenis uideor iam grandior annis.
Aspice, natali quid sit abesse solo.
Nam licet in toto uernet mihi corpore sanguis,
- 40 Ruga neque integram findat hiulca cutem
Nec mihi pallentes macies grauis implicet artus,
Conspuat et nigram nulla senecta comam,
Obstat onus tamen exilii meque opprimit annis,
Naturae numeris nec sinit ire parem.
- 45 Hinc et spinosae lacero de pectore curae
Proueniunt, similis luxuriatque dolor
Aridaque exsuctis stupor obsidet ossa medullis,
Plurimus et uenis nil nisi languor inest.
Hinc patrii cecidere animi Spartanaue uirtus

- 50 Fracta iacet, laus hinc, hinc mihi sordet honos.
 Hinc etiam duro studium est placuisse tyranno,
 Seruorum hinc uario iungor et ipse gregi,
 Nam quos Euphratesque tulit, quos misit Orontes,
 Hos comites uitae cogor habere meae.
- 55 Conferimur conorque rudes effingere mores,
 Sat bene nec solitus comprimit ora pudor
 Iamque malo spreuit natura imbuta decorum,
 Iam studia in mores longa abiere nouos.
 Occidat imperio qui se summisit herili,
- 60 Flexit et indigno libera colla iugo,
 Primus et ignoto patria procul anxius orbe
 Amissas uoluit quaerere semper opes:
 Illi Tantaleusque liquor Titiiue uolucris,
 Quaecumque et Stygio fabula ficta lacu,
- 65 Illi nuda fames, illi data uilis egestas
 Et comes anxietas perpetuusque dolor
 Nec uoti spes ulla fuit non mixta timore,
 Vlla nec a solido dempta labore dies.
 Ah, nimium stultus fragilis qui tempora uitae
- 70 Seruitii duro contudit usque iugo!
 Nos quoque ab exemplo, fateor, peccauius illo
 Sed culpam melior causa secuta meam est
 Vtque reus dicar, facili sic crimine soluor
 Et peccasse minus cum ratione piget.
- 75 Quid facerem cui nulla domi fortuna reperta est?
 Seruitio uolui damna leuare graui.
 Non tamen ut gemmis serui potiremur et auro
 Sufficeretue nouas citrea mensa dapes
 Sed quo Pierio Liber mox redderet antro
- 80 Nec ieiuna suum Musa recuset onus,
 Posset at auratos crines laudare Licinnae
 Et satura argutum condere amoris opus,
 Vt referat digitos, referat uaga lumina frontis
 Vtque decens surgat nixa pedem solea.
- 85 Hac sum militia teneris exercitus annis,
 Hac me fata, precor, consenuisse uelint.

tit. De exilio et in eum qui... N: In eum qui primum seruiuit H]
 N° H: sufficeretur N

78 sufficeretue

2. (IIL 6). Ad Iouianum Pontanum

*Addressee: Ioannes Iovianus Pontanus (Giovanni Pontano, 1426-1503).**Metre: Elegiac distichs.*

- Pontane, antistes uatum, haec quos protulit aetas
 Quosque uetus doctis annumerauit auis,
 Quid me fortunae prostratum uulnere saeuae
 Ad tripodas Phoebi Pieridesque uocas
 5 Quidue animam uexare semel de pectore missam,
 Quid cineres pergis sollicitare meos?
 Vmbra ego sum similisque mei, si quaeris, imago
 Extructis superest sola relicta rogis.
 Nec mihi laudis amor mansurae aut gloria famae,
 10 Omnia cum sensu quae periire meo.
 Nec placet ingenium uigilataque munera mentis,
 Omnia cum patria quae cecidere mea,
 Cum prima cecidere mea quam Phoebus et omnis
 Pieridum fertur solam adamasse chorus,
 15 Solam posthabitis terra celebrasse marique
 Et solam culto plus coluisse polo.
 Vos, dulces elegi, precor, o succurrite maesto
 Et mihi nunc flenti, flebile carmen, ades
 Dumque Helicon, dum Cirra simul defletur et unda
 20 Castalis aut sacri caetera sacra loci,
 Sufficite et lacrimas, fecunda et corda querelis
 Oraque uesana dilaceranda manu;
 Neu lugens uincar Niobes planctuque sororum,
 Quas grauis in ramos uerterat ante dolor.
 25 Efficite ut misero felix primusque dolore
 Dicar per lacrimas: sic ego notus ero.
 Flere tuos ergo incipiam, mea Graecia, casus,
 Nempe reformidat linguaque corque mihi.
 Arguar inuisae sed ne cessisse ruinae,
 30 Hoc tibi de maesto pectore carmen habe,
 Quod referat cunctis obliuiscensibus aeuo
 Quantus erat noster te pereunte dolor.
 Heu patria, heu quondam diuum domus alta tropaeis,
 Persidis atque animis altior ipsa tuis,
 35 Quam gelidus Strymon, lato quam gurgite Ganges

- Vosque papyriferae pertimuistis aquae,
Occiduaeque domus sensisti et inhospita Syrtis
Vtraque feruenti scissaque terra freto.
Quae te, inquam, patria, o diuum sors inuida fati,
40 Eripuit, faciem supposuitque suam,
Ex miti finxitque feram? non uerba nec ora
Certa refers habitu dissimulanda nouo,
Ipsa sinu quaerenda tuo nec nosceris ulli.
O, ubi nunc mores et nitor ille uetus?
45 Nam ueluti obducta fuscantur sidera nube
Perque hiemes turpis non bene ridet ager
Depositaeque coma sordescit in arbore ramus
Pictaque non ullo flore renidet humus,
Sic atrata manes postquam data barbara iura
50 Sumis et est nusquam qui fuit ante color
Iamque eadem patria es nobis atque hostica tellus.
Ignosce, heu, fasso da ueniamque precor.
Esse tamen mallet uel sic tuus, ampla niuosae
Quam sata per saltus Pannoniaeque uehar
55 Quamque iterem lenemque Ararim Rhodanumque sonantem
Et repetam auriferi pinguis rura Tagi,
Vt saltem uidear fato ueniente senexque
Ante parentales oppetiisse deos
Et nostros claudat cineres brevis urna meorum
60 Mixtaque honoratis ossibus ossa cubent.
Cum dabitur felix reditus mihi rite litanti,
Diis maris ante omnes hostia furua cadet.
Inde patris manes, quos urbs tegit alta Quirini,
Eliciam multo lacte bonoque mero.
65 Sic pietas fines patrios comitata reuisset
Adducens matri pignora cara meae,
Dici quae debet felix, erepta quod ante
Non doluit gentis fata cruenta suae
Nec belli faciem horrendam nec uincta catenis
70 Corpora nec positos uidit in igne deos
Aut natos matri auulsos spoliataque passim
Templa et adulteriis bis uiolanda malis.
Hic status, haec facies rerum mihi semper oberrans
Tristia summissae lumina mentis habet

- 75 Ingeniique adimit uires animumque fatigat,
 Fortior et clari lucta laboris abest.
 Pegasides sordent et docti numina Phoebi
 Paenitet his sacris imposuisse manum.
 Tu melius, Pontane, tua patriaque domoque
 80 Vtere. Quis patria sospite flere potest?
 Finge elegos grandiuue polum complectere auena
 Et magnis notus sis quoque caelitibus.
 Effice te fiat sapientia culta docente,
 Protinus et discat uerba Latina loqui.
 85 Me sine, quem semper iussit Fortuna dolere,
 Squallentem putri delituisse situ.

6 sollicitare H: sollicitare N] 18 ades N° H: addes N] 38 feruenti N° H: ferenti N]
 43 sinu N° H: sinum N] 59 nostros N° H: nostro N] 68 fata N H in *marginē*:
 busta H

3. (IIL 7). Diuo Iulio Medice, Vicecancellario, patrono B.M.

Addressee: Giulio di Giuliano de' Medici (1478-1534), cardinal (1513), vice-chancellor of the Holy Roman Church (1517), pope Clement VII (1523).

Metre: Elegiac distichs.

- Diurum genus et Medicae propago uerenda
 Stirpis, in aeternum suspiciende mihi
 Et nunquam posthac nostris reticende Camenis,
 Si modo grata queat Musa referre deos,
 5 Qui mihi nigrantes inter risere procellas
 Accensamque ultro concutiere facem
 Certatim astantes geminorum more Laconum,
 Ne nocturna meam solueret unda ratem
 Neu semper grauis indecorem Fortuna senectam
 10 Cogeret in turpi degere naufragio.
 Pro quibus, o diuum genus indelebile Iuli,
 Depromptum hoc imo pectore carmen habe,
 Effudit quod Calliope dulcisque Euterpe,
 Cum mi animum flagrans corripuit studium
 15 Cumque retardantem monuit tibi reddere grates
 Cunctorum memor est quae dea Mnemosyne.
 Haec quasi per lusum increpitans mihi 'Num mala', dixit,
 'Pocula Lethaei sunt tibi pota lacus
 An Marso argutum clausit cantamine guttur

- 20 Conscia damnati saga magisterii?
 Si potes aetatis decus et data lucida terris
 Lumina neglecta subticuisse lyra,
 Si curis inuictum animum, si denique pectus,
 Hospitium cuius fasque fidesque colit,
 25 At saltem moueant benefacta et credita laudi
 Praemia ab impuro nuper adempta tuae,
 Qui risu Musis mendaci illudere suetus
 Vim sceleri inmensam conciliauit opum.
 Ergo conceptum auspiciis felicibus olim
 30 Votum urge, Iano principiumque dica,
 Ne uanis uulgi rumoribus usque feraris
 Obstrictus domino, gratus at esse parum'.
 Haec mihi Pieridum genitrix. Ego protinus istis
 Assensum monitis uoce animoque dedi.
 35 Nunc, orbis tanti custos et dulce leuamen
 Curarum nostri consiliumque Iouis,
 Scribendi cupido, precor, atras exime curas.
 Hoc erit et magnis non inhonestus honos:
 Sic, rerum Iuli mitissime, me quoque faxis
 40 Luctantem Aoniis uincere posse choris.

6 ultro N^c: ultra N] concutiere *sic* (cf. p. 141, n. 54 *supra*)] 14 corripuit N^c: curripuit N]
 20 conscia N^c: coscia N] 40 luctantem N^c: luctante N

4. (IIL 8). Ad Leonem Decimum Pontificem Maximum

Addressee: Giovanni de' Medici (1475-1521), pope Leo X (1513-1521).

Metre: Dactylic hexameters.

- Aeterni pars magna Iouis Leo, maxime et una
 Graiorum linguae et patriae clarissime uindex,
 Quandoquidem prolem generosam ex stirpe Pelasga
 Vndique collectam studiis incumbere auitis
 5 Et reparare iubes quicquid saeua abstulit aetas
 Eloquio belli rabie uel inertibus annis,
 Ne diuinae artes et tot praestantia scripta
 Ingeniorum excellentum fraudentur honore
 Iam parto et Lethes pereant immersa lacunis,
 10 Hoc breue pro tantis meritis tibi carmen habeto.
 Ergo etsi concussam armis et Marte secundo
 Gallorum certo Italiam sub foedere firmas

- Germanoque uetas renouata lacescere bella,
 Quamuis tanti orbis solus modereris habenas
 15 Quodque (animi dos rara!) ultro te uincere certes,
 Omne aeuum uitaeque fugam exhaurire paratus,
 Supra hominem noxa sine et sine crimine morum,¹²²
 Non tamen interea sacro de pectore fluxit
 Inachii tutela soli: uiridantia Tempe
 20 Peneique fluenta patris ripaeque loquaces
 Totque urbes, tot numinibus loca culta deorum
 Syluaeque fluuiique et pictum collibus aequor,
 Fixa haerent nunquamque animo seposita recedunt;
 Iamque et diluio tempestatique malignae,
 25 Quis Erebo conuicta imo miseranda resedit
 Musarum domus et docti patria inclita Phoebi,
 Opponis Medicas et opes praescitataque corda,
 Quo studia et cassae redeant in pristina leges
 Libertasque fugae atque doli secura uagetur
 30 Per populos late imperitans lataque fremens ui,
 Vt leo qui postquam uenantum tela manusque
 Euasit lustris tacitus sese abdit opacis,
 Mox uero ut uaria intumuit sub caede ferarum
 Immemor hesternaeque fugae exhaustique pericli,
 35 Fertur ouans per aperta nouaque in laude superbit
 Terga leui cauda, lingua at satura ora remulcens.
 Quid memorem quot bella animo quotque arma uolutes
 Saeua graui? Placidus quamquam pacisque feraris
 Auctor iam pridem et genitali a semine clarus,
 40 Praecipue postquam aegrum hominem desuescere coeptas
 Concilio diuum adscitus praesensque potiris
 Inferni solii sceptris, fulgentis et aulae
 Ignibus aeternis radiisque Hyperione creti.
 Ipse adeo aurato ex solio ac praediuite sella
 45 Totus collucens ueste atque insignibus albis
 Nunc petis acciri coniuratosque maniplos
 Heluetiorum et quas nutrit foecunda cohortes
 Gallia, protensis primas quae inuadere pugnas
 Assuerunt hastis, tormento infracta sonoro et
 50 Agmina discere atque hostilem pellere pestem.

¹²² There is a notable hiatus in 'sine et sine'.

- Nunc quos eduxit latis Hispania campis
Bello aduentare et classi se credere mandas,
Haud linquens neque Pannoniae pugnacis alumnos
Nec quos aspra tulit grandes Germania fetus,
55 Immunes tantorum operum frugique laboris.
Cerno equidem, iam nunc cerno fusas dare terga
Barbaricas acies multoque cruore cadentum
Spumantem Eurotam riparum excedere metas
Teque olim excidium lugentem et damna tuorum,
60 Graecia, nunc uersis laetantem plaudere fatis.
Tu modo ne cessa supplex prouoluier aris,
Ne cessa prece multa et multi thuris aceruis
Vnigenam magni prolem Iouis et bona terris
Regna exercentem late impulsare Leonem.
65 Hic fuerit Fabius Graiis alterue Camillus,
Hic te immiti seruitio indecorique labore
Defensam dabit et crudelibus eximet armis,
Cum tibi demum aquilas et signa recepta reponet,
Infami secta, sonte et Mehemete subacto.
70 Interea condisce aequis in rebus egenis
Esse animis nec te tenuem sors ulla fatiget.
His quoque reliquiis facilem se praestat alendis
Instar aui proauique et magni more parentis,
Laurenti, Danaos totumque Helicon fountis,
75 Sit licet hoc laudis quota pars et gloriae in illo
Qui meritis terras famaue aequauit Olympum.
Nec uero, hoc sceptrumque et florida regna tenente
Tuscae urbis, superos et adhuc solemque tuente,
Retro issent res Ausonides et gloria in armis,
80 Annorum serie quaesita et uiribus aucta,
Nec tot praecipites fudisset Belgica nimbus
Armatorum equitum praecelsa ex arce Monoeci
Latuos hiemes Latiumque in nomen ituros
Sed sine Marte graui, sine ui atque ultricibus iris
85 Quisque suos coleret fines nec acerba doleret
Funera cognatasque neces nec damna peculi.
Consilium tanti impavidum rectique cupido est,
Ingens ille tamen fama atque ingentior idem
Consilio uatis Cumaeae, et Nestoris annos
90 Exigere ac dignus terras pontumque tenere

- Imperio, iam morte obita supera alta reuisit;
 Nec pietas nec mille uirum texere cadentem
 Virtutes praeclarae animi aut caelestis origo.
 Et dubitem pensi in fatis nihil esse putare?
- 95 Heu quantum Hesperiae nomen, quod robur in illo
 Amissum uel quae caedes cladesque receptae!
 Certa loquor nec tu constans ea, Fama, negabis.
 Afflicti imperii externo transcripta fuissent
 Sceptra duci, dicto et pareret iussus iniquo
- 100 Antiquae Ausoniae cultor, ni docta Leonis
 Dexterā labentes rerum excussisset habenas.
 Horrendam haec faciem armorum et furiale duellum
 Longinquum usque ad Gangem atque ad fines Orientis
 Reppulit infensasque dedit subuertere gentis
- 105 At pacem niueo uelatam corpus amictu,
 Hesperiae sedes Romanaque templa tueri.
 Hinc atque inde comes lex et mos additur illi:
 Hic, quo luxuriam leuioraque crimina uitae,
 Illa, scelus castiget atrox caedesque nefandas
- 110 Innexumque dolum patriae innexumque parenti.
 Gestit Roma bona demum permulsa quiete
 Iamque enses in rastra abeunt galeaeque recoctae
 Vomeris effigiem reddunt, it taurus aratro
 Per campos tutus passim laetusque relicto.
- 115 Quin et pacatum discurrit nauita pontum,
 Securus molitur iter quodcunque uiator.
 Saturni credas remeasse et commoda et annos.
 Quis caeli queritur rubigine? Quis sua terram
 Non dare, marmoreum late et sua munera pontum?
- 120 Cuncta student elementa tibi indulgere merenti
 Scilicet, o rarae specimen uirtutis et aucte
 Naturae sortisque bonis. Cur dicere mussem?
 Salue magne parens hominum Leo, magne deorum
 Collega inceptumque animo iam confice bellum,
- 125 Pugnandum Danaum pro libertate focusque.
 Nos uero (optatam dederint modo fata quietem!)
 Sat numeris longo grati sacrabimus aeuo.

23 nunquamque N^c: nunquam quae N] 26 patria N^c: prima N] 31 uenantum N^c:
 menantum N] 82 Monoeci *scripsi* (cfr. Verg., *Aen.*, 6, 830): meneci N] 89 uatis
 Cumeae *scripsi*: ua is umea N] 108 leuioraque N^c: lenioraque N

5. (IIL 9). Ad Galeottum, Cardinalem Sancti Petri ad Vincula,
Vicecancellarium

*Addressee: Galeotto Franciotti della Rovere (1471-1507), cardinal (1503),
vice-chancellor of the Holy Roman Church (1505).*

Metre: Hendecasyllables.

- Ne credas, Galeotte, pertinaci
Mutum me studio manere uelle,
Hoc quodcumque nouum poema finxi,
Quo quicquid tibi carminis dicarem
5 Scripti non nocuae manu iuuentae,
Quondam feruida dum uigeret aetas,
Exsors nec foret ardui laboris,
Ad quem nos bonus excitat cupido.
Tu cor, tu lepidum meum leuamen
10 Et fessae requies decens senectae,
Actutum faueas: solent fauore
Cedentes animo redire uires.
Quod si me labor improbus reuisset,
Inter tot celebres tui poetas
15 Praeco nominis esse nil recuso.

tit. Ad Galeottum... **N:** Ad Galeottum cardinalem Sancti Petri uicecancellarium **H**

6. (IIL 12). Ad Geminianum

Addressee: Callimachus Experiens (Filippo Buonaccorsi, 1437-1496).

Metre: Elegiac distichs.

- Offendi nimium te, Geminiane, fateris
Lusibus et nostrae nequitia Veneris,
Res quasi sit leuis haec, casto nec digna fauore,
Naturae numeris conueniensque minus
5 Cunctaque doctarum perdens monumenta sororum
Cunctaque Apollinae munera docta lyrae.
Est ita, si pereat tota cum stirpe cupido
Et mea sint Phrygiis membra resecta modis.
Oscula quam turpis uiolet tam pura libido
10 Quam uiolet tantae foedus amicitiae,
Ut tibi displiceam, tanti non ulla uoluptas
Nec mihi si patriae restituantur opes.

7. (*IIL* 13). De se ipso conqueritur
Metre: Sapphic stanza.

Iam nouo lusu resonat december,
 Iam cliens Baccho madidus uagatur
 Et furit talus, fremit et fritillus
 Blandaue Cypris.

5 Iam pius iustis oculis labantem
 Iuppiter Romam uidet et salutem
 Vestibus tectam niueis reducit
 Morte repulsa.

Iam graue et bellum procul hinc fugari
 10 Et famem uultu gracili pudendam
 Iussit ad portas Siculi tyranni
 Cedere paci.

2 madidus H: maditus N] 7 tectam N^c H: tectum N

8. (*IIL* 17). Quinterii tumulo
Addressee: Ioannes Antonius Quinterius (ca. 1464-ca. 1485) (?). On the identification of Quinterius and the 'Epitaphium Quinterii' by Ioannes Cotta of Milan see P.S. Leicht, 'L'Epitaphium Quinterii', Giornale storico della letteratura italiana, 84:252 (1924), 362-366 (364-365).
Metre: Elegiac distichs.

Quos fletus aut quae tibi sum lamenta daturus,
 Quinteri, ignoto mox tumultande solo,
 Et caros posthac nunquam uisure sodales
 Et gemitu matris non doliture pio?
 5 Namque iaces talisque iaces, certe ipse putaram
 Semper in hoc uiolas, hoc fore in ore rosas.
 At contra immitis tulit inclementia fati
 Et dedit inuisis cuncta fruenda rogis.
 Quare quod possum, uos flammae, deprecor unum,
 10 Mitior huic uni uester ut ardor eat.

9. (*IIL* 18). Alexandro Cortesio amico
Addressee: Alessandro Cortesi (1459-1490).
Metre: Elegiac distichs.

- Non myrrham, uanos nec do tibi turis honores,
 Manlius, ingrato quaeque solent cineri
 Nec tibi barbarico, Cortesi, more paramus
 Pyramidum, celso iuncta sepulcra polo.
 5 Sed lacrimis gemitus mixta et singultibus ora,
 Carmen et hoc tantae pignus amicitiae,
 Quod referat cunctis obliuiscens aeuo
 Quantus erat noster te moriente dolor.
 Ergo perpetuumque uale et quodcumque leuamen
 10 Sub molli nobis saepe quiete ueni.

10. (*IIL* 19). De Rufo Parmensi
Rufus of Parma (Rufo di Parma) cannot be identified with certainty, but Altamura conjectured that he was an advocate in Rome (Altamura, 'Manilio Rallo', p. 140).

- Cum togula Rufus Parmensis uenerat olim
 Accinctus quoduis urbis ad officium.
 Hunc seu sorte leui seu sit ratione peractum
 Allexit sterili curia seruitio
 5 Inque decem uarii cruciauit muneris annos,
 Torsit et ancipiti spesque timorque uice.
 Nam modo clamosas domini palpare podagras
 Edocet, ungentes et struit arte manus,
 Nunc matutina speculati luce matellam
 10 Et monstrat quo sit trulla notanda modo,
 Quae mensae ratio, quid mollia stragula poscant,
 Callida quo domini iure fouenda gula.
 Omnia iam docto post funera herilia Rufo
 Vt meriti pretium tarda podagra uenit.

11. (IIL 23). In Sextum

Addressee: Roderic Llançol i Borja (1431-1503), pope Alexander VI (1492-1503).

Metre: Elegiac distichs.

Moechari Sextum quis nesciat? Is tamen omne,
 Dum subigit natam, uicit adulterium.
 Addere sic sceleri gaudet scelus et, modo possit,
 Credibile est, ipsum se quoque uti futuat.

tit. In Sextum N: In Sextum Alexandrum H

12. (IIL 24). In eundem

Addressee: see at 11.

Metre: Elegiac distichs.

Heredem certum ut possit sibi linquere Sextus,
 Ex nata prolem suscipere instituit.

13. (IIL 25). Epitaphium Marci Barbi, Cardinalis Sancti Marci

On the death of Marco Barbo (1420-1491), cardinal (1467-1491).

Metre: Elegiac distichs.

Marcus in hoc tumulo est, Marci sed fama superstes
 Euicit gelidae tristia iura necis
 Perque orbem laudat mores nomenque sepulti
 Excitat: hoc Marci demeruit pietas.

tit. Epitaphium Marci Barbi... N: Epitaphium Cardinalis Sancti Marci H

14. (IIL 33). Ad Falconem Sinibaldum

Addressee: Falcone Sinibaldi (d. 1492).

Metre: Elegiac distichs.

Falco pater, Latiae dulcis tutela Camenae
 (Naufraga nam portu saepe recepta tuo est
 Atque instructa tuis remis ueloque refecta
 Rursus uesanum est ausa probare salum
 5 Nec timuit Maleae truculenta pericula saeuae
 Virginis aut Siculae Cyaneiae freti,
 Aspera sed rabidi contempsit murmura ponti,
 Tam bene muneribus firma natare tuis),
 Sic semper merito degas insignis honore

- 10 Purpureusque tuo uertice nutet apex.
 Respice longaeuo concussam turbine puppim,
 Vt segura diu te renouante natet.

15. (IIL 36). Ad Angelum Politianum

Addressee: Politianus (Angelo Poliziano, 1454-1494).

Metre: Hendecasyllables.

- Cunctos, Angele, cum recentiores
 Et plus archetypis colas amicis,
 Non iis me similem facis nec illis.
 Nil dicam miser acrius tacendo?
 5 Sed rumpar furiente corda bili et
 Vrar flammiferae uapore febris.
 Ruptis ergo silentiis per urbem
 Perquiram furibundus hinc et inde.
 Demum te prius attamen repertum
 10 Buccis Stentoris ut uirum nocentem
 Tanti criminis actor exsecrabor,
 Qui me unum fugias nouum sodalem.

8 perquiram N : requiram H

16. (IIL 38). Ad Cardinalem Galeottum

Addressee: see at 5.

Metre: Hendecasyllables.

- Si quaeris quid amem tuus uocari,
 Horum maxime temporum senator,
 Paucis hendecasyllabis fatebor:
 Me non ambitio tumultuosa
 5 Nec spes innocuum trahunt auarae
 Neu fului potiendus ardor auri,
 Mille commoda neue uile uulgus,
 Quae patrociniū refert parato,
 Sed nobis tua (crede) multa uirtus,
 10 Quae, te sordibus ut carere saeculi,
 Sic quemcunque tibi facit minorem.
 Musis adde quod es decens amicus
 Nec commercia despicias uirorum,

Quis Phoebus fauet et seuera uirgo.

15 Haec sunt cur cupiam tuus uocari.

tit. Ad cardinalem Galeottum N: Ad Galeottum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae uicecancel-
larium H

17. (IIL 39). Ad Prosperum de Columna

Addressee: *Prospero Colonna* (ca. 1460-1523).

Metre: *First Asclepiad*.

Acri continuis obrutus otio

Annis iam senio proximus astiti,

Oblitus penitus Pieridum et lyrae,

Oblitus patriae non bene proditae

5 Deceptaeque leui milite Gallico,

Sceptri qui Latii uerius appetens

Quam turpi Danaos demere de iugo

Victori decimas pollicitus Ioui est,

Nec me uafra noui et consilii ferax

10 Torpentem ambitio blandior aut manu

Pellexit rapidi cura peculii,

Cum sic et cithara Delius aureo et

Plectro corripuit ter quater: 'Heu, breuis

Vitae tempora! Quid perdere nec pudet,

15 Pergis quid tacitos degere per dies?

Durae nonne fugae plus nimio datum,

Si septena silens lustra peregeris?

Iam nunc ingenii crede ratem salo

Commendaque bonis lintea flatibus.

20 Quod si nec generis conditio grauis

Euersaeque domus damna satis mouent,

Adsunt tot procerum pectora fortium

(Seu uis consilio seu sit opus manu)

Vincant quae Pylum Nestora protinus,

25 Adsunt Hesperiae sat meriti duces,

Sat digni, melior quos recinat chelys,

Cunctis commodior sed tibi sobria.

Virtus quem meritis saepsit honoribus,

Magnus, prosper erit: non pretium leue,

30 Non obscura nouis fama laboribus,

Si quid fatidico credis Apollini'.
 Celans caetera tum subticuit deus,
 Quae nec fas homini scire nec est loqui.

tit. Ad Prosperum de Columna H : De Prospero Columna N H *supr. lin. add.*] 12 delius
 H: deluis N] 23 consilio N H: consilium *fortasse*] 32 tum *scripsi*: cum N H

18. (IIL 40). Augustino Maffeo defuncto
On the death of Augustinus Maffeus (Agostino Maffei, 1431-1496).
Metre: Elegiac distichs.

Qui uultus laetos tuleram, Augustine, salesque,
 Idem ego defuncto tristia uerba feram,
 Dictamenque atro uelatus tegmine promam,
 Heu, heu, quod nollet promere noster amor?
 5 Aeterno exilio sed postquam flendus abisti
 Quodque angit sine me tendis ad Elisios,
 Non ego te lacrimis decorem quas frater abunde
 Totaque stirps passim totaque Roma dedit.
 Versibus his potius maestum sacrabo dolorem,
 10 Certius ut doleam, sic doleamque diu.
 Nam quantum scriptis post me durare licebit,
 Hos gemitus nunquam fama perire sinet.

tit. Augustino Maffeo defuncto N: Tumulus Augustini de Maffeis H] 3 dictamenque
scripsi: dic tamenque N H] 6 Elisios N^c H: Elisos N

19. (IIL 41). Ad Pompeium
Addressee: Pompeo Colonna (1479-1532).
Metre: Hendecasyllables.

Cui cor, cui tenerum iecur dicabo
 Excultumque animum pudore casto?
 Pompei, tibi. Nam iocosa Pallas
 Id iussit tua protinusque saeuum
 5 Rebellare Cupidinem peregit
 Pacatum modo blandulumque nobis.
 Quare hoc quicquid habet teneto pectus.
 Sed cum iusseris ut poema fingam,
 Tunc uel tu mihi cor meum remitte
 10 Vel te unum mea cuncta possidentem,
 Scitum ne male rusticumque carmen

Scribens displiceam et poeta uecors
Aut uilis tibi cyclicusque dicar.

tit. Ad Pompeium N: Ad Pompeium de Columna H

20. (IIL 42). Ad eundem

Addressee: see at 19.

Metre: Elegiac distichs.

Postquam, Pompei, rapuisti triste meum cor
Cumque animo feruens feruidiore iecur,
Languescis: quis enim uitiatō corde ualere
Vitali aut laesa uiuere parte queat?

- 5 Ergo, ut praeniteas, uelox medicina paranda est
Quaque animum possis corque leuare meum.
Nam si perdurans uitium morbusque senescit,
Crede aberit nostrum longe ab utroque salus.

1 triste N^c H: tristi N] 7 senescit N^c: senescat N H

21. (IIL 43). Tumulus Galeatii

On the death of the eleven-year old Galeatius (Galeazzo) who remains unidentified.

Metre: Elegiac distichs.

Raptus in undecimo Galeatius oppetit anno,
Oppetit, et gemitu saeuit ubique dolor.

Nam seu uis dote ingenii seu munere formae
Solut erat patriae famaue honorque suae,

- 5 Solus et heu! qualis primo flos tempore ueris
Vix redeat forsā nec rediturus eat.

Tu, qui felicem tumulum piaque ossa reuises,
His lacrimas, subdes oscula sarcophago.

22. (IIL 44). Ad Cardinalem Galeottum

Addressee: see at 5.

Metre: Hendecasyllables.

Paruum si tibi mittimus libellum,
O caelo mihi misse sospitator,
Boni consulito neque hoc putato
Ludenti temere accidis se sed quod,

- 5 Lima dum reseco manuque mitto

- Quae sunt casta parum aut nimis seuera,
 Infans est mihi redditus libellus,
 Quem tu, si cupis euolare cunis
 Et pubescere, mitte nutrienti
 10 Patri, quo tenerum educare possit.

tit. Ad cardinalem Galeottum N: Ad Galeottum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae uicecancel-
 larium H

23. (IIL 46). Ad Strigoniensem

Addressee: *Tamás Bakócz (1442-1521), cardinal (1500), patriarch of Constantinople (1510).*

Metre: *Elegiac distichs.*

- Si mihi te facilem, si das ea munera, Thomas,
 Quae tollant animi taedia mille mei,
 Mille tibi reddam laudes et carmina mille,
 Quae tollant animi taedia mille tui.
 5 Sic ego praescripta mittam tibi carmina lege,
 Sic mittes nobis tu quoque, praesul, opes.
 Ne credas maiora tamen tua munera nostris:
 Mente pari scito carmina opesque dari.

tit. Ad Strigoniensem N: Ad cardinalem Strigoniensem H] 8 pari scito H: pariscito N

24. (IIL 47). Ad Augustinum Morauum

Addressee: *Augustinus Olomucensis (Augustin Olomoucký or Käsenbrot, 1467-1513).*

Metre: *First Asclepiad.*

- Frustra ne numeris forte lacescere,
 Augustine, putes, en tibi reddimus
 Nulli inspersa ioco carmina nec sale
 Sed maestis penitus sordida lacrimis,
 5 Quae fontis rigui more cadunt genis
 Tergentes animi delicias mei.
 Nam postquam egregie dulcia proditus,
 Liqui tecta Remi, liquimus et fora
 Et circum et supero sacra Ioui loca.
 10 Iam non sum quod eram magnaue pars mei
 In uentos abiit pulueris in modum.

- Ergo reliquiis parce, precor, meis
 Nec manes numeris laede reconditos
 Istis, heu! cineri quin potius refer
 15 Ter fuis lacrimis perpetuum uale.

1 numeris H: muneris N] 4 lachrymis N° H: lachrymi N] 7 egregie N: misere H]
 8 Remi N° H: Romi N] 10 quod N° H: quid N] 11 in uentos H: inuentos N

25. (IIL 48). Tumulus Demetrii Boiochali Laconis Auunculi
Addressee: Dimitrios Bochalis (d. 1460?).
Metre: Elegiac distichs.

- Pro laribus patriis, pro libertate focisque
 Multa tuli pugnans uulnera Boiochalus
 Dumque acies solus Turcas dumque arma fatigo,
 Spes fuit et patriae uincere posse meae.
 5 At postquam bello insignem mors inuida uicit,
 Vna omnis mecum hic Graecia uicta iacet.

26. (IIL 49). Paraenetice ad reginam Hungariae Beatricem de Aragonia
Addressee: Beatrice of Naples (1457-1508), queen of Hungary (1477-1490).
Metre: Second Asclepiad.

- Si Fortuna ferox immeritam premit
 Nec dotale sinit per facinus frui
 Regno, consilium quod tibi uiuida et
 Virtus iam peperit diu,
 5 Non hoc pectoribus propuleris tuis
 Innatos animos aut sapientiam
 Quaesitam studii peruigilis uice
 Et curae docilis simul.
 Neue inuicta mihi deficias, precor,
 10 Sed mens illa malis cedere nescia
 Componat Latiae corda uiraginis
 Fortunae procul ictibus.

An nescis hominum condicionibus
 Subiectosque duces regnaque fortia?

- 15 Fortunaē serie nec fore disparem
Irum uel Priami genus?

Versat caeca larem pauperis et casam,
Non reges patitur stare perenniter
Summis ima rotans, illa nec inspicit

- 20 Discrimen fera stemmatum.

Quod si fata neges ferre sororibus,
Tu sortemque tribus respueris datam,
Quid prodest pietas, quid placitis, rogo,
Insudasse iuuat patrum,

- 25 Voluisse et ueterum mille uolumina?
Quid fulsisse thori bis tibi regii
Taedam quaeque tulit iura thalassio
Consumpsisse iugalia?

- Quid pubesque ferox cordaque Pannonum
30 Emollita tibi quidue domus iuuat
Tot suffulta bonis auctaque regibus
Gradiuo duce et auspice?

- Quae si cuncta grauis temnit adhuc dolor,
Nec sistit gemitum, scito quod est potis
35 Emendare dies praeteritae luis
Et culpae mala noxiae.

- Illa et compedibus crus graue subleuat
Extorremque suo conciliat solo.
Sceptra ipsa dies te quoque forsitan
40 Pactis restituet semel.

27. (IIL 50). Tumulus Strigoniensis praesulis

Addressee: see at 23.

Metre: Elegiac distichs.

Non opibus, Thomas, nec auito sanguine clarus

Sed uirtute mea nobilis hic iaceo.

Haec et opes haecque una simul congegit honores

Inuidiamque omnem me superare dedit,

5 Vixerit ut nullus regali maior in aula,

Tot titulis quae nos censuit esse pares.

Quare ego quas uiuens grates sum reddere suetus,

Vix taceat, mutus sit licet, iste cinis.

28. (IIL 52). Tumulus patris D.M.

Addressee: Dimitrios Rhallis Kavakis (ca. 1397-ca. 1487).

Metre: Elegiac distichs.

Demetrio Cabacio Rallo Equiti Spartano,

Qui nullum corporis incommodum

Expertus nonagesimum

Aetatis annum mense

II diebus XXII

Superauit, Manilius ex Thomae Theodori

Bochali filia susceptus, parenti

Sanctissimo ac B.M.

Sibique posuit.

Si, genitor deflende, pius tibi debita natus

Iusta sepulturae, munera si apta darem,

Conderer hic tecum, discat ne sera senectus

Cum genere amissam rem patriamque mihi.

6 Thomae N^o H: Thome N

29. (*IIL* 53). Ad Fredericum regem Neapolitanum*Addressee: Federico d'Aragona (1452-1504), king of Naples (1496-1501).**Metre: First Asclepiad.*

- Rex regisque parens orteque regibus,
 Dudum uera boni progenies Iouis
 Idemque Hesperiae robore certior
 Collabente salus spesque recentior
- 5 Afflicti imperii, quas tibi Manlius
 Grates soluere uel quos numeros tui
 Aequales animi muneribus potest?
 Nam me mille modis exanimem foues
 Et fantem pateris nec querulum fugas.
- 10 Solaris profugi naufragium ut parens
 Et das seu rogitem siue aliquid uelim
 De tot diuitiis demere peruicax.
 Dii seruent, senio te renouet Themis,
 Saecli qui illepidi censor ut acrior
- 15 Sustentare nouem non renuis deas.

30. (*IIL* 54). Ad Prosperum Columnam paraenetice monocolos*Addressee: see at 17.**Metre: First Asclepiad.*

- Quondam, Prosper, eras laetitiae mihi
 At nunc anxietas curaue non leuis
 Quod seruire domum non pateris Remi
 Ac per bella grauem finibus Italis
- 5 Propulsare ferox barbariem paras
 Antiquum Latio restituens decus.
 Sed non haec pietas in patriam est satis,
 Vix nec uota iuuant sola superstitem,
 Si non Martis adest et fauor et uirum
- 10 Ardens laude manus prodiga sanguinis
 Et deuota neci pectora, quis potens
 Ac bello nimius cedat et Hannibal
 Immensique graues Antiochi minae.
 Ergo, spes Latii nominis unica,
- 15 Iam praesensque salus praecipitis rei,

- Obiectare nouis parce periculis,
 Expers legitimi praesidii latus
 Expectaque recens Hesperiae dolor
 Ciuilisque furor dum ferat otium,
 20 Coeptet dumque satur sanguine ciuico
 Mucro non uetitam militiam sequi.
 Tunc tu iussa tuae, dux bone, patriae
 Ductans signa prius creditaque agmina
 Virtuti auspiciis nominis et tui
 25 Absterges maculam fascibus, o pudor,
 Impressam Latiis fortis et aspero
 Contundes Rhodani Marte superbiam
 Diffingens galeas gaesaeque Belgica
 In rastra et modici commoda uillici,
 30 Quo Ianum residem templa coerceant
 Bellonamque trucem letiferi diu
 Ludi poeniteat, pacis et aurea
 Succedat facies nec Semeleius
 Concedat iuuenis frugiferae deae.
 35 Si certare simul cominus et uelint,
 Hic per Pampinei stans iuga Vesuii
 Nolanis ueniens illa feracibus.

tit. Ad Prosperum Columnam... N: Ad Prosperum de Columna... H

31. (*IIL* 55). Diuae Felici Ruuere
Addressee: Felice della Rovere (1483-1536).
Metre: Glyconic and Pherecratean stanzas.

- Felix feminei chori
 Splendor maximaque omnium,
 Quas Phoebus procul inspicit
 Seu uis dotibus ingeni,
 5 Rarae et munere formae,

 Siue stemmate nobili ac
 Gente caelitibus pari,
 Quamquam nec dea tu minor
 Auges numinibus polum,
 10 Dulci nectare pasta,

Fundisque hinc oculis uagis,
Inde doctiloquo iubar
Ore quale solet Venus,
Cum uult tardipedem deum

15 Alto tradere amori.

Ergo tu, dea, debita
Colli dudum Heliconio,
Vati da uetitum diu
Carmen suaui loquae chelys

20 Et ius pectinis aurei,

Vt formam recinam igneam
Et succum tenerae cutis
Castaeue ut recinam tuae
Mentis tot bona, tot manus

25 Et Semiramiae arti

Pungentes opera aemula.
Adde huc iam choreas leues,
Adde murmura tinnula
Par et ludere Lesbidi

30 Doctam carmine Musam.

Quare, age, ob patriae mala
Curasque exilii graues
Torpens ingenium, excitans,
Perge, quaeso, mihi dare

35 Linguasque oraue centum.

Sed uim sentio numinis –
Quo me diua iubes? Oe,
Éu! Quae me rapis ad sacra?
Quamuis semianimis sequar

40 Iussa at praepete somno.

32. (IIL 56). Iano Lascaro doctissimo ode monocolos
Addressee: Ianus Lascaris Rhyndacenus (ca. 1445-1535).
Metre: First Asclepiad.

- Cordis dimidium, Lascare, cur mei
 Aeternis animum consiliis grauas?
 Et nunc intrepidus prospicis, Allobrox
 Armis Italiam tempore quo petat,
 5 Nunc quid dissimulans tentet Hiberia
 Aut Rheni statuat caerulus incola?
 Aeui nonne uides saepe die breuis
 Includi spatium? Nec senio dari
 Non aequa tetricae lege Proserpinae
 10 Quod natura nimis finxerit arduum?
 Sic nuper Galeotti ampla manus mei
 Et mens ingenuis praedita moribus
 Regalisque decus sortis et, hei mihi,
 Fato rapta malo tot bona, tot sales.
 15 Sic et Musa deorum inclita laudibus
 Cantatis numeris eximiae chelys
 Insuetaeque meis hactenus auribus,
 Quae, quamuis patria creta sit Atthide,
 Romano potius detonuit sono,
 20 Quo saeuae Libitinae et nimios metus
 Vitet continuo Tartareae domus.
 Quare dum licet atque illacrimabilis
 Permittit soror, hanc pone molestiam,
 Curis, Iane, leuans pectus edacibus
 25 Sermonesque mades Socraticos quibus
 Oblitus, breuibus cinge caput rosis
 Antro subque meo lene merum bibens,
 Gratis seu patriae concine uocibus
 Seu sic utque ego nunc facta deum moue
 30 Supremique Iouis, cum fera feruido
 Titanum penitus sustulit agmina
 Ictu nec tumidas Enceladi minas
 Victor pertimuit, Pelion at suo
 Iussit stare loco, iussit et integram
 35 Aetnam suppositus sustineat Gigas,

Dum caelum auricomis emicet ignibus,
 Tellus dumque suis addita floribus
 Laetos uere nouo sufficiat dies
 Aut dum tantus honos, dum Leo maximus
 40 Regnet, iam prece multa auctus et hostia.

7 nonne N^c: none N] 12 ingenuis N^c: ingeniis N]
 gram *Legrand*, Bibliographie, III, 263: integrum N]
 sufficiat *Legrand*, Bibliographie, III, 263: sufficiet N

27 lene N^c: leue N] 34 inte-
 37 addita N: abdita N^c] 38

* * *

33. (Ham. nr. 16). In eundem
Addressee: see at 11.
Metre: Elegiac distichs.

Pone modum, Cytherea, malis tuque abnue Sextum
 Grassari furtis, caede et adulteriis.
 Nam turpi ulterius natae ne flagret amore,
 Ne perdat generos, quis nisi Parca vetet?

34. (Ham. nr. 18). Tumulus Theodori Gazae
Addressee: Theodore Gaza (ca. 1398-1475).
Metre: Elegiac distichs.

Diruta barbaricis defossaque Graecia telis
 Sola fuit, Lethen nunc quoque lingua tenet.
 Scilicet haec culti uiguit sub pectore Gazae
 Et quo cum uiguit pectore, fida cadit.
 5 Multis tanta feri nocuit uictoria Turci:
 Pluribus infesta est mors, Theodore, tua.

35. (Ham. nr. 55). De ratione animorum. Erroris confessio
Addressee: the identification of 'Ponticus' is uncertain. The best options are either Ponticus Virunius (Lodovico da Ponte, 1460-1520) or Galeatus Ponticus Facius (Galeazzo Pontico Faccio, ca. 1458-1506).
Metre: Elegiac distichs.

Quid me fallaci, simulator Pontice, lingua
 Magnifica abiectum credere uerba iubes
 Et modo persuades alto descendere Olympo
 Ac meliore sui parte referre deos,

- 5 Nunc hominem caeli spatium post fata remensum
Enumeras uita nobiliore frui
Atque illic nectarque suum ambrosiamque parari,
Illi et perpetuis fulcra beata rosis?
Non ego blanditiis, nugis nec fallor ab istis.
- 10 Est mea fingenti quae tibi credat anus,
Est puer emissus nutricis nuper ab ulna:
Certa uenit certis fabula nulla uiris.
An si caeruleo in ponto pontique sub aequor,
Aut quis in accensis uiuere posse focis
- 15 Perque auras uolitare uagae de more uolucris
Finxerit, idcirco dicere uera putem?
Cuique suos fines tribuit natura nec ignem
Piscis adit, gelidas nec salamandra niues
Nec pecudes caelum, uitreo non gurgite ceruus
- 20 Nec celer in duro stat Philomela solo.
Sed quodcunque manet qua gignitur estque obitum post
Vitalem genito quod fuit ante diem.
Vtque semel cum bulla abiit qua creuit in undam
Nec iam bulla usquam est nec resoluta coit,
- 25 Sic animus uita pariter cum corpore functus
Quo status est uento redditur ipse suo.
Perlege doctiloqui ueracia scripta Lucreti,
Carmina deposito quaeque furore canit.
Perlege Naturae Historiam et bona sensa Secundi:
- 30 Ingenio felix hic uir et ille fuit.
Hoc tamen haud nostro dissentit carmine quisquam
Quin uenit ad partes ille uel ille meas.
Mille meae gentis taceo non laude minores,
In quorum numerum, docte Epicure, uenis.
- 35 Quid ratio referam quae sufficit argumenta?
Quid quae sollicitus mortis habetque timor?
Chartarum monumenta, inscripti aut saxa sepulchri,
Atria imaginibus aut uariata patrum,
Quaecunque est saeculis nostrum extendentia nomen
- 40 Non nisi naturae deficientis opus.
Hinc etiam laeti thalamos taedasque iugales
Iungimus, hinc placidus concelebratur hymen,
Unde manens suboles stirpique simillima proles

- Consurgat, patrios ludat et ante lares.
 45 Scilicet hoc cuicumque datum est instinctu animai
 Quaerat ut esse aliquid quomodocunque potest.
 Haec nobis ratio sed tu, bone Pontice, perstas
 Dimissa quaerens quid ratione putem.
 Dicam equidem, summi postquam mihi prouida fati
 50 Sanctaque Idumaei cognita cura Iouis,
 Orbis Alexandro qua nostri cessit habenas
 Qua dedit egregia religione coli,
 Tum uero pacato animo resipiscere coepi,
 Credita tunc Stygii iura uerenda lacus
 55 Atque inferna malis tormenta et debita laudi
 Praemia in Elisio certa futura lare.
 Tunc quoque quanta poli uis cognita qua sine possunt
 Nec folia e ramis decidere ipsa suis.
 Ergo iam laudes meritas et carmina fingam,
 65 Mens bona, persuasus qualiacunque tibi,
 Quae mihi contectum caeca caligine pectus
 Tersisti pura criminis ipsa manu.
 At tu qui terra et caeli commercia suades,
 Succedant uotis fata benigna tuis.

* * *

36. [Bartholomaeo Platinae defuncto]

On the death of Bartholomaeus Platina (Bartolomeo Sacchi, 1421-1481). 'Demetrius' probably refers to his assistant, Demetrio Guazzelli of Lucca.

Source: Platina, Hystoria de uitis pontificum diligenter recognita (Venice: Pincius, 1504), fol. Fviii^r.

Metre: Hendecasyllables.

- Demetri lacrimas piosque fletus
 Nec non tristia iusta quae merentis
 Patroni parat ossibus iuuato,
 Spectator, gemitu nouoque planctu,
 5 Doctae quo Platynae excitentur umbrae.
 Res haec officiosa nec pudenda
 Quam cum faenore postulant sepulchra,
 Ustis quam cupit ossibus referri
 Quicunque ad Stygias uocatur umbras.
 10 Quod si fleueris haec dolenda iusta,
 Degas saecula longiora iusto.

Testimonia

The testimonia regarding Manilius Cabacius Rhallus mentioned in note 3 on p. 128 above are all available in modern editions except the four printed below.¹²³

1. Petri Gravinae epigramma

Author: Petrus Gravina (1452-1529).

Source: Iuueniles ingenii lusus, fol. ii^r.

Metre: Elegiac distichs.

Qui legis in tenero praedulces carmine lusus
Et laudas Latiae tam noua plectra lyrae,
Hoc mirere magis quod uir Lacedaemone natus
Romano potuit cultius ore loqui.

- 5 Hic est qui Ausonias mulcet Manilius aures
Quique habuit faciles in sua uota deas.
Lesbia, iam tecum, iam tecum, Delia, fas est
Proferat ornatum pulchra Licinna caput.

2. Tranquilli Gravinae phalaecium

Author: Tranquillus Gravina (16th century).

Source: Iuueniles ingenii lusus, fol. ii^v.

Metre: Hendecasyllables.

Felix, o nimium Licinna felix,
Quae tam dulciloquo places poetae,
Felix ora uirum usque peruolabis.
Te legent iuuenes puellulaeque,
5 Siqua est Romuleae perita linguae,
Spartanaeque tibi inuident sorores.
Aequo non animo ferunt relictæ,
Suo quod lepido places alumno,
Solam quod lepidus canat poeta.

- 10 Tuque, o Callimacho tuo propinquo
Aequande ingenio et tuo Philetæ
(Nam tu sanguine natus es Pelasgo)
Manili, Latiae decus Camenæ,

¹²³ Curtius's poem (nr. 3) was first printed in Wattenbach, 'Die Handschriften', p. 341.

Manili, nimio lepore uates,
 15 Ne cessa teneros tuos amores
 Ad caelum facili uocare cantu.

3. Epigramma Ioannis Luchini Curtii, scriptoris

Author: Curtius, Giovanni Luchino Curti (?).

Source: Deutsche Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, codex Hamiltonianus 561, fol. 1^r.

Metre: Elegiac distichs.

Veste tegebatur uilli tua, Rhalle, Licinna.
 Nunc nitet ecce novus picta characteribus.
 Iam domini poterit divinum intrare cubile
 Nam calamo ex cana, facta puella meo est.

4. Ad Rhallum

Author: Thebaldeus (1463-1537) (?).

Source: BAV, Vat. lat. 3353, fol. 13^v.

Metre: Elegiac distichs.

In te Turcha et amor metuendus uterque sagittis
 Jurarunt: patriam ille, ille cor eripuit.
 Illum unum te odisse decet. Peregrinus et exul
 Viuere, Rhalle, potes, non sine corde potes.

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THE MIRACULOUS POWERS OF THE POET:
QUINZIANO STOA'S *ORPHEOS LIBRI TRES*

Quinziano Stoa's poem, *Orpheos libri tres*, was popular enough in its time to be published in the two countries with which he was chiefly associated. It was printed in Milan in 1510, 'chalcographo Petro Martyre Cassano'; this edition will be used in the present article.¹ It was reprinted in Paris by Jean I^{er} de Gourmont in 1514, probably when its author was approaching the end of a three-year stay in France.² The binding of the Parisian edition can be viewed on the Gallica site of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Stoa's poem seems to be unusual amongst sixteenth-century French and Italian treatments of the Orpheus myth in that it largely dispenses with the rigid allegorical interpretations so common in the fifteenth century, and enlarges considerably upon the classical sources (primarily Virgil and Ovid), opening out rather than narrowing down the interpretive possibilities.³ The poem has not attracted much critical attention in recent years: although the prolific Stoa, said to be able to compose up to one thousand Latin verses a day, was greatly admired by his contemporaries — as a glance at the numerous eulogies accompanying his texts may suggest — the only detailed modern study of the *Orpheos libri tres* appears to be that found in Françoise Joukovsky's *Orphée et ses*

¹ British Library IA.25083 (2). There is also a copy in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (henceforth BnF), Rés.m. Yc.706. Line numbering has been provided in the present article for ease of reference.

² *Jo. Fr. Quintiani Stoeae [...] de Celeberrimae Parrhisiorum urbis laudibus sylva, cui titulus Cleopolis. Ejusdem Orpheos libri tres*. [At end] 'Impressum est hoc opus a Joanne Gormontio, Gallis imperante Ludovico XII, [...] anno a Parthenopeo partu MDXIII, quarto nonas augusti.' In-4°. Jean I^{er} de Gourmont also published *Ad invictissimum christianissimumque Ludovicum XII Galliarum regem Quintiani [sic] Stoeae Elegia cui titulus est Paraclesis, qua hortatur ne adversam extimescat fortunam immo augustius perseveret* (Paris, 1512).

³ For general observations on the movement away from allegory in poetry, see Annwyl Williams, *Clément Marot: Figure, Text and Intertext*, Studies in Renaissance Literature, 8 (Lewiston – Queenston – Lampeter: Edwin Mellen, 1990), Part 1, Chapter 1, pp. 19-37.

disciples dans la poésie française et néo-latine du XVI^e siècle.⁴ There are also useful remarks in Suzanne Guillet-Laburthe's edition, with a translation and commentary, of Jean Salmon Macrin's *Hymnes* (1537).⁵ She stresses (p. 112) that Stoa's work has an important religious dimension: his compositions were gathered together as *Opera christiana* (Paris: Jean Petit, 1514).

The present article aims to go a little way towards compensating for the paucity of studies of Stoa by considering the cultural and literary context in which his poem on Orpheus was composed, focusing on the Pléiade and on some Italian poets writing in Neo-Latin. After a brief survey of Stoa's life and of a few of his other works it will attempt to convey, partly by means of quotations from the erudite Stoa, something of the sheer energy with which he, using various rhetorical techniques and echoes from different classical authors, celebrates the powers and reflects on the reception of poetry and poet. A major concern of the sixteenth century is to establish what the role of the poet should be; Renaissance writers pondering the matter find much encouragement in the *Orpheos libri tres*.

Giovanni Francesco Conti, also called Joannes Franciscus Quintianus Stoa or Quinziano Stoa — for his names proliferated as did his works — was born in the village of Quinzano, Brescia, in 1484, probably of a Milanese or possibly of a Bergamasque family. In his *De syllabarum quantitate Epographiae Sex* he maintains that the name 'Quintianus' was given to him because he used to correct the verse of his colleagues rather as somebody of that name had corrected Martial's.⁶ However, the link with his birthplace seems a much more obvious albeit more prosaic reason. The appellation 'Stoa', used primarily of the Painted Porch in the main square of Athens, he associates specifically with the portico of the Muses, saying he acquired it thanks to his great skills in versification.⁷ His good knowledge of Greek appears also to have been a factor in this appellation. Early in his career he forged links with France. One admittedly rather vague and disputed account maintains that on a visit to

⁴ Publications romanes et françaises, 109 (Geneva: Droz, 1970), pp. 48-55.

⁵ Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 481 (Geneva: Droz, 2010). See in particular pp. 111-113.

⁶ Ticini Impressum per Magistrum Iacob Paucidrapensem de Burgo franco. M.D.XI die ultimo Junij. 'Epographia quarta', p. 73 r^o.

⁷ 'Epographia Secunda', p. 34 r^o.

France he was warmly welcomed by the Cardinal d'Amboise and presented to Louis XII, who made him tutor to the young duc d'Angoulême, the future François I^{er}.⁸ Perhaps the fact that there is a version of Stoa's *Epographiae* published in Paris in early 1501 by Jean Petit lends substance to this theory.⁹ It is on the other hand certain that on 14 July 1509, Louis XII gave him the crown of poet laureate in Milan, largely in return for the poem, *Heraclea, bellum Venetum*, celebrating the King's victories. Stoa subsequently fled to France from the civil wars in Italy and became part of the entourage of Anne de Bretagne. He took an active part in literary life, writing for instance a dedicatory poem to Nicolas Berauld in the latter's edition of Poliziano's *Rusticus*, published in Paris in or around 1514.¹⁰ Stoa knew and inspired Macrin, who greatly admired him.¹¹ Macrin in fact corrected the proofs of the 1514 Parisian edition

⁸ Giuseppe or Joseph Nember in his biography of Stoa, *Memorie, anedote, critiche spettanti alla vita, ed agli scritti di Gio. Francesco Quinziano Stoa e di Gio. Planerio*, published in Brescia by P. Nescovi in 1777, maintains not only that Stoa taught the future François I^{er}, but also that he was *recteur* of the University of Paris during a first visit to France. Girolamo Tiraboschi refutes this in his often republished *Storia della letteratura italiana* (one version of which was published in eleven volumes in Modena between 1772 and 1795), maintaining that Nember's documentary evidence is inadequate and relies largely on a nephew of Stoa doubtless bent on self-glorification (VII, 3, ch. 5, section 20). Tiraboschi was translated and abridged by Antonio Landi of Berlin; volume 4 of his *Histoire de la littérature d'Italie, tirée de l'italien de Mr. Tiraboschi* (Berne: no name of publisher, 1784) speaks of Stoa (Livre 12, art. 3, 113-114, pp. 435-438). Francesco Flamini, in his *Studi di storia letteraria italiana e straniera* (Livorno: Raffaello Giusti, 1895), refers to Leon. Gozzando's *Vita di G.F. Conti-Quinziano-Stoa, poeta laureato* (Brescia, 1694) and also believes Nember wrong about the first visit to France.

⁹ See Robert Proctor, *The Printing of Greek in the Fifteenth Century* ([Oxford]: Oxford University Press, 1900), p. 141. Stoa's volume, published '11 Kal. Mart. 1500', contained Greek letters and was listed by M. Pellechet in her *Catalogue général des incunables des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 3 vols (Paris: Picard, 1897-1909), Lyon, No. 538. I have been unable to consult a copy. I wish to thank Grantley R. McDonald for this reference.

¹⁰ *Angeli Politiani sylvia cui titulus est Rusticus, cum docta elegantissimae Nicolai Beraldi interpretatione* ([Paris]: R. Chaudière, [s.d.]). I am indebted to Alejandro Coroleu for drawing my attention to this volume. Stoa's liminary poem is important to students of Poliziano, as it helps to date Berauld's volume. Stoa was still in Paris in 1514. See Mario Emilio Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and of the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy, 1300-1800*, 5 vols (Boston, MA: Hall, 1962), V, 1495, for a list of Neo-Latinists who knew Stoa. They included Julius Caesar Scaliger.

¹¹ Dirk Sacré kindly sent me a reference to I.D. McFarlane, 'Jean Salmon Macrin (1490-1557)', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 21 (1959), 55-89. Here McFarlane mentions (p. 59) that Macrin wrote liminary pieces for four volumes of Stoa's works published around 1514, and (p. 60) that some subjects treated by Stoa, particularly those concerning Christ, soon appeared in Macrin's work.

of the *Orpheos*, which bears at the end the words 'Haec omnia Io. Salmonius Maternus recensuit'.¹² He refers to Orpheus in his own Hymns (V, 6: 'Ad Adrianum Drusum Iuliodunen', and VI, 8: 'Ad Titum Pinium Iuliodunen').¹³

When Anne de Bretagne died in 1514, Stoa wrote a poem in her honour, then returned to Italy.¹⁴ He himself died in 1557, at the age of 73, having pursued a prestigious academic career in France and Italy and having produced numerous works in fields such as oratory, philosophy, history, grammar and drama. This polymath tended, perhaps not surprisingly, to produce works of some length.

Stoa has doubtless suffered from being branded bombastic by centuries later than his own that are less fond of rhetorical adornment. Amongst his many writings, only his odes and a couple of his religious dramas appear to have attracted the close attention of twentieth-century critics other than Joukovsky. The odes have been succinctly discussed by Carol Maddison in her *Apollo and the Nine: A History of the Ode*.¹⁵ The plays have been examined notably by Raymond Lebègue.¹⁶ Most famous is the five-act *Theoandathanatos*, in verse, which was reprinted several times in the sixteenth century.¹⁷ This play, probably written as a prosodic and rhetorical exercise, is far from winning Lebègue's full admiration. He writes: 'Cette pièce où Sénèque collabore avec le Christ, est l'une des plus déplaisantes que la Passion ait inspirées: action dédoublée, person-

¹² See Jean Salmon Macrin, *Épithalames et Odes*, edited by Georges Soubeille, *Textes de la Renaissance*, 20 (Paris: Champion, 1998), p. 18, n. 4. The late Philip Ford directed me to this edition. I have unfortunately not yet been able to compare the 1514 *Orpheos* with the 1510 version in order to assess the extent of Macrin's editorial intervention.

¹³ See Suzanne Guillet-Laburthe's edition, pp. 822-823 and pp. 934-935.

¹⁴ *In praecocissimam Galliarum reginae Britonumque ducis Annae mortem threnos, per Joannem Franciscum Quintianum Stoam, [...] necnon et ejusdem ingeniosissima epitaphia quae ab eodem emanarunt Apolline; cujus et adjicitur monodia* (Paris: Venundantur ab Joanne Parvo et Ascensio, ca. 1514).

¹⁵ *Apollo* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960), pp. 109-111. I am indebted to Dirk Sacré for this reference.

¹⁶ *La Tragédie religieuse en France: Les débuts (1514-1573)*, Bibliothèque littéraire de la Renaissance, nouvelle série, 17 (Paris: Champion, 1929), pp. 129-141.

¹⁷ *Tragoedia de Passione Domini nostri Iesu Christi: quae Theoandathanatos inscribitur: per Joannem Franciscum Quintianum Stoam* (Mediolani: Per Petrum Martyrem Mantegatium, 1508 die.xx. Mensis Aprilis). It was reprinted for instance in 1515, 'per Laurentium hylaire, impensis Petri balleti, Lugd.', in Gand (Gent), 1518, and in J. Oporinus's *Christianae poeseos opuscula aliquot* (Basel, [1542] and 1547). It clearly appealed to contemporary readers.

nages frénétiques, œuvre injouable, ni dramatique, ni chrétienne' (p. 140). He seems fundamentally opposed to Stoa's techniques of amplification.

The *Orpheos libri tres* merits more careful and indeed more subtle consideration.¹⁸ Book I extends to 544 hexameters, Book II to 581, and Book III to 539. The work is dedicated in elevated terms 'Ad Magnificum generosumque Hiacynthum Simonetam patricium Mediólaniensem [sic]' and accompanied by a preface by Stoa (folio A2 r^o - A2 v^o), in which he claims to have written his poem in three days ('triduo labore'), and by one Greek and four Latin poems by other worthy figures. Different members of the Simonetta family write dedicatory and introductory pieces in the course of the text, emphasizing Stoa's worth. In the poem itself Stoa is in turn at pains to stress the nobility of the hero, making clear that his Orpheus is the son of Apollo, and not, as some versions of the myth maintained, of the Thracian king Oeagrus (I, 107-108). Calliope is his mother. The suggestion is that the power of Orpheus' song and verse is guaranteed in advance by his august parentage.

Orpheus' poetry and music are represented in concrete form by his lyre, which rapidly becomes a major symbol in the *Orpheos libri tres*.¹⁹ The instrument is mentioned at the outset and credited, via an enumeration exemplifying Stoa's taste for *copia*, with great powers over nature:

(...) plectro fidibusque mouentem
Et nemora: et montes: animalia: flumina: sylvas:
Aerias et aues. (I, 2-4, fol. A3 r^o)

The poet tells how Jupiter, surveying the suffering world, sees a need for a *vates* to civilize men with his lyre:

Est opus ut sacra nascatur origine uates:
Carmine qui lepido: cythara: fidibusque sonoris
Mulceat humanos ad mitia foedera sensus. (I, 101-103, fol. A5 r^o)

Poetry and music are seen as having the power to refine and tame, as being the cornerstones of society. Orpheus is chosen to fulfil the role of *vates*; he has, one learns, the power to uproot oak-trees 'Si quando exten-

¹⁸ For a very useful list of works on Orpheus, see James Helgeson, "'Chantant Orphée": Lyrisme et orphisme dans la *Délie* de Maurice Scève', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 59 (1997), 13-28, note 2 (p. 13).

¹⁹ The lyre played an important part in the iconography of François 1^{er}. In one of his châteaux in Villers-Cotterêts, Picardy, there is a beautiful sculpture of a lyre on the ceiling above one of the second floor staircases. The building is now a retirement home. I wish to thank Mrs Elizabeth Pinner for this information.

sos aurato pectine neruos | Percuteret' (I, 261-262, fol. A8 r^o). Close attention is paid here to the way the lyre is played. The physical presence of the instrument, its strings and the quill needed to play them, are already assuming a vital position in the poem (although Stoa does not enter into debate as to how many strings the lyre had and what they represented). In spite of the impression the components of the lyre give of concrete existence, they simultaneously represent supernatural powers. This is appropriate in a text in which objects, animals and trees convey much of the poet's sense of the spirituality of the universe.

The lengthiest exploration of the lyre comes at the end of the first book, in Orpheus' hymn to the Argonauts as they speed towards Colchis. Orpheus tells of the way the Nile exposes a tortoise-shell (528-542, fol. B5 r^o). Mercury strikes it with his finger and plays on it with a quill, makes of it a lyre, and gives it to Orpheus, who sings of it, his 'chelis aurea' (538). The same phrase is used in III, 184 (compare Verg., *georg.*, 4, 464). Orpheus refers again, in his hymn to the Muses, to the cithara made by Mercury (II, 193). He emphasizes via this myth the divine origins of his art and the care with which his poetry is crafted. Ronsard too will reveal his interest in this part of the tale of Orpheus, describing in 'La Lyre' (425-440) with cruel humour the unpromising way the instrument is created: first the tortoise's flesh is eaten and its 'tripes' are hung out to dry.²⁰ His friend Remy Belleau, in 'Les Amours de David et de Bersabee', is far less bloodthirsty and more earnest in his presentation of David's lyre, which helps to turn into verse (the penitential Psalms) the king's repentance over his adultery.²¹ Orpheus and David were frequently linked.²²

Elsewhere in Stoa's text the reader realizes that poet and instrument are intricately connected, to the extent that Calliope recognizes her son even before she sees him — not by his voice, but by the sound of his lyre: 'Calliope ismariae cognouit murmura conchae' (II, 56). The recognition motif (itself an important literary device) suggests the surprise and

²⁰ See the edition by Paul Laumonier of Ronsard's *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 15, reprint (Paris: Nizet, 1982), 36. The title of the poem is originally 'A Monsieur de Belot, Conseiller, et Maistre des Requestes de l'hostel du Roy'. See Roberto E. Campo, *Ronsard's Contentious Sisters: The Paragone Between Poetry and Painting in the Works of Pierre de Ronsard*, North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 257 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), pp. 131-135 and 147-150.

²¹ See Belleau's *Œuvres poétiques*, IV, éd. Guy Demerson (Paris: Champion, 2001).

²² See James Helgeson, "'Chantant Orphée'", p. 21, note 9.

the surge of maternal love provoked by the music.²³ In Book III Orpheus wonders whether his *concha* will bring any joy to the Underworld (128), what the limits of his artistic powers are. Some one hundred and fifty lines later the instrument falls from his hands as Eurydice is lost a second time (276). This poignant moment encapsulates all the grief and awareness of human fragility that art attempts to transcend. Yet the lyre still has a more affirmative role to play in Stoa's poem; for after the hero's cruel death, it floats on the River Hebrus uttering a plaintive melody (III, 419-421) — a detail Stoa took from *Ov., met.*, 11, 50-52, whilst rejecting the more gruesome notion that Orpheus' tongue also murmured piteously (52-53; Virgil too mentions the sounds uttered by Orpheus' 'frigida lingua', *georg.*, 4, 525). In Stoa the instrument alone represents the power to live on through music and poetry even after a hideous death.²⁴ In general however, in keeping with the Renaissance predilection for open-ended forms and genres, Stoa does not propose a rigid allegorical interpretation of the lyre, unlike, say, Fulgentius who in his influential *Mythologiae* saw the whole Orpheus myth as an allegory of the art of music.²⁵

The link between music and poetry is an ancient one.²⁶ Although he omits the Ovidian and Virgilian references to Orpheus' tongue, Stoa makes it clear that he is interested in the connection between the lyre and poetry, even more than with music, by reproducing at length the words of Orpheus' songs, hymns and prayers. *Sermocinatio* is one of the major rhetorical devices used by Stoa; it frequently renders the text dramatic, reminding one that he was also a prolific playwright. Orpheus is presented at an early stage as having great powers of speech, with which he can calm men's hearts (I, 270-274). He prompts rocks to speak in

²³ Compare Terence Cave, *Recognitions: A Study in Poetics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988). Remy Belleau used the recognition device in his comedy, *La Reconneue*, ed. by Jean Braybrook, *Textes Littéraires Français*, 375 (Geneva: Droz, 1989).

²⁴ Although the lyre is the most important instrument in the poem, others do feature. In his hymn in Book II Orpheus refers to the reed into which Syrinx was changed after she had been pursued by Pan (211). This transformation figures in *Verg., ecl.*, 2, 32-33.

²⁵ See Leslie George Whitbread, *Fulgentius the Mythographer* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1971), pp. 96-98. Much of Fulgentius's argument is based on onomastics. Unlike Stoa, who uses Aristaeus to depict the sinister aspects of male sensuality, he interprets Aristaeus favourably.

²⁶ The equation of poetry with music is common in the sixteenth century (see for instance Ronsard's 'La Lyre'). It has however been asserted that the equation began to break down as early as the fourteenth century. See Paul Zumthor, *Le Masque et la lumière* (Paris: Seuil, 1978), p. 199; and François Cornilliat, "*Or ne mens*": *Couleurs de l'éloge et du blâme chez les Grands Rhétoriciens* (Paris: Champion, 1994), pp. 197-200.

response to him (I, 437-438). He uses these powers to compose poems that he sings. He entertains the Argonauts (I, 514-542). More space is devoted by Stoa to the song composed for Jason's men than to the adventures of the Argonauts (the song does however conclude rapidly — I, 543-544). In Book II the Muses ask Orpheus (l. 78) to sing of the gods. He responds with a long hymn. In the Underworld Orpheus produces a paean to love (III, 157-172), an *interpretatio* expanding to sixteen lines what Ovid says in four (*met.*, 10, 26-29). It refers to Jupiter's transformations for the sake of love and is punctuated by the repetition of 'Omnia uincit amor', the sententia found in Virgil's *ecl.*, 10, 69 ('Omnia uincit Amor: et nos cedamus Amori') and remembered in Ovid's 'uicit Amor!' (26). Songs and hymns in Stoa's text thus provide ample proof of Orpheus' — and Stoa's — verbal and rhetorical dexterity.

As was seen above in the evocation of the lyre (I, 101-103), Stoa emphasizes early in his text the civilizing powers of the poet. This aspect of the Orpheus myth was crucial in the Renaissance, in the works of Ficino for instance, the *locus classicus* being Hor., *ars*, 391-407, lines that speak of the division of property, the institution of marriage and family, and the establishment of cities and laws.²⁷ Stoa expands Horace's ideas considerably, perhaps recalling Prometheus' boasts in Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* (436-468), a passage which was to inspire Belleau.²⁸ Stoa's Orpheus appears as the founder of civilization in I, 175-181 and in 228-260, where spine-chilling details are given of people's former lives and sacrificial practices, and cave-dwellers are shown as starting to live in houses and observe laws. In lines 173 to 205 there is a full-blown evocation of the torments and tortures that cease under the influence of Orpheus' song; Stoa here develops Verg., *georg.*, 4, 479-484, and Ov., *met.*, 10, 41-44.

²⁷ See John Warden, 'Orpheus and Ficino', in John Warden (ed.), *Orpheus: The Metamorphoses of a Myth* (Toronto - Buffalo - London: University of Toronto Press, 1982), pp. 85-110 (p. 89); and Christopher S. Celenza, 'Pythagoras in the Renaissance: The Case of Marsilio Ficino', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 52 (1999), 667-711.

²⁸ See the Loeb Classical Library edition by Herbert Weir Smyth, *Aeschylus*, 2 vols (London: Heinemann; New York: Putnam's Sons, 1922), I, 254-257. Belleau was to remember this passage in the 'Complainte de Prométhée' dedicated to Ronsard, from the *Seconde Journée de La Bergerie* of 1572 (*Œuvres poétiques*, IV, 157-164); and in 'Prométhée premier inventeur des Anneaux et de l'enchasseuse des Pierres' from the *Amours et nouveaux échanges des pierres précieuses* — see the edition by Maurice F. Verdier, *Textes Littéraires Français* (Geneva: Droz, 1973), pp. 31-35.

These details are remembered by Nicolas Petit in his *Arion* (Paris: Jean de Gourmont, probably 1522).²⁹ The early stages of this poem of 1108 lines are devoted to Orpheus; Petit pays attention, unlike Stoa, to Orpheus' childhood (55-69, fol. B2 r^o-v^o). Petit stresses throughout his poem the ability of Orpheus and Arion to keep human beings out of evil ways. He too describes the way Orpheus causes the tortures and torments of the Underworld to stop (temporarily):

Quo ferus audito manes debebat amicos
 Reddere: et insanum veneris laenire furorem
 Orcus: et accepto violenta quiescere versu
 Athraciae [*sic*]³⁰ tormenta rotae: saxumque gementis
 Aeolidae: phrygijque sitis vesana tyramni:
 Quaeque suos iussu patris necuere maritos,
 Tanta quidem patriae dulcedo vocis: vt ardens
 Saepe quidem iacta proles cyllenia virga. (77-84, fol. B2 v^o)

The power of poetry and music is associated by Petit with Orpheus, long before he comes, in line 762 (fol. F2 r^o), to Arion, the 'dulcisonus vates' (763).

Another important aspect of the Orpheus legend has already been touched upon: the almost magical power of the *vates* over the natural world, which Stoa does not attempt to allegorize or explain away. It is first outlined in a list of the many talents Orpheus acquires (I, 205-217); but it soon recurs and occupies a near-central place in Book I, for lines 264 to 269 stress that strong beasts no longer hunt the weak when Orpheus plays his lyre. The lines, which echo Verg., *eccl.*, 4, 18-30, provide a good example of Stoa's taste for enumeration, for alliteration (notably *t* in line 266) and assonance (for instance *u* in line 267):

Stat lupus inter oues: nec ob ora latrantia surgunt
 Auriti lepores: comes astat cerua leonum.
 Victa tacet tygris: spummantia [*sic*]³¹ temperat ora
 Saeuus aper: curuisque tacet ferus unguibus ursus.
 Non metuunt aquilas timidissima turba columbae.
 Nec cyris patrum metuit foedissima rostrum. (fol. A8 r^o)

²⁹ This is the edition used in the present article (*Nicolai Parvi, [...] Sylvae, Arion, Gornais, Barbaromachia, cum aliquot hymnis*, BnF Rés.m.Yc.822(1). It contains *Nicolai Parvi Bellosanensis sylva cvi titvlvs Arion, De laudibvs eivsdem*, fol. B1r^o - H2r^o). In this article line numbers have been added for ease of reference.

³⁰ The printer seems to have been confused by the rather unusual *anthraciae*: the wheels are of burning coals, like carbuncles.

³¹ One finds also *spumantia* in this text – for instance I, 425, fol. B3 r^o.

Nicolas Petit stresses that even fish are moved by the music of Orpheus' lyre: 'Scammigeros etiam pisces foelice mouebat | Carmine' (102-103, fol. B3 r^o). Later in Book I, Stoa ascribes to Orpheus the power to affect the seasons and control the ripening of crops (429-436). The close affinity between poet and nature is demonstrated in Book III, when rocks and water moan in response to the attacks upon Orpheus of the Bacchantes and cause the river Hebrus to burst its banks (391-393).

Stoa's *priscus poeta* is also endowed with vatic powers proper, which are evoked at several points in the text. At first Orpheus' ability to prophesy — as well as to understand the past and the present — is just a rumour spread by the Thracian people (I, 283-285). Soon however he demonstrates the truth of the rumour by means of auguries, and by foretelling the end of all things, the universal conflagration that is never far from Stoa's mind (I, 345-355). In Book III, Apollo places Orpheus' head in a temple in Lesbos, the chief seat of lyric music, where it prophesies in true syncretist fashion such things as the Trojan War and the fall of Rome; the assassination of Julius Caesar and the reign of Augustus; the advent of Christ (who will open the doors of Tartarus) but subsequent return of evil; the restoration of the Age of Gold (467-530). The prophecies are reproduced in detail and open out the temporal perspective as the poem draws to a close, emphasizing the interpretive role of the *vates* in the universal scheme of things. One thinks in particular of how Ronsard associates the *prisci poetae* with vaticination.³² Petit imitates the prophetic aspect of Stoa's Orpheus as well: his *priscus poeta* foretells such things as the glory of Rome on its seven hills (88-99, fol. B3 r^o).

Orpheus is *sapiens* in all senses of the word. Stoa explores in detail the scientific, geometric, zoological and geographical phenomena about which Orpheus teaches people (I, 287-344). The *vates* spends time in Greece, which he sees as the fount of all wisdom (I, 459-462); he soaks up items of Greek religious belief, for instance in the Temple of Minerva

³² See the *Abbrégé de l'Art poétique françois*, in which Ronsard talks of the 'Poetes divins', including Orpheus, Homer, Hesiod, saying they are called divine 'pour la conversation que ilz avoyent avecques les Oracles, Prophetes, Devins, Sybilles, Interpretes de songes, desquelz ilz avoyent apris la meilleure part de ce qu'ils sçavoient: car ce que les oracles disoient en peu de motz, ces gentils personnages l'emplifioient, coloroient et augmentoient, estans vers le peuple ce que les Sybilles et Devins estoient en leur endroit.' (Ronsard, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. by Jean Céard, Daniel Ménager and Michel Simonin, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, NRF, 2 vols, II (Paris: Gallimard, 1994), 1175. The mention of amplification could have come from Stoa's own pen, as it well describes his rhetorical practice.

in Athens (I, 465-474). The poet has an enquiring mind and is concerned to communicate his knowledge. He composes hymns glorifying Jupiter and other gods (II, 90-279), saluting the deities as do Callimachus and the Neo-Latin Marullus, with whose *Hymni naturales* (Florence, 1497) Stoa was probably acquainted.³³ However Stoa is thinking here in particular of the Orphic Hymns, translated from the Greek by Ficino in 1462, and published in Florence in 1500, along with the *Argonautica*, a short anonymous epic poem composed between the fourth and the sixth century AD, thought in the sixteenth century to be by Orpheus, and based partly on Apollonius of Rhodes.³⁴ Stoa's Orpheus then goes to Egypt to acquaint himself with the Egyptian gods, as lines 323 to 329 of Book II make clear. Diodorus Siculus said that Orpheus learned his religious rites in Egypt.³⁵ The anonymous *Argonautica* also has Orpheus visiting Egypt. Stoa devotes seventy-eight lines to what Orpheus learns about this country and the Nile (II, 318-395). The hero's knowledge becomes encyclopaedic in true Renaissance style. This aspect of the myth will be important to the French Pléiade poets, notably Ronsard and Jean-Antoine de Baïf, in their wish to stress that the hymns they write communicate scientific and philosophical truths. Indeed Baïf, who has points of resemblance, stylistically and temperamentally, with Stoa, was to translate in 1567 a work supposedly by Orpheus (in reality by an unknown Alexandrian) which reinforced this view of the poet's knowledge: the *Presages d'Orpheus sur les tremblemens de terre* (Paris: Robert Estienne).³⁶

Much of Orpheus' learning is devoted to practical ends in Stoa's poem. He knows for instance how to use herbs for medicinal purposes, reminding one that his father is Apollo (see I, 395). In Egypt (Book II) he does not simply learn about religion, but about Egyptian geography and about the economy. He is even taught how to use weapons such as the sling and bow:

³³ See the annotated translation by J. Chomarat, *Michel Marulle: Hymnes naturels* (Geneva: Droz, 1995).

³⁴ For Ficino's translation, see D.P. Walker, 'Orpheus the Theologian and Renaissance Platonists', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 16 (1953), 100-120 (p. 108).

³⁵ See Walker, 'Orpheus the Theologian', p. 100.

³⁶ See the edition of *Les Evvres en rime de Jan Antoine de Baïf* by Charles Marty-Laveaux, *La Pléiade Française*, 5 vols (Paris: Lemerre, 1881-1890), II, 33-36. See also Mathieu Augé-Chiquet, *La Vie, les idées et l'oeuvre de Jean-Antoine de Baïf* (Paris: Hachette; Toulouse: Privat, 1909), pp. 247-248.

Hunc docuit lapides balearica terra rotatos
 Mittere: et in triplici sua uertere pectora funda:
 Cretenses parthusque ferox instruxit ab arcu
 Ingenita iacere hamatas procul arte sagittas. (392-395, fol. C4 v^o - C5 r^o)

Yet Orpheus' wisdom also has magical overtones connected with his prophetic role and reminiscent of the Orphic speculations mentioned in Plato's *Cratylus*.³⁷ Stoa's Orpheus knows how to bind fast demons, to interpret oracles, to read faces and hands, to pray to the gods of darkness and the Underworld (I, 381-421). The tremendous power of his magic potions, transcending the strictly medical, is underlined in lines 452 to 458 of Book I. He has talents both practical and wondrous which are reflected in his writing.

Practicality yet also a concern for glory characterize in addition the link established in Stoa's poem between poetry and action. Stoa associates Orpheus closely with the Argonauts and their quest for fame. Orpheus spurs heroes on to greater deeds via his poetry and music and is asked by Jason to join the Argonauts in order to make them forget the difficulties of rowing over the sea (I, 503-507). Giovanni Gioviano Pontano doubtless remembers Stoa when he composes *De Orpheo navigante, et post ad inferos pro uxore descendente*, published in 1518.³⁸ The poem opens with a picture of the Argo, which has left Thessaly, and of the open sea foaming under the oars (1-4, fol. 89 r^o). Pontano stresses the link between Orpheus and the heroes, and omits the more sentimental aspects of the myth. Poetry is seen by Stoa and Pontano as enhancing heroism. This feature anticipates Baïf's *Les Muses* (1556-60), an important poem of 780 decasyllables from the *Second Livre des Poemes* which seems to be inspired by the *Orpheos libri tres*, amongst other texts.³⁹ It contains bold proclamations of the poet's power to guarantee the fame of those he celebrates (589-616, pp. 86-87). Stoa's linking of poet and Argonauts also prefigures Ronsard's *L'Orphée* (1563), although there is an apparently original twist to the myth here, as Calliope advises her son to overcome his grief over the loss of Eurydice by travelling and joining the Argonauts (329-340, Pléiade edition, II, 363).

³⁷ See Joukovsky, *Orphée et ses disciples*, p. 50.

³⁸ *Carmina* (Venice, in aedibus Aldi, et Andreae soceri, 1518), fol. 89 r^o - 91 r^o (actually numbered fol. 97, 90 and 99).

³⁹ See the edition by Charles Marty-Laveaux, *Evres en rime*, II, pp. 71-91.

Learned, practical, capable of bestowing fame, Stoa's Orpheus has perhaps above all the power to create and change the emotions through his poetry. The evocation of this ability owes much to Aristotelian theories concerning the powers of music.⁴⁰ It finds its most startling and most famous demonstration in the way Pluto and Proserpina are softened by Orpheus' entreaties (III, 201-205). Virgil says very little about this, whereas Stoa's text emphasizes the miraculous nature of this transcending of normal barriers and rules. Charon and his boat are also affected by Orpheus' prayers (III, 105-113): Charon even sheds tears, a fact underlined by deixis: 'Ecce Charon posuit rabiem: lachrymasque profudit | Tristibus insolitas oculis' (108-109).

As he is eminently capable of feeling and of arousing emotion, Stoa's Orpheus is far from being solely the cerebral artist. The Neo-Latin poet devotes much space to Orpheus' passionate relationship with Eurydice and to an exploration of loss — unlike, for instance, Baif, whose *vates* simply recalls in a conversation with Jason his descent to the Underworld in search of his wife (387-404, pp. 81-82). Even Ronsard in *L'Orphée* lays less emphasis on Eurydice and more on the heroic ethic (lines 223 to 328 of this 350-line poem deal with Orpheus' descent to Hades, then second loss of Eurydice).⁴¹ Stoa's *vates* on the other hand experiences a real *coup de foudre*, as does the nymph. They are described as burning with passion (II, 438-444). Stoa passes quickly over the meetings between the two that must have preceded their wedding (rather as he passes with almost comic alacrity over Orpheus' childhood, I, 170-174), and zooms in on the event, using the deictic *ecce* and *iam* of which he is fond:

Ecce dies augusta aderat: fraterque coronis
 Laetus Hymen cinctus sua tempora uenerat oras
 Ismaris. sanctos iam plebs hymeneon ad ignes
 Conuocat: et longo resonabat tibia cantu. (II, 448-451, fol. C6 r^o)

After the wedding not much time elapses, 'Transierat non longa dies' (II, 465), before Aristaeus starts to desire Eurydice. Neither time nor space is given to the development of the love between Orpheus and his wife. It is after her death that one perceives its full intensity. The death itself is evoked at length: Françoise Joukovsky wryly remarks: 'La mort d'Eurydice est interminable' (p. 52). After the frenzied pursuit of the

⁴⁰ See Frances A. Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century* (London: Warburg Institute, 1947), pp. 37-40.

⁴¹ See Joukovsky, *Orphée et ses disciples*, pp. 77-80.

nymph by Aristaeus, based on that of Daphne by Apollo (Ov., *met.*, 1, 533-539), the pace of the poem slows. The beginning of Book III is taken up with Orpheus' mourning, echoed by that of the whole countryside. His pining away is conveyed and underlined by repetition in line 30: 'nimium nimium intabescit amando'. It is after her death that Orpheus and Eurydice are heard to speak: Eurydice's shade addresses him, bewailing the fact that Hades never relents, and Orpheus responds in a moving and dramatic manner, refusing to accept separation from her (39-63). These speeches have no equivalent in Virgil or Ovid. (Their emotion may well have been recalled by Jean Salmon Macrin when he wrote his poems of conjugal love.) There is more direct speech without parallel in Ovid or Virgil when Orpheus is allowed to see Eurydice in the Elysian Fields:

(...) heu coniux terris quaesita supernis:
 Fluminibus quaesita uagis: quaesita beato
 Orbe sub aethereo: et tandem quaesita profundis
 Vallibus inuenta es. quanto discrimine coelum
 Distat ab hoc superum. ueni tamen ustus amore:
 Est pietatis opus: (pietas modo carcere in imo
 Ius habeat) fles Eurydice? proh quanta uoluptas
 Est animo uidisse tuos sub tartara uultus.
 Vidimus optatam toties: totiesque cupitam.
 Sum foelix pater umbrarum: succurre dolori. (217-226, fol. D4v° - D5r°)

The repeated 'quaesita' evokes the length of Orpheus' search and contrasts with the simple 'inuenta es' in line 220. The polyptoton involving 'pietas' in line 222 highlights the couple's need to find in Hades the various qualities the word denotes. 'Ueni tamen', at the heart of the speech, stresses the force of Orpheus' love and his sense of having reached his goal. 'Uoluptas' at the end of a line conveys the powerful impression the sight of Eurydice has on him. The repeated 'toties' in the penultimate line has a similar emphatic force.

The uncontrollable urge to look back (doubtless in order to savour the 'uoluptas' once again) that leads Orpheus to break his contract with Dis (Pluto) interests Stoa as it will Pontano in a section from Book III of his *Urania*, entitled 'De Lyra, et Orpheo'.⁴² Stoa and Pontano are in this respect closer to Virgil and his sense of religious solemnity than to

⁴² *Vrania, siue de stellis. Libri quinque* (Venice: in aedibus Aldi Manutii, et Andreae soceri, 1533), fol. 68 v° - 69 v°.

Ovid.⁴³ Admittedly, the decree that Orpheus should not look back — a decree demonstrating the power of the eye that fascinates Renaissance French and Italian writers of love poetry — is pronounced by Stoa's Dis in a mere couple of lines (III, 243-244).⁴⁴ Stoa also passes swiftly over the moment of looking back, emphasizing the veto and the breach of faith:

Non procul hinc aberat tellus: mundique patentis
 Area: quum tacito passu post terga sequentem
 Spectare Eurydicen cupidus sua lumina retro
 Flexit: et erupit temeratae foedera legis. (III, 255-258, fol. D5 v°).

However, the enjambment between lines 257 and 258 throws weight on 'Flexit' and underlines the significance of the action that is so rapidly evoked; and indeed emotional intensity is created in the following lines. The poet apostrophizes Orpheus, highlighting his heedlessness and his uncontrollable passion, and establishing a parallel: 'Crudeles oculi nimium: nimiumque libido | Efrenata [*sic*]' (III, 261-262). Chiasmus and *rejet* emphasize the point, in a passage without a counterpart in Stoa's sources. The device is used once more as Eurydice calls out to her husband: 'Chare uale coniux: nec erit tibi copia nostri | Amplius' (269-270). The positioning of 'Amplius' allows hope and life to flourish for one brief moment.⁴⁵ Stoa's Orpheus later makes a second promise — never to touch another woman (III, 297-308). Stoa transforms into a certainty what in Ovid is simply speculation: the Ovidian hero, one learns, may have made a vow (Ov., *met.*, 10, 81). This time, for Stoa's Orpheus, there will be no transgression. The idea of the contract fascinates Stoa as it will later poets such as Rainer Maria Rilke, who wrote *Orpheus. Eurydike. Hermes* (*Neue Gedichte* I, published in 1907) inspired by a Greek relief, a copy of which he studied in Naples, and who later composed *Die Sonette an Orpheus* (1922). As his powerful translations of Louise Labé indicate, Rilke was interested in Renaissance poetry and may have known

⁴³ Compare Eva Kushner, *Le Mythe d'Orphée dans la littérature française contemporaine* (Paris: Nizet, 1961), p. 43.

⁴⁴ See Lance K. Donaldson-Evans, *Love's Fatal Glance: A Study of Eye Imagery in the Poets of the École Lyonnaise*, Romance Monographs, 39 (Mississippi: University of Mississippi, 1980).

⁴⁵ Eurydice's sorrowful farewell is based on *georg.*, 4, 494-498. Virgil places greater emphasis on Eurydice's physical experience of death — her eyes closing in eternal sleep, and her holding out in vain to Orpheus' hands that are no longer his. Stoa's verbal dexterity tends to supplant the visual aspects of the Virgilian scene.

Stoa's text. Rilke may in turn have influenced his friend Paul Valéry, who planned to write a *drame* about Orpheus and Eurydice.⁴⁶

The passages quoted so far suggest how rhetorically Stoa amplifies his subject by various forms of repetition. On a thematic level he similarly employs repetition and prefiguration. There are for instance several references to a flood that is at once Biblical and classical: the first allusion might well apply to Noah (I, 67-68), whilst the next two involve Deucalion (I, 515-525; II, 47-48). The tale of Amphion, which closely parallels that of Orpheus, is outlined when Orpheus goes near Thebes (II, 22-25). The loss of Eurydice and descent to the Underworld are touched upon several times: the oracle of Ammon tells Orpheus he will soon visit Tartarus, experiencing a symbolic death then rebirth (II, 310-312); on entering Thrace, Orpheus is greeted by the river Strymon, which changes its course, by rocks, which emit noises, and by oak trees, which rustle, 'ceu rursus ad auras | Vitales stygia uates a morte rediret' (II, 402-407). Then Stoa, like Ovid, enumerates bad omens on the couple's wedding day (II, 448-461). Poetry, like music, is seen as achieving many of its aims through reprise and recapitulation.

An interesting set of echoes concerns the hero's sexuality.⁴⁷ Stoa takes from the *Metamorphoses* (10, 83-85) the notion that Orpheus developed an interest in young men after losing Eurydice (III, 313-315). It would have been easy to suppress this allusion altogether; but Stoa highlights it. References to the myth of Hercules and Hylas, as described for instance by Theocritus in Idyl XIII, implicitly reinforce the idea that the distraught Orpheus sought consolation in the love of young boys.⁴⁸ Jason tells Orpheus that Hercules has left the rest of the Argonauts in search of Hylas, and that he can be heard calling the boy's name and making the shores, mountains and forests echo to the sound (I, 493-500). Similarly Orpheus will fill the countryside with his laments for Eurydice at the beginning of Book III (1-6). Hercules' homosexual relationship and Orpheus' heterosexual one are placed on the same plane. Orpheus himself

⁴⁶ See the details given by W. Stewart, 'Le thème d'Orphée chez Valéry', in *Entretiens sur Paul Valéry*, sous la direction d'Émilie Noulet-Carner, *Décades du Centre Culturel International de Cerisy-la-Salle, nouvelle série 7* (Paris: Mouton, 1968), pp. 163-172.

⁴⁷ For a general study, see James M. Saslow, *Ganymede in the Renaissance: Homosexuality in Art and Society* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986); and Gary Ferguson, *Queer (Re)Readings in the French Renaissance: Homosexuality, Gender, Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

⁴⁸ See G.F. Osmun, 'The Abduction of Hylas, Again', *The Classical Bulletin*, 59 (1983), 56-59.

later sings of boys abducted by gods or demigods, and includes Hylas in his list (III, 351-353). Baïf in 'Les Muses' likewise juxtaposes glorification of Orpheus with mention of Hercules and Hylas (465-468, p. 83); and Ronsard's 'Hylas' mentions Orpheus (109-110, Pléiade edition, II, p. 752) and refers in line 98 (p. 751) to the 'allure inégale' with which Hylas tries to follow Hercules' giant steps — compare Stoa's Eurydice who, having been bitten by a snake, limps in Hades (III, 408-409; derived from Ov., *met.*, 10, 49).⁴⁹ The conclusion of Ronsard's 'L'Orphée' itself implicitly suggests that Orpheus is to try to find solace after his wife's death by seeking diversion and following the example of Hercules with Hylas (II, p. 363, 333-340). The Renaissance writers show interest in homosexuality and also, elsewhere, in hermaphroditism, which are related to their reflections on the links between gender and creativity.⁵⁰

The homosexual motif will interest Montaigne, who, in the opposite situation from Orpheus, married after losing a close male friend, Estienne de La Boétie: see 'De l'amitié', *Essais*, I, 28. It is reinforced in Stoa's poem by what is in fact a sub-text, so frequent are Stoa's borrowings of phrases from it: Virgil's *Eclogues*. The *Eclogues* mention Orpheus twice (3, 46; 4, 55-57). The second eclogue features Corydon trying to woo the absent Alexis. Ancient readers identified Corydon with Virgil and Alexis with a beautiful slave-boy supposedly given to the poet by his patron Pollio. The enigmatic tenth and final eclogue concludes with the poet's love for Gallus, 'cuius amor tantum mihi crescit in horas / quantum uere nouo uiridis se subicit alnus' (73-74). Stoa also appears to be remembering an Italian author whose Latin work he knew well, Poliziano.⁵¹ This poet composed the pastoral drama, *Fabula di Orpheo*, apparently for a Gonzaga celebration at Mantua in or around 1480. In this play — in which some or all of the words seem to have been sung

⁴⁹ See John Nassichuk, 'Ronsard lecteur de Flaminio: Note sur quelques vers de "Hylas"', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 61 (1999), 729-736.

⁵⁰ For the hermaphrodite, see for instance Baïf's 'Salmaci. Au Sieur Mandat', from the *III. Livre des Poemes*, II, 190-195 of Charles Marty-Laveaux's *Evvres en rime*. It was first published in 1573.

⁵¹ Poliziano's work was often used in the sixteenth-century classroom; see Alejandro Coroleu, 'Some Teachers on a Poet: The Uses of Poliziano's Latin Poetry in the Sixteenth-Century Curriculum', in *Poets and Teachers: Latin Didactic poetry and the Didactic Authority of the Latin Poet from the Renaissance to the Present*, ed. by Yasmin Haskell and Philip Hardie, *Kleos*, 4 (Bari: Levante, 1999), pp. 167-181. See also C.M. Pyle, 'Le Thème d'Orphée dans les oeuvres latines d'Ange Politien', *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé*, 39 (1980), 408-419.

to the accompaniment of musical instruments — Orpheus and Eurydice do not meet on stage while they are alive; Eurydice is merely glimpsed briefly as Orpheus looks back and she is torn away. Orpheus vows never more to wish for a woman's love: 'e poi che sí crudele è mia fortuna, l'già mai non voglio amar piú donna alcuna' (267-268).⁵² He reiterates this vow strongly (269-284, pp. 161-162). He recommends the love of youths, referring to Ganymede, Hyacinth and Hylas (285-292, pp. 162-163), and arouses the Bacchantes' wrath. Benvenuti writes in her edition that Poliziano 'crea [...] la prima esaltazione dell'amore efebico nella letteratura in volgare' (p. 79). Although he does not go as far as Poliziano, Stoa does not play down the homosexual element. He seems indeed to have reinforced it via a network of echoes. He may have seen it as an integral part of an ancient hero, of a poet, or of poetic creativity; he may have been influenced by the *mores* of his time in Italy. Like Virgil and Ovid in the extracts mentioned, but unlike Montaigne, he attaches little blame to it.

Stoa also carefully arranges passages prefiguring Orpheus' death at the hands of the Bacchantes and has them reflect aspects of the reception of poetry. In Book I Orpheus learns about the strange circumstances of Bacchus' birth (474). In Book II, Orpheus himself sings of frenzied Bacchantes and bids Bacchus be propitious towards him (250-253). Later Stoa describes the Underworld mourning with Orpheus and being moved by his song (III, 198-203). He expands one and a half lines of Ovid (*met.*, 10, 45-46), amplifying the scope of his narrative by means of a reference to Agave, the daughter of Cadmus and mother of Pentheus, whom she tore apart because he despised the Bacchic rites. Orpheus' own violent death is foreshadowed. Again, the exultant cries uttered by everyone and everything at the news that Eurydice may leave Hades (III, 250-251) ironically prefigure the triumphant cries of the Bacchantes. Stoa in fact evokes Orpheus' dismemberment at the very beginning of his poem: 'et ciconum uatis sacra membra furore | Calliope disiecta refer' (I, 8-9). The references throughout the text are important because they can be read as reflections on the reading process itself. Melanchthon described the rhetorical reading process as a technique of dismemberment whereby, for instance, extracts from a text are placed under different headings in a

⁵² See the excellent edition by Antonia Tissoni Benvenuti, *L'Orfeo del Poliziano con il testo critico dell'originale e delle successive forme teatrali*, Medioevo e umanesimo, 61 (Padova: Antenore, 1986), p. 161.

commonplace book.⁵³ In this poem primarily about poetry, Stoa could be seen as foregrounding the Bacchantes episode and reminding us to do as Melanchthon did, to eschew allegorical interpretations (of the kind of which the previous century was fond) and to attach importance to adornment and amplification. However, one must be careful not to over-interpret, not to fall into the very trap the poet is evoking. One should also bear in mind that the dismemberment of Orpheus has been subjected to many interpretations. Melanchthon's own son-in-law, Georgius Sabinus, thought the episode showed simply how implacable women are when roused to anger.⁵⁴

In the *Orpheos libri tres* as a whole Stoa himself touches explicitly only upon Christian allegory; but he does even this lightly. He is aware of the soteriological resonances of the Orpheus myth. In a passage towards the end of Book III (490-507), he suggests there is a parallel between Orpheus' softening of the harsh laws of Hades and bringing Eurydice temporarily back from the dead on the one hand, and Christ's triumph over death on the other. Orpheus himself here foretells the birth of Christ, his triumph over villainy, his death and resurrection, and states: 'Tartareas herebi perfringet cardine portas' (507). However the Christian perspective does not exclude others: in Books I and II different religions are explored as Orpheus visits various nations to learn their beliefs and acquire their knowledge (see for instance Book I, lines 472 to 474). Further Biblical associations of the Orpheus myth are left untouched by Stoa: he does not, for instance, draw a parallel between Orpheus and David, curing Saul's madness with his music and writing divinely inspired songs. Unlike Remy Belleau, he does not elaborate on the Christian associations of the lyre.

Whatever the allegorical overtones of the Bacchantes may be, Stoa enjoys in their own right the mimetic opportunities they afford him. Their noise contrasts with Orpheus' music in that it produces terror in birds and beasts (III, 377-379). Their frenzy is described at length (III, 318-334), in a passage based on the opening of Book XI of the *Metamorphoses* and in particular on Catullus, 64, 251-264. Stoa writes:

⁵³ See Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

⁵⁴ P. Ovidii *Metamorphosis, seu fabulae poeticae: earumque interpretatio ethica, physica et historica G. Sabini. [...] Accessit etiam ex N. Comitibus Mythologiis de fabularum utilitate [...] tractatio [...] Ultima editio* (Frankfurt: Johann Wechel, 1593), p. 368.

Pars caput inflectens ultroque citroque corymbos
 Iactat: et intorquet furiato corpora motu.
 Et modo calcat humum geminatis passibus: ima
 Et modo contacta manibus salit aere planta.
 Pars quatit immensos per concita robora thyrsos:
 Et sonitum ingeminans ululatibus ardet acutis.
 Rauca mimalloneos respirant cornua bombos.
 Pars rotat ora canens solemnibus orgia uerbis. (320-327, fol. D6 v^o)

Anaphora involving *pars* (which Stoa derives from Catullus, who employs the word in four consecutive lines) gives the impression of people moving on all sides, filling the area with their activity and noise. It also helps to direct the reader's eye from the Bacchantes' heads and bodies, to their thyrsi, and from there to their instruments and their cries. The scene is progressively widened. Alliteration and onomatopoeia in the first two lines (*c* and *ct* sounds) add to the effectiveness of the anaphora, as they do in Catullus. 'Et modo [...] et modo' in lines 323 to 324 similarly reinforces the impression of great activity. 'Orgia' in line 327 echoes Catullus, who uses the word twice in his extract, in an emphatic position. In the scene as a whole, Stoa is concerned, like the earlier poet who mentions similar instruments, to reproduce the sounds made by Bacchus' followers. This dwelling on the circumstances of Orpheus' death, with all their visual and auditory elements, produces something very different from Virgil's *Georgics*, which pass quickly over the death of the *vates* (4, 520-522). Stoa's episode anticipates Ronsard's technique in poems such as the 'Hinne de Bacus' and 'Le Pin'.⁵⁵ In describing the Bacchantes and other gruesome scenes Stoa seems to be relishing his role. He exploits the sonorous potential of his material largely for its own sake, independently of figurative concerns. He celebrates the power of the word.

In general, Stoa is skilled at evoking horror, as Françoise Joukovsky has observed (p. 52). He tends to linger over loss rather than love, death

⁵⁵ See Terence Cave, 'The Triumph of Bacchus and its Interpretation in the French Renaissance: Ronsard's *Hinne de Bacus*', in *Humanism in France*, ed. by A.H.T. Levi (Manchester - New York: Manchester University Press, 1970), pp. 249-270; and Nathalie Dauvois-Lavialle, 'Fureur et discours bachiques: Le Dithyrambe ronsardien ou l'invention du vers libre?', *Textuel*, 33 (1997), *Thèmes et Figures mythiques*, 85-96. An epigram making use of polyptoton, by Étienne Forcadel, concerns Orpheus' violent death and the translation of his lyre into a constellation. It is 'De Orpheo, et lyra eius coelo donata', in *Stephani Forcatvli Iureconsulti Epigrammata. Ad Carolvm Lotharingum Cardinalem* (Lyons: Jean de Tournes and Guillaume Gazeau, 1554), p. 178. Forcadel also wrote two epigrams about the earlier stages of Orpheus' life.

rather than birth. Although he uses Ovid extensively, he has little of the levity which in Ovid occasionally tempers the most unpleasant descriptions. When speaking of Orpheus in Hades for the second time, for instance, Stoa omits Ovid's observation that it is now safe for the *vates* to look back at his wife (*met.*, 11, 65-66). Instead Stoa concentrates on the subject of the couple's conversation (III, 407-408). Stoa's violent or gloomy descriptions are what normally remain in the mind. In Book I he lists terrible customs that cease under Orpheus' influence (242-260). His tones anticipate the likes of Claude de Saintes, bishop of Évreux, in the savage text written at the beginning of the Wars of Religion, the *Discours sur le saccagement des Eglises Catholiques par les Heretiques anciens, et nouveaux Calvinistes, en l'an 1562* (Verdun: N. Bacquenois, 1562). In Book II (65-79) of Stoa's poem is an enumeration of what Orpheus finds as he goes along the grove that is the entrance to Hades: all types of hunger, frightening owls, discord, and a jumble of other elements derived from Virgil (*Aen.*, 6, 274-289). In Book III one is given first a glimpse of the pain and suffering in Hades (116-122), then an impression, via Orpheus' words, of the absence of desire, pleasure, laughter that reigns in the Underworld. Using preterition, Orpheus says he has not come to see its horrors — which he lists (131-145). Hades is described in line 148 as an 'inamoena [...] regna', which acts as another indication to the reader of what rhetorical techniques to expect.

Nevertheless, so intent is Stoa on amplifying his subject matter and slowing the pace of the narrative without preaching that he also makes considerable use of the *locus amoenus* topos. In Book I he describes the grove in which Calliope and her sisters rest (125-132). This precedes Apollo's visitation. Just under a hundred lines later comes an evocation of a field planted with trees standing in dance formation as a result of Orpheus' music (221-227). The field, full of ancient mountain oaks, was supposed to be in Zone in Thrace; Stoa has derived the detail from Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica*, 1, 28-31.⁵⁶ Approximately one hundred and fifty lines later in Stoa's text is found an evocation of Thessaly (375-381). In the first and last of these passages the adjective *amoenus* occurs as if as a signal to the reader of what sort of rhetorical device will follow. The word indicates that it is time to pause and enjoy pastoral delights.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Baïf imitates the same passage in 'Les Muses', 197-208 (p. 76).

⁵⁷ On the *locus amoenus*, see Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, transl. by Willard R. Trask, Bollingen Series 36, second printing (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), pp. 195-200; and Stephen Hinds, 'Landscape with

On occasions, however, a description of nature is not simply a retarding element. For instance, in Book II the place where Eurydice and her companions rest parallels the first *locus amoenus* passage in Book I and precedes Aristaeus' irruption on to the scene (497-509). It contains indications that all is not well, that love is a disruptive, potentially violent force, as it refers to the laments of Philomela, and to Narcissus and Hyacinthus (the reference to Hyacinthus again touching upon homosexuality). It even mentions ivy-berries, with which Bacchus and the Maenads are connected, and which are poisonous. It therefore contains pointers as to how the narrative will develop. In Book III one finds an evocation of the temple on Lesbos (the chief seat of lyric music) in which Apollo places Orpheus' head (437-450). The opulence of the materials used is emphasized, enhancing Orpheus' status. This is however the only extended pleasant description in Book III, as much of the book is taken up with sad and serious sights.

In glorifying one of the *prisci poetae*, Stoa suggests parallels with himself. He is capable of a self-aggrandizement of which even Ronsard would be proud.⁵⁸ He doubtless feels that as poet laureate he has a particularly close link with Apollo, father of Orpheus. He begins the poem with an evocation not only of Orpheus' talents but of his own inspiration. He addresses Calliope:

(...) si numine iusto
 Pectora nostra regis. si me tua numina terrent
 Circumfusa animos. si mens mea digna per altos
 Ire locos. ubi centenis parnassia linguis
 Antra sonant. vbi phoebeo correpta furore
 Corda calent. ubi coryciis composita cauernis
 Plectra sonant. ubi in humanos se cynthius artus
 Fundit Apollo pater: mortaliaque induit ora.
 Iam meus exurgit facto furor impete: et oestro
 Enthea pierios spirant cita pectora cantus. (10-19, fol. A3 r^o- v^o)

Figures: Aesthetics of Place in the *Metamorphoses* and its Tradition', in *The Cambridge Companion to Ovid*, ed. by Philip Hardie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 122-149. For a more general perspective, see also Perrine Galand-Hallyn, *Le Reflet des fleurs: Description et métalangage poétique d'Homère à la Renaissance*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 283 (Geneva: Droz, 1994).

⁵⁸ On Ronsard's attempts at publicizing himself, see Malcolm Quainton, 'The Liminary Texts of Ronsard's *Amours de Cassandre* (1552): Poetics, Erotics, Semiotics', *French Studies*, 53 (1999), 257-278 (p. 261).

The first six of these lines are emphatic thanks to the very monotony of their rhythm. Alliteration (particularly *c* in line 15) and anaphora ('ubi') lend vigour to the scene. In spite of the initial doubts and hypotheses expressed by the repeated 'si', Stoa fashions himself as someone who has access to the same realms of inspiration as Orpheus. He has for one thing travelled abroad and immersed himself in French culture rather as Orpheus eagerly studied Greek and Egyptian customs.

The text as a whole ends with the suggestion that the Age of Gold is returning thanks to the poet laureate Stoa, of whose work this long poem is but a sample:

Italia Italia ex te te nascetur honoro
 Carmine Quintianus: libris qui nostra rependet
 Gesta tribus: iuueni cui laurea sancta: fidesque
 Donetur: qui longa canet miracula rerum. (III, 531-534, fol. E4 v°)

Line 531 contains two examples of *geminatio*, with the name of Stoa's country receiving emphasis at the beginning of the line. The poet is like Orpheus calling for Eurydice. Yet he is also like Hercules desperately repeating Hylas' name. Virgil evokes the name echoing as the Argonauts shout: 'his adiungit, Hylan nautae quo fonte relictum | clamassent, ut litus 'Hyla, hyla' omne sonaret' (*ecl.*, 6, 43-44). Valerius Flaccus, recalling Book I of Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica*, depicts Hercules himself: 'rursus Hylan et rursus Hylan per longa reclamatione | avia' (3, 596-597). Via this intertextuality Stoa surrounds himself with the prestige of the Argonauts, and at the same time with their sexual ambivalence, mirroring Orpheus' own after the death of Eurydice. After a glimpse of the conflagration he is convinced will eventually be the fate of the universe, Stoa depicts in the closing words of the text inspiration ebbing away from him: 'Hactenus.⁵⁹ ecce hilaris nostro de pectore cessit | Spiritus: humanos et habent mea corpora sensus' (538-539). For the space of the poem, however, he has moved with the gods and Muses.

Stoa closely identifies with the hero whose erudition, practical talents, travels, sensitivity and suffering he describes in detail. He celebrates through Orpheus the powers of poetry in which he likes to think he himself participates. He shows Orpheus overcoming great pain by singing and speaking of it. He depicts the lyre surviving the brutal attack on

⁵⁹ Elsewhere too, Stoa makes a sentence out of *hactenus*: see notably III, 227, fol. D5 r°.

Orpheus and floating downstream as a potent symbol. He hopes he will triumph over mortality as Orpheus did; his Christianity gives him faith. At the same time he considers many different features of the myth of Orpheus and Eurydice, refraining from limiting himself to any one allegorical interpretation and from hastening to conclude, literally or figuratively. Stylistically too he provides the reader with diversity. He varies the pace of his narration, generally cultivating copiousness but being capable of ellipsis as well as of the slow evocation of sights gruesome or grandiose. He includes in his poem a vivid description of the Bacchantes in which intertextuality is put to good use, and which explores the mimetic and onomatopoeic powers of the word while suggesting the most effective ways of reading texts in general and his own text in particular. He sings of love and loss in highly moving lines. Moreover, his influence over members of the Pléiade, with their interest in the poet-prophet figure, is considerable. He is also remembered by Italian poets writing in Neo-Latin. His poem deserves to be rescued from the obscurity surrounding it today.

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Demmy VERBEKE

MAARTEN VAN DORP (1485-1525) AND THE TEACHING OF LOGIC AT THE UNIVERSITY OF LEUVEN¹

Maarten van Dorp, whom Luther called ‘the most learned man in Leuven’, divides modern scholars as much as he confused his contemporaries.² His career as a student, lecturer (of Latin and philosophy), and, eventually, professor (of theology) at the University of Leuven unfolded against the background of the scholastic-humanist debate which dominated Northern universities at the time.³ Dorp was, and still is, notoriously difficult to pin down as a supporter of either the old (scholastic) or the new (humanistic) learning. The academic authorities, on the one hand, accepted him in 1515 as one of the *magistri nostri*, namely as a professor and council member of the scholastic stronghold that the Leuven faculty of theology was at the time, thus acknowledging him as a spokesperson and protector of traditional learning. However, they refused to grant him a licence to teach⁴ a year later, probably as retaliation for his so-called *Oratio Paulina*, an inaugural lecture of a summer course on the *Epistles*

¹ I wish to thank E. Jennifer Ashworth for help and corrections. All translations in this essay are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

² The most recent and complete overview of Dorp’s life and writings is Jozef IJsewijn, ‘Maarten van Dorp’, in *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, eds. Peter G. Bietenholz – Thomas B. Deutscher, 3 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985-1987), I (1985), 398-404. Luther’s opinion, ‘[Dorpius est] omnium Lovaniensium doctissimus’, is found in a letter of 26 March 1520, quoted in Henri De Jongh, *L’ancienne faculté de théologie de Louvain au premier siècle de son existence (1432-1540): ses débuts, son organisation, son enseignement, sa lutte contre Erasme et Luther* (Utrecht: HES Publishers, 1980; reprint of the 1911 edition), p. 163.

³ See, especially, James Overfield, *Humanism and Scholasticism in Late Medieval Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984); Erika Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance & Reformation* (Cambridge – London: Harvard University Press, 1995); and Charles G. Nauert, ‘Humanism as Method: Roots of Conflict with the Scholastics’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 29 (1998), 427-438.

⁴ At the University of Leuven, professors were required to reapply for a teaching licence (the so-called *legentia* or *regentia*) at the beginning of each academic year. The

of Paul showcasing too much support for the humanist cause.⁵ Dorp was reinstated in 1517, only to suffer another disciplinary action two years later, when he was ejected from his college following a short stay in Holland and the appearance of the abovementioned *Oratio Paulina* in print. He soon managed to get back in favour and even gathered enough support to be elected rector of the university and dean of the theology faculty in 1523. His humanist friends, on the other hand, were similarly unsure whether to praise or rebuke him. They were disappointed that Dorp did not choose their side more wholeheartedly, and blamed his unstable and vain character.⁶ Erasmus, who, together with Thomas More, engaged in a polemic with Dorp concerning the primacy of the scholastic method⁷, even called him an extremely vainglorious person, who was more inconstant than any woman.⁸

procedure was a formality, but was occasionally used to rein in heretic or insubordinate colleagues. Cf. De Jongh, *L'ancienne faculté de théologie*, pp. 52-54.

⁵ This oration was delivered on 6 July 1516, but only published three years later by Michael Hillen in Antwerp, entitled *Oratio in praelectionem epistolarum Divi Pauli, de laudibus Pauli, de literis sacris ediscendis, de eloquentia, de pernicie sophisticis, de sacrorum codicum ad Graecos castigatione & linguarum peritia*. A modern critical edition is available in Martinus Dorpius, *Orationes IV cum Apologia et litteris adnexis*, ed. Iosephus IJsewijn, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana* (Leipzig: Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, 1986). See also Wim François, 'Maarten van Dorp, the *Oratio Paulina* (1516/1519), and the biblical-humanist voice among the Louvain theologians', *Lias. Journal of Early Modern Intellectual Culture and its Sources*, 39-2 (2012), 163-193.

⁶ See, for instance, Veit Amerbach to Ulrich Zasius (*d.d.* 31 January 1520): 'ut ingenij praestantia omnium disciplinarum est doctissimus, ita parum sibi constans, nunc bonas litteras amat, nunc odit, & in hijs asserendis eleuandisque chameleonte mutabilior' (quoted from Henry de Vocht, *Monumenta Hymanistica Lovaniensia: Texts and Studies about Louvain Humanists in the First Half of the XVIth Century: Erasmus, Vives, Dorpius, Clenardus, Goes, Moringus*, *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 4 [Louvain: Librarie Universitaire, 1934], p. 230) and Huldrych Zwingli to Joachim Vadian (*d.d.* 19 January 1520): 'Aiunt enim hominem esse cothurno versatiliorem: ita quibusdam omnis est angusta nimis gloria, nisi summi habeantur. Torquet nimirum hominem splendor Erasmicus, a quo tamen posset lucis plurimum mutuari, si gloriam, quae a Deo est quaereret. Quod quia non facit, torquetur invidia et fame gloriae haud secus quam Iudaei' (quoted from De Jongh, *L'ancienne faculté de théologie*, p. 163; for the expression 'cothurno versatilior', see Erasmus, *Adagia*, I, 1, 94).

⁷ On the controversy between Dorp, Erasmus and More see, among others, De Vocht, *Monumenta Hymanistica Lovaniensia*, pp. 139-160; Uwe Baumann, 'Dorp, Erasmus, More: Humanistische Aspekte einer literarischen Kontroverse', in *Thomas-Morus-Gesellschaft. Jahrbuch 1982*, ed. Hermann Boverter (Düsseldorf: Tritsch Verlag, 1983), pp. 141-159; and Erika Rummel, *Erasmus and his Catholic Critics*, *Bibliotheca humanistica et reformatrica*, 45, 2 vols (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1989), I (1989), 1-13.

⁸ *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, eds. P. S. Allen et al., 12 vols (Oxonii: In Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1906-1958), III (1913), respectively 92 ('suae gloriae perparcus, ne dicam famelicus') and 59 ('quauis muliere inconstantior').

Judging by his publications, it is easy to see why his contemporaries had difficulties to place him in either the scholastic or the humanistic camp. Depending on which work one chooses to focus on, one could argue for an interpretation of Dorp as a founding father of literary humanism in the Low Countries, Dorp as a rabid defender of the scholastic tradition, or Dorp as a standard-bearer for biblical humanism. Previous studies have done all three, and more.⁹ A remarkable omission in the present state of scholarship on Dorp, however, is a study of his reflections on logic, or the field of philosophy in general. This is surprising for more than one reason. First, it is clear that philosophy was the discipline which Dorp claimed most as his own in the earliest part of his career (i.e. before his appointment as theology professor). When he wrote to his humanist friends during this period, he defined himself as a teacher of philosophy¹⁰, and indicated that he, as a philosopher, only had a secondary interest in the teaching of literature in the humanist vein.¹¹ Gerard Morinck, the former student and posthumous biographer of Dorp, also admits, rather reluctantly, that his teacher was so devoted to scholastic dialectic at this point in time, that no bigger sophist could be found in the whole of Leuven.¹² In addition, the study of Dorp's approach to logic

⁹ Cf. Demmy Verbeke, 'Valla's dialectic in Louvain: The *Oratio in laudem Aristotelis* (1510) of Maarten Van Dorp', *Lias*, 39-2 (2012), 143-162, especially pp. 148-150.

¹⁰ See for instance his letter addressed to Johannes Despauterius d.d. 28 March 1509, in which Dorp introduces himself as 'philosophiam Louanij in gymnasio Lilianorum profitens'. Cf. De Vocht, *Monymenta Hymmanistica Lovaniensia*, p. 355. The 'gymnasium Lilianorum' was the College of the Lily, one of the four pedagogies of the University of Leuven. These pedagogies housed students, and were also equipped with class rooms, a library, a kitchen, a dining hall, and living quarters for the tutors and the president of the pedagogy. See Emiel Lamberts – Jan Roegiers (eds.), *Leuven University 1425-1985* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1990), for the organization and buildings of the University of Leuven during the sixteenth century.

¹¹ Dorp to Busleyden (dated by De Vocht in November 1513), concerning the supplement of Plautus's *Aulularia*: 'Porro sciebam Antonium Codrum eadem in harena laborasse. sed neque illum tum videram: neque si vidissem: male collocatum iri laborem censuissem: si in hoc etiam scripti genere stilum exercerem, ne quis forte arbitretur cum illo me voluisse de gloria certare: Iuvenem cum sene, Hollandum cum Italo. Philosophantem cum poeta. postremo (vt caetera preteream) qui secundariam duntaxat operam in ea studia impenderem: cum eo qui politioribus docendis litteris grandaeus euasisset'; quoted from Henry de Vocht, *Jerome De Busleyden, founder of the Louvain Collegium Trilingue: his life and writings*, *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1950), pp. 444-445. See also Jozef IJsewijn, 'Theatrum Belgo-Latinum. Het neolatijns toneel in de Nederlanden', *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. Klasse der Letteren*, 43 (1981), 69-114, at p. 87.

¹² See De Vocht, *Monymenta Hymmanistica Lovaniensia*, p. 264: 'Nam Sophisticen, quam a germana philosophia velut scoriā separare lubet, ita tenuit (si modo id in laude ponendum) vt si in hanc demum studiorum omnium oleum et operam impendisset. Vis

seems worthwhile because it constituted the battlefield on which scholastics and humanists met. The strongly-worded humanist rejection of scholastic dialectic is well-documented¹³ and it is essential to determine Dorp's position on this issue in order to establish his allegiance to either camp. Finally, an overview of Dorp's philosophical output is important because it informs us about the teaching of philosophy at the University of Leuven during the first half of the sixteenth century, a topic which has — to the regret of historians of education¹⁴ — hardly been studied so far, with the exception of Jan Papy's analysis of the so-called *Commentarii Lovanienses*, i.e. a compilation of commentaries on Aristotle's dialectical works, produced in 1535 by the Leuven arts faculty as the official syllabus for the teaching of logic.¹⁵ For all these reasons, the present essay aims to highlight Dorp's contribution to the field of logic by focusing on three particular publications which stem from the earliest part of his career, namely his defence of Aristotle against the attacks of Lorenzo Valla in 1510, his introduction to Aristotelian logic published in 1512, and the Leuven edition of Rudolph Agricola's *De inventione dialectica* from 1515.

Defending the scholastic curriculum

When Dorp enrolled at the University of Leuven on 4 December 1501, the curriculum lying ahead of him was that of a typical late medieval institution. All students, except for the ones belonging to a religious order or with a special dispensation, were required to take a degree at

exponibilia? nihil magis exponebat. Vis obligationes? nihil magis obligabat. Vis insolubilia? nihil nectebat insolubilius. Vis respectus? nihil respiciebat oculatius: vt haud sciam an id temporis Louanij sophista maior fuerit.'

¹³ See, next to the studies of Overfield, Rummel and Nauert mentioned above, also Alan Perreiah, 'Humanist Critiques of Scholastic Dialectic', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 13 (1982), 3-22.

¹⁴ Cf. Lamberts – Roegiers (eds.), *Leuven University 1425–1985*, p. 466.

¹⁵ Jan Papy, 'De eerste sporen van humanisme in het logica-onderricht aan de Leuvense artesfaculteit. De 'Commentarii Lovanienses in omnes libros de dialectica Aristotelis' (1535)' (unpublished MA thesis, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1996); and Id., 'The reception of Agricola's *De inventione dialectica* in the teaching of logic at the Louvain faculty of arts in the early sixteenth century', in *Northern Humanism in European Context, 1469–1625. From the 'Adwert Academy' to Ubbo Emmius*, eds. F. Akkerman – A.J. Vanderjagt – A.H. Van Der Laan, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 94 (Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill, 1999), pp. 167-185.

the faculty of arts before being allowed to study at one of the higher faculties of medicine, law or divinity. The training to obtain the title of *magister artium* consisted of a two-year course in philosophy, including nine months of logic, eight months of physics, four months of metaphysics and ethics, and three months of revisions.¹⁶ This schedule illustrates how central the teaching of logic was, as it was the starting point for all, aimed at introducing students to the system and methods which would permeate their entire education, thus leading — as the oldest preserved oration from the University of Leuven dated around 1435 would have it — ‘their obfuscated minds on the path of truth’.¹⁷ The statutes of the arts faculty, to which all teachers and students had to swear allegiance, inform us that most teaching was done on the basis of Aristotelian texts, and even stipulate that members of the university should defend Aristotle’s doctrine, except for the cases in which it contradicts catholic faith.¹⁸ This primacy of Aristotelian philosophy is clearly visible in the handbooks prescribed for the teaching of logic, namely Porphyry’s *Isagoge*, Aristotle’s logical works (*Categories*, *On Interpretation*, *Prior Analytics*, *Posterior Analytics*, *Topics* and *On Sophistical Refutations*), and Peter of Spain’s *Summulae logicales*.¹⁹ Naturally, we need to be

¹⁶ Cf. *De la Faculté des arts à la Faculté de philosophie et lettres. Des siècles d’histoire* (Louvain-la-Neuve: UCL, 1980), pp. 30-31; Lamberts – Roegiers (eds.), *Leuven University 1425–1985*, p. 69; and Françoise Hiraux – Françoise Mirguet, *Collection de cours manuscrits de l’Université de Louvain 1425-1979. Catalogue analytique* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Academia-Bruylant, 2003), p. 21.

¹⁷ Cf. Jozef IJsewijn – Pl. Lefèvre, ‘Collatio de laudibus facultatum Lovanii saeculo xv (1435?) habita, nunc primum typis edita’, in *Zetesis. Album amicorum door vrienden en collega’s aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. E. de Strycker* (Antwerpen – Utrecht: Nederlandse Boekhandel, 1973), pp. 416-435, at pp. 427-428: ‘logica cum obnubilata in tramite veritatis dirigit rationem’.

¹⁸ Edmundus Henricus Josephus Reusens, ‘Statuts primitifs de la Faculté des Arts de Louvain’, *Compte rendu des séances de la commission royale d’histoire. Troisième Série*, 9 (1867), 147-206, at p. 162: ‘Item, quod sustinebitis doctrinam Aristotelis, nisi in casibus qui sunt contra fidem’; maintained in revisions of the statutes in 1429 (cf. Reusens, ‘Statuts primitifs de la Faculté des Arts de Louvain’, 182) and 1567/8 (?) (cf. Jacques Paquet, ‘Statuts de la faculté des arts de Louvain (1567-1568?)’, *Bulletin de la commission royale d’histoire*, 136 [1970], 179-271, at p. 234: ‘Magistri et scholares defendere teneantur doctrinam Aristotelis, nisi ubi ea fidei nostrae repugnaverit’).

¹⁹ Reusens, ‘Statuts primitifs de la Faculté des Arts de Louvain’, 154-155: ‘Item, statuimus de libris legendis in logica, quod primo legetur liber Porphyrii, secundo liber predicamentorum Aristotelis, tertio duo peryarmeriarum, quarto duo priorum, quinto duo posteriorum, sexto quatuor topicorum, et septimo duo elenchorum. (...) Item, statuimus et ordinamus quod oportet audire in studio vel in domibus tractatus Petri Hispani, suppositiones, ampliaciones et restrictiones.’ The same set of texts is named in the revisions from

aware of the fact that statutory requirements were not always followed in classroom practice, and that there might be some discrepancy between the theoretical curriculum and the actual teaching programme.²⁰ However, the preserved lecture notes indicate that the teaching of logic in Leuven indeed centered around Porphyry's *Isagoge* and Aristotle's *Organon*.²¹ Moreover, the book production for the Leuven market, which provides further proof of academic practice, illustrates the continued use of the so-called *logica vetus*²², whereas Peter of Spain's *Summulae logicales* slowly disappeared from the scene at the end of the fifteenth century.²³

Since Aristotelian texts formed the core curriculum for the teaching within the arts faculty, an attack on this curriculum inevitably implied an attack on Aristotle. Similarly, a defence of the traditional programme inevitably entailed a defence of Aristotle. An eloquent example of this is found in the *Oratio in laudem Aristotelis*, which Dorp delivered in front of an audience of students and academic staff on the third of December 1510.²⁴ The text makes clear that the immediate cause of this oration was

1469 (cf. Reusens, 'Statuts primitifs de la Faculté des Arts de Louvain', 176) and 1567/8 (?) (cf. Paquet, 'Statuts de la faculté des arts de Louvain (1567-1568?)', p. 234).

²⁰ See, e.g., Charles B. Schmitt, 'Philosophy and Science in Sixteenth-Century Universities: Some Preliminary Comments', in *The Cultural Context of Medieval Learning. Proceedings of the First International Colloquium on Philosophy, Science, and Theology in the Middle Ages, September 1973*, eds. John Emery Murdoch – Edith Dudley Sylla (Dordrecht – Boston: Reidel, 1975), pp. 485-537, at p. 487; and Charles G. Nauert, 'Humanist Infiltration into the Academic World: Some Studies of Northern Universities', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 43 (1990), 799-812, at p. 801.

²¹ See especially M. Smeyers, 'Een collegeschrift van de oude Leuvense Universiteit (1481-1482). Een codicologisch en iconografisch onderzoek. Bijdrage tot de studie van het universitair onderwijs tijdens de middeleeuwen', *Arca Lovaniensis*, 4 (1975), 243-303.

²² The term *logica vetus* (or *ars vetus*) refers to (the Latin versions of) Aristotle's *Categories* and *On Interpretation* together with Porphyry's *Isagoge*, sometimes expanded with a number of logical works written by Boethius. Concerning the editions of the *logica vetus* for the Leuven academic market, see Paul Needham, 'Fragments of an unrecorded edition of the first Alost press', *Quaerendo*, 12 (1982), 6-21; and Renaud Adam, *Jean de Westphalie et Thierry Martens. La découverte de la logica vetus (1474) et les débuts de l'imprimerie dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux (avec un fac-similé)*, *Nugae humanisticae sub signo Erasmi*, 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009).

²³ This evolution is also confirmed by the *Commentarii Lovanienses* from 1535, which contain no trace of Peter of Spain. Cf. Papy, 'The reception of Agricola's *De inventionem dialectica*', pp. 173-174.

²⁴ *Oratio in laudem Aristotelis*, first printed by Dirk Martens in Leuven in 1514 on ff. Ciiir – [Cvii] in *Martini Dorpii Naldicensi sacrae Theologiae Licentiatii Concio de diue virginis deiparae in coelum Assumptione*. A critical edition of the text is available in Dorpius, *Orationes IV cum Apologia et litteris adnexis*; whereas a full English translation is provided in Verbeke, 'Valla's dialectic in Louvain: The *Oratio in laudem Aristotelis* (1510) of Maarten Van Dorp'.

a recent edition of Lorenzo Valla's *Dialectics*, which mounted an attack on scholastic philosophy.²⁵ The first version of this book actually dated back to 1439, but Dorp may not have been aware of it until it was published by Josse Bade in Paris in 1509.²⁶ He expresses admiration for the erudition of Valla²⁷ and admits that his *Elegantiae linguae Latinae* are books of lasting value, containing great wit²⁸, but at the same time does not mince his words to show his disapproval of Valla's philosophical stance:

His (i.e. Valla's) presumption — not to say madness — was so vast that he not only assaulted, insulted and attacked people of his own sort, and not only waged war against Porphyry, Cicero, Boethius, Lactantius, and many others, but also sharpened the poisoned darts of his most malicious tongue against the whole Peripatetic family and its parent Aristotle.²⁹

Further in the oration, Dorp calls Valla a 'tardy pettifogger', a 'pest' and a 'monster of a man' who 'fondles philosophy with sordid hands'.³⁰ He thinks that Valla's dialectics should never have found an audience and qualifies their recent publication as 'an inexcusable crime against philosophy', whereby the printers 'have stolen food for their herd of cockroaches and moths and have offered books to the public which should be condemned to eternal darkness and burial in the depths of hell'.³¹ It

²⁵ See especially Lodi Nauta, *In Defense of Common Sense. Lorenzo Valla's Humanist Critique of Scholastic Philosophy* (Cambridge, MA – London: Harvard University Press, 2009).

²⁶ This edition, which followed the *editio princeps* produced in Milan around 1496, is described in Ph. Renouard, *Bibliographie des impressions et des oeuvres de Josse Badius Ascensius, imprimeur et humaniste, 1462-1535*, III (New York: Franklin, s.a.; reprint of the 1908 edition), pp. 345-346.

²⁷ Dorpius, *Orationes IV cum Apologia et litteris adnexis*, p. 18: 'Laurentium Valensem... virum alioqui exacte doctum acutumque et summum forte grammaticum'.

²⁸ Dorpius, *Orationes IV cum Apologia et litteris adnexis*, p. 24: 'qui alioqui absolutissimis Elegantiarum libris multo ingenii acumine, ut ingenue loquamur, concinnatis, qui illis (inquam) victurus erat donec freta destituent nudos in littore pisces' (referring to Verg., *Buc.*, 1, 60).

²⁹ Dorpius, *Orationes IV cum Apologia et litteris adnexis*, p. 18: 'In eo licentiae, ne dicam dementiae, processit ut non modo sui ordinis homines incessat, suggillet ac lancinet, non Porphyrium modo, Ciceronem, Boethium, Lactantium aliosque plurimos aperto Marte invadat, verum et contra universam Peripateticorum familiam atque eius parentem Aristotelem venenata maledicentissimae linguae tela acuat.'

³⁰ Dorpius, *Orationes IV cum Apologia et litteris adnexis*, respectively 'serus calumniator' (p. 21), 'virus hominis' (p. 19), 'monstrum hominis' (p. 19), 'philosophiam sordidis manibus contrectat' (p. 19).

³¹ Dorpius, *Orationes IV cum Apologia et litteris adnexis*, p. 18: 'eius forte de dialectica libri nuper in lucem prodire. Quibus quidem edendis videntur mihi chalcographi in

quickly becomes apparent that Dorp follows a two-fold strategy to defend Aristotle's reputation. On the one hand, he aims to discredit Valla; on the other, he professes the traditional arguments for the prominent place of Aristotle in the philosophical curriculum in Leuven and elsewhere. He, for instance, reminds his listeners that the Greeks, Romans, Jews, and Arabs all cultivate the Aristotelian school of thought, and that Valla's favourite authors (Plato, Cicero, Quintilian, Pliny, St Jerome) praised Aristotle above all other philosophers.³² He grants that the Platonic school, favoured by some of the humanist innovators, is known for its eloquence, but it still has to yield to the Peripatetic one:

The Aristotelian sun³³, on its appearance, has so obscured the Platonic one by its brilliance and has cast such a shadow over it that it is hardly touched on by students and is greeted, as they say, from the doorstep³⁴, while, in the meantime, Aristotle is praised by all, is favoured by all, pleases all, is reread by all, and loved by all.³⁵

Dorp, in other words, presents Aristotle as an untouchable luminary, a divine man who should be treated as the god of philosophers (which is exactly the approach which so infuriated Valla³⁶) and whose attackers must be considered 'truly sacrilegious men'.³⁷ He was not alone in this: the reverential approach towards Aristotle was, as indicated above, entrenched in the statutes of the arts faculty in Leuven; and the opposition against Valla's iconoclastic stance was shared by some of Dorp's fellow-humanists, such as Juan Luis Vives³⁸, and continued for several

philosophiam inexpressibile scelus perpetrasset, qui blattarum tinearumque gregi suum pabulum surripuerint et libros perpetuis damnandos tenebris ac in Plutonis regia sepeliendos in publicum emisissent.'

³² Dorpius, *Orationes IV cum Apologia et litteris adnexis*, pp. 20-21.

³³ The phrase 'Aristotelian sun' is a reference to Valla: see Lorenzo Valla, *Dialectical Disputations*, eds./trans. B. P. Copenhaver – L. Nauta, The I Tatti Renaissance library, 49-50, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), I, 6.

³⁴ See for this expression Sen., *Epist.*, 49, 6.

³⁵ Dorpius, *Orationes IV cum Apologia et litteris adnexis*, pp. 21-22: 'Hunc [i.e. Platonium solem] tamen Aristotelicus sol exortus ita suo fulgore obscuravit ac tenebrescere fecit ut vix a studiosis delibetur atque a limine, uti dicitur, salutetur, cum interim Aristoteles apud omnes laudetur, vigeat, placeat, relegatur, ametur.'

³⁶ See, e.g., Valla, *Dialectical Disputations*, I, 10: 'ipsi [i.e. recentes theologi Aristotelici praeceptis imbuti] potius digni quibus insultetur atque illudatur tum quia Magistrum Aristotelem tanquam deum habent.'

³⁷ Dorpius, *Orationes IV cum Apologia et litteris adnexis*, respectively 'divinum hominem' (p. 21), 'philosophorum deum' (p. 21), 'philosophorum Achillem ac deum' (p. 24), 'o hominem vere sacrilegum' (p. 19).

³⁸ Peter Mack, 'Valla's Dialectic in the North 2: Further Commentaries', *Vivarium*, 30 (1992), 256-275, at p. 271; Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance*

decades.³⁹ It is certainly true that Dorp's *Oratio in laudem Aristotelis* can be read as a reactionary defence of the scholastic curriculum — as can be expected of a member of the university council (which Dorp had become only a few months earlier) who considered it his task to secure 'the practice which was handed down by his predecessors'⁴⁰ — but it was also well received by the humanist faction as an elegant specimen of Latin oratory.⁴¹ It is therefore perhaps best understood as an example of Dorp's ambiguous position at the time, welcoming humanistic reform in certain parts of the curriculum (particularly those pertaining to language and style), whilst at the same time defending a traditional philosophical and theological position.

Dorp's introduction to Aristotelian logic

The second piece under scrutiny was only added to the corpus of Dorp's works in the 1980s by Jozef IJsewijn.⁴² One single copy, preserved in Pembroke College, Oxford, is known so far. This fact, together with the technical content and character of the work, probably also explains why it has remained unstudied since its discovery. The colophon refers to the book as being the 'Termini Martini Dorpii' and states that it was printed on 6 December 1512 at the University of Paris by Henri Estienne (the Elder) for Gilles de Gourmont.⁴³ The title page advertises the book as an

& *Reformation*, p. 158, and Charles Fantazzi, 'Vives and the Pseudodialecticians', in *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*, ed. Erika Rummel, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, 9 (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2008), pp. 93-114, at p. 111.

³⁹ The *Commentarii Lovanienses* prove that opposition against Valla's dialectic continued in Leuven throughout the sixteenth century. Cf. Papy, 'The reception of Agricola's *De inventione dialectica*', p. 172.

⁴⁰ Dorpius, *Orationes IV cum Apologia et litteris adnexis*, p. 24: 'nostrum institutum a patribus usque ad nos transmissum'.

⁴¹ See for example the congratulatory reply sent by Hieronymus Busleyden when he received a copy of Dorp's oration, edited in De Vocht, *Jerome de Busleyden, founder of the Louvain Collegium Trilingue*, pp. 417-420. Thomas More also judged that it was 'surely a very elegant' piece of work. Cf. *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, 15 vols. (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 1965–), XV (1986, ed. Daniel Kinney), 98: 'At primum ex his ipsis commentatoribus Aristotelis, quos tu in illa oratione commemoras, quam siue ut Laurentium uituperes, siue ut laudes Aristotelem (nam utrumque acriter et ex aequo facis) elegantissime certe scripsisti'.

⁴² Dorpius, *Orationes IV cum Apologia et litteris adnexis*, pp. ix-x.

⁴³ *Introductio facilis*, f. C7v: 'Terminorum Martini dorpii Naldiceni philosophiam louanij in Lilianorum gimnasio docentis Finis. Impressum in alma parisiorum achademia

introduction to the study of Aristotle's logical works, but also promises an overview of the differences between realism and nominalism:

An easy and indeed exceedingly sound introduction which is very useful to understand Aristotle's books about logic by Maarten van Dorp from Naaldwijk, philosophy lecturer in Leuven in the very famous College of the Lily, which indicates in an appendix, as in a list, what the differences are in logic between the nominalists and the realists.⁴⁴

Two preliminary texts help place this manual in its context. The first, a short introductory poem by Dorp addressed to his book, professes his desire to distance himself from other teachers of logic who favour 'the bombastic riddles of deception and the foolish madness of sophisms'.⁴⁵ The same poem also clarifies that this manual was written for the youngsters who are studying philosophy at the Lily, and that it is explicitly dedicated to one of them, namely Gisbert van Bronckhorst (1490-1525), son of Jacob I van Bronckhorst-Batenburg (1460-1516), Lord of Batenburg and Anholt. A second paratext, a dedicatory epistle written by Nicolaas van Broeckhoven (Nicolaus Buscodensis, c. 1478-d. before 1556)⁴⁶, who also taught at the Lily, suggests that Dorp never intended this text to appear in print, but agreed to have it published after Broeckhoven convinced him that 'this little book, concise in its neatly arranged brevity, and full of genuine erudition' deserved to be distributed 'for the

per Henricum Stephanum e regione scole decretorum commorantem pro honesto viro Egidio gourmuntio Anno domini 1512 octavo Idus Decembris.' I refer to the paratexts of the *Introductio facilis* using the folio number, and to the main text by using the paragraph number. Gilles de Gourmont (documented 1499-1533) was a bookseller (licensed by the University of Paris) and printer who had a branch store in Leuven. He printed the first edition of Erasmus's *Praise of Folly*. Cf. Geneviève Guilleminot, 'Gilles de Gourmont', in *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, II (1986), 120-121.

⁴⁴ *Introductio facilis*, f. A1r: 'Martini Dorpij Naldiceni / philosophiam Louanij in percelebri Lilianorum gymnasio docentis. Introductio facilis / & oppido quam syncera / ad Aristotelis libros logice intelligendos vtilissima / in qua compendio / velut indice / notat / quenam sit nominalium a realibus in dialectica discrepantia.'

⁴⁵ *Introductio facilis*, f. A1v: 'Compendiose libelle, pure, lucide, / Bullata sperne captionum enigmata / Et stulta sperne sophismatum deliria / Aranearum vaniora cassibus.' Statements like these confirm Baumann's opinion that More's criticism of scholastic logic, preoccupied with sophistic trifles, does not pertain to Dorp, as the latter clearly shared the opinion that these were an aberration. Cf. Baumann, 'Dorp, Erasmus, More: Humanistische Aspekte einer literarischen Kontroverse', p. 158.

⁴⁶ Broeckhoven studied and taught in Leuven from the beginning of the sixteenth century until 1514, after which he led several Latin schools in the Low Countries and eventually became a lutheran preacher. See the biobibliographical sources listed on *Biografisch Portaal van Nederland* (<http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/83991115>; checked 17/10/2011).

common use of the young students of dialectic'.⁴⁷ We can thus conclude that this handbook represents Dorp's activity as *legens philosophiae* at the Lily, containing a (perhaps reworked) version of his lectures on terms, delivered as a prologue to the teaching of Aristotle's logical works some time between October 1504 (when he was appointed as lecturer) and 10 November 1512 (i.e. the date of the dedicatory epistle in the printed edition).

Dorp's handbook delivers on the promises made on the title page. Three main parts can be distinguished (although these are not made very clear in the lay-out of the book⁴⁸): introductory considerations (§1-§12a), the definition and division of terms (§12b-§60), and a discussion of the main disagreement between nominalists and realists (§61-§71). At the outset, Dorp indicates that he wrote this book 'ad notitiam terminorum' (§1), and follows with a discussion of 'significare', defined as 'to represent something or some things or somehow to a cognitive power'.⁴⁹ He distinguishes three ways of signification (namely *significare obiective*, *formaliter*, and *rememorative*), and compares this distinction with another one in four categories (namely *significare naturaliter communiter*, *significare naturaliter proprie*, *significare naturaliter ex instinctu nature*,

⁴⁷ *Introductio facilis*, f. A2r: 'Incredibilis enim me inuasit ardor inuulgandi ad communem dialectice tyrunculorum vilitatem ea que de terminis prologo commentariorum suorum in Aristotelis dialecticam inseruit... Hunc ergo libellum concinna breuitate cohibilem sincera eruditione suffarcinatum cum certo publicare statuisssem, Dorpio meo (vt michi est familiarissimus) animum de hac re meum aperui, qui primum nonnichil miratus tandem respondit se quidem ad nullam ingenij aut doctrine ostentationem, sed presenti dumtaxat discipulorum suorum vsui ea succincte prelegere.'

⁴⁸ The structure of the text in the original edition, formatted in two densely printed columns, is somewhat obscure, as there is only a separation into 71 paragraphs through the use of larger initials.

⁴⁹ *Introductio facilis*, §2a: 'significare igitur (vt inde ordiamur) est potentie cognitiue aliquid vel aliqua vel aliquialiter representare'. Exactly the same definition is found in Peter of Ailly's *Concepts and Insolubles* (written around 1372 and published in Paris at the end of the fifteenth century). See *Concepts and Insolubles. An Annotated Translation*, trad. Paul Vincent Spade (Dordrecht – Boston – London: Reidel, 1980), p. 16, with the accompanying notes. I owe this reference to Gabriel Nuchelmans, *Late-Scholastic and Humanist Theories of the Proposition*, Verhandelingen Der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie Van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde (Amsterdam – Oxford – New York: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts & Sciences, 1980), p. 14. Stephan Meier-Oeser, who traced the same definition in the work of Gaspar Lax, indicates that it 'roughly expresses what is basically uncontroversial regarding the concept of signification among logicians from late 14th to early 16th century'. Cf. 'Medieval Semiotics', in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2011 Edition), ed. Edward N. Zalta (<http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2011/entries/semiotics-medieval>; checked 17/10/2011).

significare ad placitum).⁵⁰ The introductory considerations conclude with a brief presentation of the four *modi significandi* and the double equivalence of terms. This first part is followed by Dorp's lengthy and detailed discussion of the various categories of terms. He explicitly states that his definition of what a term is — namely: 'one of the parts into which a proposition is directly divided' — is taken from William of Ockham (who is mentioned several more times in this manual, cf. *infra*).⁵¹ An overview of this section shows that Dorp made 14 main divisions, some of which are then further detailed in several subdivisions:

1. terminus vocalis / terminus scriptus / terminus mentalis (§14-§17)
2. terminus significativus / terminus non significativus (§18)
3. terminus significativus ad placitum / terminus significativus naturaliter (§19)
4. terminus significativus categorematicus / terminus significativus syncategorematicus / terminus significativus mixtus (§20)
5. terminus complexus / terminus incomplexus (§21-§22)
6. terminus prime intentionis seu prime impositionis / terminus secunde intentionis seu secunde impositionis (§23-§31)
7. terminus concretus / terminus abstractus (§32-§36)
8. terminus absolutus / terminus connotativus (§37-§44)
9. terminus singularis / terminus communis (§45-§50)
10. termini impertinentes / termini pertinentes (§51-§54)
11. termini non convertibiles / termini convertibiles (§55-§56)
12. terminus univocus / terminus equivocus (§57-§58)
13. terminus transcendens / terminus non transcendens (§59)
14. terminus finitus / terminus infinitus (§60)

The handbook concludes with a discussion of the disagreements between nominalists and realists concerning absolute and connotative terms, concrete and abstract terms, terms of the second intention, and the second intentions themselves.

This short presentation of the content indicates that Dorp's handbook belongs to a group of similar treatises on the various divisions of terms, produced at the University of Paris.⁵² As such, it probably served as a

⁵⁰ See for the various ways of signification for instance Nuchelmans, *Late-Scholastic and Humanist Theories of the Proposition*, pp. 14-16.

⁵¹ *Introductio facilis*, §12b-§13: 'Diffinitur ergo terminus a Guilelmo Ockam viro longe eruditissimo: Terminus est pars propinqua propositionis'. Cp. Ockham, *Summa totius logicae*, 1: 1. The English translation of the definition is quoted from Guilelmus de Ockham, *Philosophical Writings*, trad. Philotheus Boehner – Stephen F. Brown (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1990), p. 47.

⁵² E. Jennifer Ashworth, 'Traditional logic', in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, eds. Charles B. Schmitt et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003;

preparation for the students ‘in the vocabulary and mental habits necessary for the all-important study of dialectic’⁵³, and ties in with Dorp’s teaching of the other standard parts of the late medieval curriculum in logic, such as obligations and insolubles.⁵⁴ Dorp’s choice of authorities is worthy of note in this context. It is clear that he again rejects Valla’s dialectic: in his treatment of transcendental terms, he condemns Valla’s position, indicating that it is obviously foolish to think that ‘res’ would be the only transcendental (as Valla suggested), and that the words of the Italian deserve to be ‘plucked apart, one by one, by the claws of the logicians.’⁵⁵ Dorp not only refers to Aristotle (6 times), Augustine (3 times), Porphyry (1 time), and John of Damascus (1 time), but also mentions, and always in glowing terms⁵⁶, the work of William of Ockham (no less than 7 times) and John Buridan (1 time). This is remarkable because the acts of the Leuven arts faculty from 1427 indicated that all lecturers had to swear an oath that they would not teach the writings of Buridan or Ockham, before they could be granted a licence.⁵⁷ And

reprint of the 1988 edition), pp. 143-172, at pp. 151-152. The production of separate works devoted to terms was a novelty largely associated with the University of Paris at the turn of the sixteenth century. The connection of Dorp’s work with Paris is not only evident from its theme and imprint, but is also confirmed by the fact that a number of his definitions (e.g. those of *significare* or *terminus scriptus*) are identical to those found in the work of John Mair and Gaspar Lax.

⁵³ Nauert, ‘Humanist Infiltration into the Academic World’, p. 805.

⁵⁴ That Dorp taught these topics is indicated by his biographer Gerard Morinck (see quote in n. 12). For these late medieval developments in logic, see *The Cambridge History of Medieval Philosophy*, eds. Robert Pasnau – Christina Van Dyke, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), and especially the article by E. Jennifer Ashworth, ‘Terminist logic’, at I (2010), 146-158.

⁵⁵ *Introductio facilis*, §59: ‘Verum est tamen quod laurentius vallensis in dyalectica sua prolixè contendit solum vnum esse transcendens, puta res, quia manifestum est (inquit) non plures esse debere impares et reges sed vnum, ut apud Homerum dicit Ulisses: ‘ergo vnicum erit transcendens’. Sed quam stulta sit illa illatio nemo non videt nisi qui nihil videt, sed huius dicta contemnimus, cum ipse tam multa contra philosophorum principem Aristotelem non solum imperitissime, sed etiam inuide garriat, vt dignus sit cuius singula verba vnguibus logicorum discerpantur.’ See Nauta, *In Defense of Common Sense*, pp. 48-81, for Valla’s critique of transcendental terms.

⁵⁶ ‘Guilelmo Ockam viro longe eruditissimo’ (§12), ‘vt optime declarat Ockam’ (§15), ‘doctissimum Buridanum’ (§26), ‘eruditissimus Guilielmus Ockam’ (§36), ‘vt bene dicit Guilielmus Ockam’ (§36), ‘vt bene dicit Guilielmus Ockam’ (§37), ‘ex sententia eruditissim<i> Guilielmi Ockam’ (§62), ‘ex sententia doctissimi Guilielmi Ockam’ (§67).

⁵⁷ Reusens, ‘Statuts primitifs de la Faculté des Arts de Louvain’, p. 155: ‘Ex pluralitate vocum conclusum fuit quod nullus magister deberet recipi aut admitti ad regentiam in Artibus, nisi juraret se nunquam debere doctrinare Buridanum, Marcellium (i.e. most probably Marsilius of Inghen), Ockam, aut eorum sequaces. In quo tamen unus (magister) discrepavit.’ See also Jean Molanus, *Les quatorze livres sur l’histoire de la ville de Louvain*, ed. P. F. X. De Ram, Collection de chroniques belges inédites, 2 vols (Bruxellis:

although the same passage of the acts proves that not all teachers were willing to comply, it does seem that punishments for not honouring this rule were enforced in 1480, and caution was given to dissenting lecturers in 1497.⁵⁸ The result is that, in the eyes of outsiders such as Thomas More, the University of Leuven was seen as a stronghold of realism, in contrast with Paris, where nominalism reigned.⁵⁹ It is therefore surprising that Dorp could profess the teachings of Ockham, apparently unopposed, regardless of the fact whether or not he also subscribed to the more strongly nominalist doctrines of the Parisians. The conclusion should perhaps be that the ban on Ockham c.s. in Leuven was either (temporarily) lifted or not enforced at this period in time. Dorp's manual in any case clearly differs in this respect from the *Commentarii Lovanienses*, in which Ockham received a single mention in about one thousand pages of text (versus 7 mentions in the 36 pages of Dorp's handbook).⁶⁰

The Leuven edition of Rudolph Agricola's *De inventione dialectica*

The third, and arguably most important, contribution of Dorp to the field of logic was his involvement in the first printed edition of Rudolph Agricola's *De inventione dialectica*, which was 'promptly and widely circulated, and [...] became the standard expression of contemporary humanist thought on dialectic'.⁶¹ The manuscript of this work was

Hayez, 1861), I, 582; and Astrik L. Gabriel, 'Intellectual relations between the University of Louvain and the University of Paris in the 15th century', in *The Universities in the late Middle Ages*, eds. Jozef IJsewijn – Jacques Paquet, Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, 1-6 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1978), pp. 82-132, especially p. 118.

⁵⁸ De Vocht, *Monumenta Hymanistica Lovaniensia*, p. 131; Molanus, *Les quatorze livres sur l'histoire de la ville de Louvain*, I, 582.

⁵⁹ Thomas More, *Letter to Dorp*, cf. *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, XV, 24: 'Miror tamen cur Lovanienses, ac Parisienses, in Dialectices commemoratione coniunxeris, qui usque adeo inter se discordant, ut ne nomine quidem conueniant, quum alteri realium, alteri nominalium nomen affectent.'

⁶⁰ Papy, 'The reception of Agricola's *De inventione dialectica* in the teaching of logic at the Louvain faculty of arts in the early sixteenth century', pp. 169-170. Dorp's *Introductio facilis* thus also contradicts the suggestion, made on the basis of the *Commentarii Lovanienses*, that Ockham would have been a stranger in Leuven during the sixteenth century.

⁶¹ Rita Guerlac in Juan Luis Vives, *Against the Pseudodialecticians. A Humanist Attack on Medieval Logic*, trad. Rita Guerlac (Dordrecht – Boston – London: Reidel, 1979), p. 32. For the influence of Agricola's logic, see Walter J. Ong, *Ramus. Method and the Decay of Dialogue* (Cambridge, MA – London: Harvard University Press, 1983; reprint of the 1958 ed.), especially 92-130; Lisa Jardine, 'Distinctive discipline: Rudolph

completed in 1479, but remained unpublished until the Leuven edition of 1515. The publication history of this *editio princeps*, and especially the question who deserves the credit for it, is somewhat sketchy. Some studies claim that Dorp 'oversaw' or 'arranged'⁶² the editorial work or 'edited'⁶³ the treatise himself; others attribute the edition to Alaard of Amsterdam⁶⁴, to a collaboration between Alaard and Dorp⁶⁵, or to the joint efforts of Alaard, Dorp, and Gerard Geldenhouwer.⁶⁶ Alaard himself explained how the edition came into being.⁶⁷ A limited number of manuscripts of *De inventione dialectica*, divided into three books, circulated

Agricola's influence on methodical thinking in the humanities', in *Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius 1444-1485. Proceedings of the International Conference at the University of Groningen. 28-30 October 1985*, eds. F. Akkerman – A. J. Vanderjagt, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 6 (Leiden: Brill, 1988), 38-57; Peter Mack, *Renaissance Argument. Valla and Agricola in the Traditions of Rhetoric and Dialectic*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 43 (Leiden – New York – Köln: Brill, 1993); and Lothar Mundt, 'Rudolf Agricolus *De inventione dialectica* – Konzeption, historische Bedeutung und Wirkung', in *Rudolf Agricola 1444-1485. Protagonist des nordeuropäischen Humanismus zum 550. Geburtstag*, ed. Wilhelm Kühlmann (Bern: Lang, 1994), pp. 83-146.

⁶² These expressions stem from Daniel Kinney, respectively in *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, XV, lxiv, and 'More's Letter to Dorp: Remapping the Trivium', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 34 (1981), 179-210, at p. 207.

⁶³ Jerry H. Bentley, 'New Testament scholarship at Louvain in the early sixteenth century', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, n.s. 2 (1979), 53-79, at p. 55; Rita Guerlac in Juan Luis Vives, *Against the Pseudodialecticians*, p. 32; Fantazzi, 'Vives and the Pseudodialecticians', p. 113.

⁶⁴ Ong, *Ramus. Method and the Decay of Dialogue*, p. 96. Alaard of Amsterdam lived on and off in Leuven from c. 1514 until his death in 1544, where he worked as a corrector in the printing house of Dirk Martens. His name is particularly attached to the search and subsequent publication of the remaining manuscripts of Rudolph Agricola. Cf. Catherine F. Gunderson – Peter G. Bietenholz, 'Alaard of Amsterdam', in *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, I (1985), 19-21.

⁶⁵ Ferdinand Sassen, *De Wijsbegeerte der Middeleeuwen in de Nederlanden* (Lochem: De Tijdstroom, 1944), p. 143.

⁶⁶ Marc van der Poel in Rudolf Agricola, *Over dialectica en humanisme*, Geschiedenis van de wijsbegeerte in Nederland, 5 (Baarn: Ambo, 1991), p. 33; Mack, *Renaissance Argument*, p. 259; Renaud Adam – Alexandre Vanautgaerden, *Thierry Martens et la figure de l'imprimeur humaniste. Une nouvelle biographie*, *Nugae humanisticae sub signo Erasmi*, 11-1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), p. 79. For biographical details concerning Geldenhouwer, who also worked as a corrector for the Martens press, see Gilbert Tournoy, 'Gerard Geldenhouwer', in *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, II (1986), 82-84.

⁶⁷ The following reconstruction of the editorial process is based on P. S. Allen, 'The Letters of Rudolph Agricola', *English Historical Review*, 21 (1906), 302-317, especially pp. 304-305; A. J. Kölker, *Alardus Aemstelredamus en Cornelius Crocus. Twee Amsterdamse priester-humanisten. Hun leven, werken en theologische opvattingen* (Nijmegen – Utrecht: Dekker en van der Vegt, 1963), pp. 23-26; and the discussion in appendix to Rudolphus Agricola, *De inventione dialectica libri tres*, ed. Lothar Mundt (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992).

before 1515, but questions arose when Jacobus Faber of Deventer⁶⁸ claimed to possess the original manuscript containing six books instead of three. Alaard subsequently travelled to Deventer, where he was eventually able — after some petty opposition from Faber — to inspect the manuscript and ascertain that it was not an autograph and only contained the three books already known. It furthermore became apparent that the manuscript was in a sorry state: it was a particularly untidy transcription by various hands and a lot of editorial intervention would be needed to prepare the text for publication. The decision was nonetheless taken to finally see the work through the press, and Faber allowed Alaard to take the manuscript to Leuven to have it printed by Dirk Martens, in return for a commission of twenty ducats. Upon his arrival in the university city, Alaard enlisted the help of Geldenhouwer, who prepared the first book for the press⁶⁹, and Dorp, who prepared the second and third book and contributed a short introduction.⁷⁰ This introduction praises Agricola's work as a source of true eloquence, and compares it favourably with the work of Aristotle and Cicero, thus providing a glowing endorsement:

Dorp to the students. This dialectic of Agricola is printed for you, students, as a service to good studies. It is my opinion that nothing will be more useful than this book for those who pursue the true art of speaking well and eloquently, and who strive to convince through great admiration, not just with empty words, but with a rich abundance of matter, and who wish to argue in a suitable and appropriate manner about whatever subject on the basis of demonstrable truths, for our author attests this function of dialectic. So do not expect the loquacious nonsense of sophists here, but expect those things which many, confusing the boundaries of the disciplines, assign to rhetoric (despite the fact that they form part of dialectic)⁷¹, and which are

⁶⁸ Cf. C. G. van Leijenhorst, 'Jacobus Faber', in *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, II (1986), 3.

⁶⁹ This is indicated in the text by an epigram, written by Geldenhouwer, and printed at the end of the first book. See also Geldenhouwer's own explanation of the editorial process quoted in Lisa Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters. The Construction of Charisma in Print* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 102.

⁷⁰ Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters*, p. 110, suggests that Dorp might only have been closely involved with the preparation of the first book, but this is contradicted by a passage from Geldenhouwer's *Vita Agricolae* in which he states: 'Quare ego precibus doctissimorum virorum Martini Dorpii, Iohannis Nevii, Iohannis Paludani, Hadriani Barlandi, in studiosorum omnium gratiam eum laborem subii, ut primum librum, ordine quo nunc legitur, descripserim [...]. Posteriores duo libri, alterius cuiuspiam manu descripti, castigatore Dorpio, excussi sunt' (quoted from Agricola, *De inventione dialectica*, ed. Mundt, p. 670).

⁷¹ For the debate about the relation between rhetoric and dialectic in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, see Mack, *Renaissance Argument*, *passim*; and E. Jennifer Ashworth,

lacking in the works of Aristotle and Cicero. This book is certainly not inferior to those, whether we consider the elegance and thread of what is said or the communication of doctrine and precepts. Farewell.⁷²

Dorp's name is the only one which appeared, together with Agricola's and the printer's, on the title page. Together with the introductory statement quoted above, this implies that the *editio princeps* of Agricola's work was primarily advertised as Dorp's achievement. As a result, his name remains forever connected with an important turning point in the history of logic, since the Leuven edition of Agricola's *De inventione dialectica*, whose influence had been limited during the author's lifetime and the first decades thereafter⁷³, created a massive interest. It was followed by numerous other editions, with or without commentary, and several abbreviated versions⁷⁴, which in their turn occasioned the firm establishment of Agricola's dialectic at the expense of scholastic logic by the 1530s.⁷⁵ This was also the case in Leuven, where the influence of Agricola was clearly discernible in the abovementioned *Commentarii Lovanienses*, in which most (anonymous) commentators frequently cite and quote Agricola as an authority.⁷⁶

'Developments in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries', in *Handbook of the History of Logic. Volume 2: Mediaeval and Renaissance Logic*, eds. Dov M. Gabbay – John Woods (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2008), pp. 609-643, especially at pp. 636-638.

⁷² 'Dorpius Studiosis. Vt rectis studiis consulatur, studiosi, excusa sunt vobis haec Agricolae dialectica: quibus nihil censeo vtilius futurum iis, qui veram sectantur artem diserte eloquenterque dicendi: quique non verbis tantum inanibus: sed vberi rerum copia studeant summa cum admiratione persuadere: atque de re qualibet ex probabilibus apposite, decenterque ratiocinari: quod noster ille munus esse dialecticum testatur: hic itaque garrula sophistarum deliramenta ne expectetis: verum ea expectate: quae a multis scientiarum limites confundentibus: rhetoricae tributa, propria tamen sunt dialecticae: quaeque in Aristotelis Ciceronisque libris desiderantur: quibus certe hic liber nihilo est inferior: siue elegantiam filumque dictionis spectemus: siue doctrine praeceptorumque traditionem. Valete.' A reproduction of the title page, on which this text appeared, is found in Agricola, *De inventione dialectica*, ed. Mundt, p. 675; and Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters*, p. 104, who also offers a slightly different translation (pp. 115-116).

⁷³ Mack, *Renaissance Argument*, p. 257.

⁷⁴ For an overview of these later editions and translations, see Gerda C. Huisman, *Rudolph Agricola. A Bibliography of Printed Works and Translations*, Bibliotheca bibliographica Neerlandica, 20 (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1985).

⁷⁵ See, a.o., Lisa Jardine, 'Humanism and the teaching of logic', in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy. From the Rediscovery of Aristotle to the Disintegration of Scholasticism 1100-1600*, eds. Norman Kretzmann *et al.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 797-807, at p. 801.

⁷⁶ Mack, *Renaissance Argument*, p. 270; Papy, 'The reception of Agricola's *De inventione dialectica* in the teaching of logic at the Louvain faculty of arts in the early sixteenth century', *passim*.

Dorp's educational ideal

Dorp's reflections on logic illustrate the uneasy relationship between scholasticism and humanism at Northern universities during the first quarter of the sixteenth century. In the case of Leuven, it seems that humanistic grammar and rhetoric coexisted relatively peacefully with traditional dialectic and theology until about 1514.⁷⁷ This is also the period during which Dorp seems to have been able to butter his bread on both the scholastic and the humanistic side, earning a reputation for himself, even at a young age, as the most rhetorical philosopher and the most philosophical rhetorician.⁷⁸ He is thus supportive of the new learning, but only to the extent that it does not touch the fundamentals of the old, which explains why he, on the one hand, collaborates in a number of humanistic undertakings (such as the staging of classical comedies), but, on the other, opposes Valla's attack on the primacy of Aristotle. The peaceful coexistence between scholasticism and humanism in Leuven is disturbed when the far-reaching implications of Erasmus's biblical humanism come to light. Dorp is at first opposed to this reform⁷⁹, but eventually sides with the humanists, convinced by his own study and the arguments put forward by Thomas More.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Kinney, in *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, XV, xix. Marcel Gielis, on the other hand, assumes that this coexistence remained more or less peaceful until 1519. See, e.g., his *Scholastiek en Humanisme. De kritiek van de Leuvense theoloog Jacobus Latomus op de Erasmusiaanse theologiehervorming* (Tilburg: Tilburg University Press, 1994), pp. 195-196.

⁷⁸ Morinck, *Vita Dorpii*: 'Oratores denique et rhetores studiosissime versarat, vt, non admodum barbatulus, inter philosophos maxime politus, inter politos maximus philosophus haberetur' (quoted from De Vocht, *Monumenta Hymanistica Lovaniensia*, p. 266). See also the dedicatory epistle by Nicolaas van Broeckhoven in Dorp's *Introductio facilis*, f. A2r: [Dorpius est] 'vir eloquentie et philosophie studiis insignis'.

⁷⁹ I agree with Kinney (*The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, XV, xxvii) that Dorp's contemporaries and most modern scholars acknowledge too little that 'Dorp might have sincere reservations about the importance to grammar and rhetoric in Erasmus' new model for theology or that the best way to ensure the acceptance of Erasmian theology might well be to concede that traditional methods should still have a significant place in a reformed theological curriculum.'

⁸⁰ At least, this is what Dorp indicates himself, for instance in his *Oratio Paulina*: 'tunc sic sentiebam, nunc nihil minus. nam qui potui aliter quam didiceram? verum simul atque veteres theologos accuratius denuo percurri et ea item legi, quae doctissimi quique huius tempestatis scripserunt, praecipue longe eruditissimus vir Thomas Morus, perpetuum suae Britanniae decus, in epistola quadam ad me sua, continuo mutavi sententiam, neque dubitem quin mutaturus sit quisquis non omnino bonarum litterarum rudis proprie hanc rem vestigarit' (quoted from Dorpius, *Orationes IV cum Apologia et litteris adnexis*, p. 83).

This evolution in his thought is also evident in his changing views on the teaching of dialectic. Relatively quickly after the publication of his *Introductio facilis*, Dorp seems to have made a complete U-turn. In his *Oratio in laudem omnium artium*, pronounced on behalf of the arts faculty at the opening ceremony of the academic year on 1 October 1513, he expresses the hope that the university authorities will either send back all French manuals of logic, or burn them.⁸¹ He also condemns, in no uncertain terms, his own previous teaching practice in the dedicatory epistle to the *Dialogus*, printed in 1514.⁸² He does, however, maintain his defence of Aristotle, calling for a — typically humanistic — return ‘ad fontem’, and argues that instead of abandoning Aristotle (as Valla did in his opinion), one should free him of his sophistic commentators and restore his true meaning⁸³:

But certain halfwits and fabricators of verbal trickery (although they are no d’Étapes)⁸⁴ contaminate this most beautiful dialectic, worked out most elegantly by Aristotle, in such an undignified manner, and mutilate it with

⁸¹ Dorpius, *Orationes IV cum Apologia et litteris adnexis*, p. 31: ‘quorsum, quaeso, per deos immortales, caros illos librorum ad nos transmittunt meras sordes exhalantium? et o si publico Academiae nostrae decreto vel in Franciam, unde venerunt, relegarentur vel, quod malim, Vulcano epularum loco obicerentur’. See also Baumann, ‘Dorp, Erasmus, More: Humanistische Aspekte einer literarischen Kontroverse’, 158.

⁸² See the edition in Jozef IJsewijn, ‘Martinus Dorpius, *Dialogus* (ca. 1508?)’, in *Charisterium H. de Vocht 1878-1978*, eds. Jozef IJsewijn – Jan Roegiers, *Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 2 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1979), pp. 74-101, at p. 80: ‘dum dialecticam docerem eamque ut Aristotelicam, ita adeo perplexam, flexuosam anfractibusque ancipitem ut, nisi acerrimum intendas ingenium, nunquam expedire queas.’ Dorp’s biographer Morinck also indicated that he came to regret his earlier predilection for scholastic philosophy later in life and wished that he had spent more time studying Cicero and the Bible: “‘Utinam’”, inquit, “per id tempus aut Ciceroni aut Sacris Bibliis vacassem, impendio melius laboris ratio constaret” (quoted from De Vocht, *Monumenta Humanistica Lovaniensia*, p. 264).

⁸³ Dorp would thus be a proponent of what Ashworth labelled ‘Aristotelian humanism’, i.e. the movement to restore Aristotle by preparing trustworthy editions of the Greek text and the production of new commentaries. Cf. E. Jennifer Ashworth, ‘Changes in logic textbooks from 1500 to 1650: The new Aristotelianism’, in *Aristotelism and Renaissance. In memoriam Charles B. Schmitt*, eds. Eckhard Kessler – Charles H. Lohr – Walter Sparr, *Wolfenbütteler Forschungen*, 40 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988), pp. 75-87. See also Ashworth, ‘Developments in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries’, especially pp. 613-614.

⁸⁴ Reference to Jacques Lefèvre d’Étapes (Jacobus Faber Stapulensis, 1455-1536), whose edition of Aristotle’s logical works was favoured by Dorp. See for instance also Dorp’s *Apologia* from 1521, in which he recommends the same: ‘qua [i.e. dialectica Aristotelis] utinam essent contenti, praecipua ut est ab eximio viro Iacobo Fabro Stapulensi tum repurgata, tum scholiis illustrata’ (quoted from Dorpius, *Orationes IV cum Apologia et litteris adnexis*, p. 100).

so many thorns and pricks, and torture it with so many layers and deposits of vile sophisms, that it seems to have emerged from a strange and smelly toilet; and nothing is in there which is serious, useful, or — to say it all in one word — Aristotelian.⁸⁵

Dorp returns to the distinction between sophistry on the one hand and 'pure, sincere, uncontaminated' Aristotelian logic⁸⁶ on the other in his *Oratio Paulina*, as well as in the subsequent *Apologia*. He confirms that the latter, for which he reserves the term 'dialectic', is a 'good, useful, and even necessary' part of a complete education, but also admits that it should not dominate the curriculum, as it is only meant as an instrument to pursue other, more important studies.⁸⁷ In support of this opinion, Dorp refers to a recent decree of Pope Leo X, who determined at the Council of Lateran that no-one should spend more than five years on the study of philosophy, which is read by Dorp as a warning against spending a lifetime on logic (as the sophists did).⁸⁸ He also addresses the same issues in a letter from January 1524⁸⁹ in which he condemns bad teachers of logic within the arts faculty. He calls them 'adulterini artifices' (false craftsmen, i.e. a play on the word 'artes') and advises them to return to the 'genuine dialectic' of Aristotle himself, because what they now 'babble to the students, is as little worthy of the name dialectic as the cuckoo deserves to be called a nightingale.'⁹⁰ At the same time, however, he

⁸⁵ *Oratio in laudem omnium artium*: 'Sed hanc pulcherrimam disciplinam ab Aristotele mundissime excultam quidam scioli et argutiarum fabri (quanquam non Stapulenses) tam indigne contaminant, tot sentibus, tot spinetis dilacerant, tot vilium sophismatum siliquis ac faecibus distendunt ut videatur ex olida extremaque latrina emersisse, ut nihil serium, nihil utile, nihil denique, ut verbo dicam uno omnia, Aristotelicum in ea appareat' (quoted from Dorpius, *Orationes IV cum Apologia et litteris adnexis*, p. 31).

⁸⁶ Dorpius, *Orationes IV cum Apologia et litteris adnexis*, p. 100: 'dialectica pura, sincera, incontaminata'.

⁸⁷ Dorpius, *Orationes IV cum Apologia et litteris adnexis*, p. 75: 'bona est, utilis est, adde etiam necessaria est sincera dialectica... non damno dialecticam, sed nolim illam in studiis utranque paginam facere solam', and p. 100: 'instrumentum ad potiores disciplinas'.

⁸⁸ Dorpius, *Orationes IV cum Apologia et litteris adnexis*, pp. 100-101. See also De Vocht, *Monumenta Hymenistica Lovaniensia*, pp. 106-107, for the decree referred to.

⁸⁹ Edited in Henry de Vocht, *Litterae virorum eruditorum ad Franciscum Craneveldium 1522-1528. A collection of original letters edited from the manuscripts and illustrated with notes and commentaries*, Humanistica Lovaniensia, 1 (Louvain: Librairie Universitaire, 1928), pp. 212-221.

⁹⁰ 'Nam quam hodie apud adolescentes artiste nostri — hoc est, adulterini artifices — deblaterant, non est magis dialectices nomine digna, quam coccyx luscinae. Aristoteles sane geminam [immo: genuinam] meo iudicio dialecticem tradidit, sed prolixè, sed obscure ac inuolute, quod pene proprium est eius, precipue in dialecticis ac physicis'

forewarns against humanism without content. In his opinion, literature should be read critically and with discrimination, and education should be about more than mere eloquence; otherwise there will be 'no reason, no purpose, no judgment, in fact no common sense' in what students and teachers do and write.⁹¹

Dorp thus continued to strive for a balance between scholasticism and humanism until the end of his life, negotiating a middle road between the excesses of the new learning, too focused on philology and meaningless elegance, and the sophistic extravagances of old. In this context, he stresses the importance of a dialectic based on the logical works of Aristotle but freed from its medieval apparatus. This restoration of dialectic fits with his educational ideal, which he developed towards the end of his life. Dorp was apparently planning to publish a full exposition of his views on the matter, but since he was not able to do so before his untimely demise in 1525, we have to rely on the letters written during the last years of his life, providing us a glimpse of his most mature thought.⁹² The essence of education for Dorp is to train students 'to think right' and 'to speak well and elegantly', so that they can become outstanding preachers in the service of Christianity.⁹³ In order to do this, a restoration of dialectic as sketched above should go hand in hand with a restoration of rhetoric⁹⁴, keeping in mind that both need to remain subordinate to theology and a practical application. Dorp's intellectual development may

(De Vocht, *Litterae virorum eruditorum ad Franciscum Craneveldium 1522-1528*, p. 217). De Vocht transcribed 'geminam dialecticem', but based on my inspection of the manuscript (preserved in the University Library of Leuven) and the context, I would suggest 'genuinam' as a more plausible reading.

⁹¹ 'Neque vero solum in scholasticis elegantiam desydero, quam alioqui, ut optarem accedere multis quidem de causis tamen non requiram pertinaciter: sed deerat ratio, consilium, iudicium, sensus denique communis. Non peruidebant scopos auctorum; non nouerant status eorum que agebantur; non habebant filum quod sequerentur; non exquirebant neque in philosophis, neque in sacris, quid quadraret, quid hereret, quid consentaneum, quid pugnant esset; ut recte ac vere dicat Melanchton: "Prestare non degustare Literas, quam tam infeliciter attingere"' (De Vocht, *Litterae virorum eruditorum ad Franciscum Craneveldium 1522-1528*, p. 217). Kees Meerhoff has suggested that this passage stems from Melanchthon's oration *De gradibus discentium*, slightly changed because Dorp was quoting from memory. Cf. 'Mélanchthon lecteur d'Agricola: rhétorique et analyse textuelle', *Bulletin de l'Association d'étude sur l'humanisme, la réforme et la renaissance*, 30 (1990), 5-22, at p. 14.

⁹² De Vocht, *Monumenta Hymenistica Lovaniensia*, p. 64.

⁹³ Rummel, *Erasmus and his Catholic Critics*, I, 11.

⁹⁴ 'Neque futurum est unquam ut, non dico bone literæ, sed omnino recta studia restituantur, nisi dialectice ac rethorice in ludos reuocentur' (De Vocht, *Litterae virorum eruditorum ad Franciscum Craneveldium 1522-1528*, p. 217).

therefore be marked by the clash between the old and new learning, but resulted in an effort to found a new tradition incorporating the best of both worlds, training students to become — paraphrasing Gerard Morinck's judgment of Dorp himself — not only 'philosophi gravissimi' and 'oratores eloquentissimi', but also 'theologi peritissimi'.⁹⁵

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⁹⁵ Morinck, *Dorpii vita*: 'Jta ante tempus perijt in ipso virili robore vir quocumque respitias summus, dignus cui anni Nestorij contigissent, theologus peritissimus, philosophus grauissimus, orator eloquentissimus: quem si vita processisset etiam ipsa inuidia vt maximum et exactissimum suspexisset' (quoted from De Vocht, *Monvmenta Hymanistica Lovaniensia*, p. 279).

Olivier PÉDEFLOUS – Gilbert TOURNOY

JUAN LUIS VIVES AND HIS DIALOGUE *SAPIENS**

I. The Discovery of the Very First Edition of the Dialogue

For more than thirty years we have been aware that the scope and significance of Vives's Parisian experience was significantly more important than we had previously known.¹ Jozef IJsewijn, Enrique González y González and Gilbert Tournoy² have uncovered new material that has considerably expanded and enhanced the portrait of Vives and his years in Paris that was depicted in Chapter Three of Carlos Noreña's still reference biography.³

We know that Vives's teaching activities included the publication of pedagogic texts for use in his lessons. The principal discoveries,

* The first part of the article is the work of Olivier Pédeflous; the second part, the critical edition with commentary, has been written by Gilbert Tournoy. O. Pédeflous thanks James K. Farge for kindly reading and correcting his contribution and also William Kemp for his remarks on some precise problems.

¹ J. IJsewijn, 'J.L. Vives in 1512-1517. A Reconsideration of Evidence', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 26 (1977), 82-92. Cf. p. 87: 'In conclusion one can say that Vives's 1514 sojourn in Paris was extremely fruitful and decisive for the young scholar's career'.

² E. González y González, *Joan Lluís Vives. De la Escolástica al Humanismo* (Valencia: Generalitat, 1987) and Id., 'Juan Luis Vives. Works and Days', in *A Companion to Juan Luis Vives* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 15-64; J. IJsewijn, 'Vives' Jugendwerke neu datiert', *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen*, 2 (1987), 58-59; Id., 'Zu einer kritischen Edition der Werke des J.L. Vives', in *Juan Luis Vives. Arbeitsgespräch in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel vom 6. bis 8. November 1980*, ed. by A. Buck (Hamburg: E. Hauswedell, 1981), pp. 23-34; G. Tournoy, 'The Chronology of the First Letters Written by J.L. Vives at Paris Reconsidered', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 51 (2002), 5-8; Id., 'Promulsis Vivica: A Critical Edition of the First Five Letters of Juan Luis Vives's Correspondence', in *Margarita amicorum. Studi di cultura europea per Agostino Sottili*, ed. by F. Forner et al., 2 vols (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 2005), II, 1103-1119.

³ C. Noreña, *Juan Luis Vives. A Bibliography* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1970). For some critical material on it, see the French translation: *Vives. Vie et destin d'un humaniste européen, une biographie intellectuelle*, traduction française par Olivier et Justine Pédeflous (avec la collab. de Roberto Salazar) (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2013).

concerning the *ephemera*⁴, have come to light in the rare books departments of major public libraries. However, most of the new material has come too late to be incorporated into the basic bibliographies for the period which we consider as authoritative. For example, Marcus de Schepper's 2000 article⁵, in which he revealed Vives to be the editor of Battista Guarini's *De modo et ordine docendi et discendi* came too late to be inserted into Brigitte Moreau's bibliography of Parisian output.⁶ I give this as only one example of a larger discrepancy that continues to keep from the scholarly world what we now know about Vives's years in Paris. Brigitte Moreau has catalogued this edition but without identifying Vives as the editor. So, despite the considerable growth of reliable and additional information, Vives's Parisian period is far from being extensively known and many shadows still remain.

Another more recent discovery enables us to add a new item to the previous census of Vives's Paris career. A Parisian rare book dealer⁷ recently offered for sale a previously little-noticed edition of Vives's dialogue *Sapiens*, an item for which I was asked to provide a critical examination. For such a famous author as Vives, a completely unknown work is rare, and this one was indeed known to certain Vives scholars. Twenty years ago the sharp eye of Dr. Enrique González⁸ had already noticed the mention of 'Sapiens, 1514' in the nineteenth-century catalogue of the Bibliothèque municipale of Douai (Rés. Cxx 6310) in northern France, not far from Lille. It was bound with Vives's *Opuscula duo*,

⁴ See Nicolas Petit's inspiring book, *L'Ephémère, l'occasionnel et le non livre (XV^e-XVIII^e siècles)* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1997). The editors of the *Universal Short Title Catalogue* (USTC) have taken into account these overlooked sources. Cf. M. Walsby, 'L'auteur et l'imprimé polémique et éphémère français au seizième siècle', in *Auteur, collaborateur, traducteur, imprimeur... qui écrit?*, ed. by M. Furno and R. Mouren (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2013), pp. 35-56.

⁵ Marcus de Schepper, 'April in Paris (1514): J. L. Vives Editing B. Guarinus. A New Vives 'Princeps', a New Early Vives Letter and the First Poem in Praise of Vives', in *Myricae. Essays on Neo-Latin literature in memory of Jozef IJsewijn*, ed. by D. Sacré and G. Tournoy, *Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 16 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2000), pp. 195-205.

⁶ Brigitte Moreau, *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVI^e siècle, II. (1511-1520)* (Paris: Service des travaux historiques de la ville de Paris - Abbeville: impr. F. Paillart, 1977), no. 845.

⁷ Paris, Librairie Michel Bouvier, catalogue 61: 'Livres rares, Documentation', [2012], n° 154. The Vives volume is depicted as 'Petit in -4, (4) feuillets. Broché, sans couverture tel que paru. Quelques taches et cernes clairs'.

⁸ E. González y González, S. Albiñana and V. Gutiérrez, *Vives. Edicións princeps* (València: Universitat de València, 1992), p. 34.

but the volume was unfortunately destroyed in the Second World War. The Paris dealer's copy that I have examined carefully is now part of the extensive collection of rare and early editions of Vives's works conserved in the Bibliothèque Mazarine (shelf mark 8° 111536).

Before looking more closely at the work itself, it will be helpful to examine its material make-up. It consists of two bi-folios joined in a single notebook: [4] ff. signed A (4), end folio white. Folio Aiii r° is wrongly signed Aii. The title page has a six-line title (the first line in capital letters). The size and particularities of the booklet are typical of school publications⁹: it consists in only two bi-folios of a single notebook.

IOANNIS LODOVICI VIVIS VALEN-// tini viri philosophi vrbanus pariter
ac grauis dia // logus qui sapiens inscribitur: in quo sapientem // per omnes
disciplinas disquirens professo // rum earum mores notat: denique veram
sapientiam breui sermone depingit.

Beneath the title is the device of Gilles de Gourmont — the same one that he employed in his edition of Hadrianus Barlandus, *Versuum ex ... Vergilio ...*, *Collectanea* (ca. 1515).¹⁰ This device was adopted in early 1514.¹¹ With the exception of imprints in Greek, Gilles de Gourmont accustomed to have his books printed by other presses. In this case, the printer is unknown, but the dropped initial and the characteristic unaccented Greek font may help to identify the printer. It should also be noted that, contrary to the font employed in Gourmont's own printing of Erasmus's *Moriae encomium*¹², the few Greek words in Vives's text, very scattered, are unaccented, and do not display the use of upper case letters.

The imprint is not without mistakes, and the punctuation is scarce. This may be due to haste or inaccuracy by the typesetters; another possible reason, as Girolamo Aleandro explains it in a fragmentary handwritten

⁹ We know that in-8 editions were an innovation of the Venetian printer Aldus Manutius. Quite uncommon at first, the format was used extensively in Paris by Josse Bade after 1515. See David Shaw, 'Badius's Octavo Editions of the Classics', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1973), 276-281.

¹⁰ González y González – Albiñana – Gutiérrez, *Vives. Edicións princeps*, no. 6, p. 115.

¹¹ Ph. Renouard, *Les marques typographiques parisiennes des XVe et XVIe siècles* (Paris: Champion, 1928), pp. 116-117, no. 781.

¹² A. Vanautgaerden, 'Robert de Keyser, maître d'école gantois, imprimeur parisien?', in *Passeurs de textes. Imprimeurs et libraires à l'âge de l'humanisme*, ed. by C. Bénévent, A. Charon, I. Diu and M. Vène (Paris: Ecole des Chartes, 2012), pp. 15-41 (esp. pp. 38-39).

praelectio dated 1509, is that this kind of school-use publication is only a guideline, leaving it to the reader to correct the mistakes or to the teacher commenting on it during his lessons.¹³

For the most part, publications of small booklets like this one did not survive the centuries. Those that did are usually bound with other similar works in miscellaneous collections. This work of Vives is still unbound, a less frequent instance. It contains some printed marginal notes, and one can detect a few manuscript *marginalia* written in ink so faded with time that the strokes are hardly readable. They may nevertheless be traces left by a reader from the XVIth century if not Vives's own time.

The text of the dialogue was already known, thanks to the collective publication of some pieces in the Lyons *Opera* (1514), mentioned in 1896 by F. Kayser in his synthetic work on Vives, and rediscovered by Enrique González.¹⁴ In the *Sapiens*, Vives sets up two of his professors, Nicolas Béraud and Gaspar Lax, in a dialogue inspired by Lucian: a humorous search for the learned man who obviously cannot be found. The collation of the surviving versions of the *Sapiens* shows that the Parisian text adds some variants duly noted below in Prof. Tournoy's critical edition. Except for the *Opuscula duo* and the shorter version of the *praelectio* to Filelfo's *Convivia* preserved by Jean Kierher, the newly discovered copy makes available for the first time a separate publication edited by Vives in Paris.

Date of the Vives booklet

Like many ephemeral publications of the time and above all most of those by Vives, it bears no publication date. The device of Gilles de Gourmont provides a *terminus a quo*. His previous device, representing the Holy Family, was still used in Charles Brachet's edition of Lucian's *Opera* (1513). The new one, containing an elegant blazon of two rampant

¹³ Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. lat. 3913, fol. 2v°. See C. Vecce, 'Girolamo Aleandro a Parigi', in *Passer les monts. Français en Italie – Italiens en France (1494-1525)*, ed. by J. Balsamo (Paris – Fiesole: Champion – Cadmo, 1998), pp. 326-343 and M.-M. Compère (†), M.-D. Couzinet and O. Pédeflous, 'Éléments pour l'histoire d'un genre éditorial. La feuille classique, en France, aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles', *Histoire de l'Éducation*, 124 (oct.-dec. 2009) (*Institutions et pratiques scolaires dans la longue durée, XVI^e-XIX^e siècles. Hommage à Marie-Madeleine Compère*), 27-49 (47-49).

¹⁴ González y González – Albiñana – Gutiérrez, *Vives. Edicións princeps*, no. 4, pp. 108-110.

unicorns surmounted by the Archangel Michael slaying a dragon, appeared first, as we have noted, in early 1514.¹⁵ Unfortunately most of Gilles de Gourmont's productions (like this one) carry no date, and this is especially true for 1514. As seen above, the material analysis makes it impossible to be more precise.

Still, internal evidence may yet be helpful in our quest: in the dialogue, Gaspar Lax refers to a 'Rhetoristes' teaching the Fourth Book of pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium* — obviously an allusion to Vives's lesson on this text and recalling the reason for his suspension from lecturing of which Vives complained at the beginning of his lesson on Filelfo.¹⁶ Thus our Parisian *Sapiens* is posterior to this lesson which Enrique González dated May 1514 in his thesis.

It should be observed that a section concerning a German teacher (or, perhaps, someone teaching for the German Nation in the University) is missing in the Lyons *Opera* (see below, ll. 139-146 of the critical edition):

Gasp. Ha ha! adolescentibus, quos vocat dementes, amentior se esse doctum non potuit persuadere, in quo minimae quaeque apparentiae sufficiunt, et persuadebit uti sibi pecunias hi pauperculi dent! A divitibus et opulentis hominibus quanto labore vix unus accipit, qui certe abundant, et nonnumquam manticularium agere oportet. Et ab istis egenis extorquebit? Nam divites et nummatus adolescentes (videte quam bene monet) non potuit in sua lectione detinere. Sciat prius igitur affectus ciere, postea doceat. Propterea in isto, qui se non noscit, desiderandam esse sapientiam minus censeo.

This biting moment in the dialogue prompted an apology by Vives at the very end of the text. Perhaps both Vives and Guillaume Huyon considered it a reference too *ad hominem* to figure in the Lyons *Opera*, where the two linked passages were omitted. It can thus be compared to the case of the *praelectio in Convivia F. Philelphi*, where the last paragraph, an invective against scholastic dialecticians, is omitted in some witnesses of the textual tradition.¹⁷ As for the apology supplied at the end, this may well have been required by Gilles de Gourmont, because it could be seen

¹⁵ An edition of Aleander's *Alphabetum hebraicum et graecum* published by Gourmont with the old mark is dated c. 1514 according to Moreau, *Inventaire*, II, no. 749. Copy: BnF Rés. X 680 bis (1).

¹⁶ J.L. Vives, *Early writings: De initiis sectis et laudibus philosophiae; Veritas fucata - Anima senis; Pompeius fugiens*, Introd., Critical Edition, Translation and Notes by C. Matheussen – C. Fantazzi – E. George, *Selected Works of J.L. Vives*, 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1987), p. 137.

¹⁷ Vives, *Early Writings*, p. 139.

as offensive to some prospective patrons of the new bookshop that he had just opened in Louvain.¹⁸

This new development in Gourmont's trade should be noted. In the colophon of the edition of Pierre Tarteret's *In Summulas*, the printing expense of which was shared by a consortium of booksellers, the copies bearing the mark of Gourmont read: 'Impressum est hoc opus expensis Egidii Gourmontii librarii universitatis Lovaniensis'.¹⁹ Gourmont had hence not only opened a bookstore in Louvain, but he was also ranked as a *librarius juratus* of that university, a status he also enjoyed in the University of Paris, thus insuring a profitable outlet for his books.

It has been suggested that '[it was] perhaps following [Vives's] suggestion that Gourmont opened a bookshop in Louvain'.²⁰ The role of Vives in this commercial enterprise, however, must remain open to question. At present, we have no conclusive data about the relations between Vives and Gourmont prior to 1514. The formalities required to obtain the above mentioned status²¹ therefore allow us only to postulate a previous acquaintance between the two men.

Returning to the chronology of the *Sapiens*, we can perhaps, slightly modifying the chronology, find another logic in the dating of Vives's imprints. Entering the world of printing and the *res publica litterarum* was a codified *cursus* in sixteenth-century Paris. According to historians of the practices at the University of Paris in early sixteenth-century, a young *tiro* began with an introductory poem or letter in one or several publications by his teacher or by editing a work by his teacher; his second publication could be an edition of a classical text; then the young man could attempt to interest a printer in a work by his own. For example, such a pattern appears in the *cursus* of a compatriot of Vives, Juan

¹⁸ Ph. Renouard, *Imprimeurs parisiens, libraires, fondateurs de caractères et correcteurs d'imprimerie* (Paris, 1898), p. 158. See the mention of Gourmont's trip to Louvain at the beginning of a letter from Theobald Pigenat to Aleander, his former teacher in J. Paquier, *Jérôme Aléandre, de sa naissance à la fin de son séjour à Brindes (1480-1529)* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1900), p. 90 and n. 1.

¹⁹ B. Moreau, *Inventaire chronologique*, II, no. 983, p. 284. *Expositio magistri Petri Tartareti in Summulas Petri Hispani una cum passibus Scoti undequaque in marginibus sparsis* (Paris: Gilles de Gourmont, 1514). Copy at Metz, BM, M 309-1 Fonds ancien 2.

²⁰ G. Tournoy, 'Anecdota Vivica (I)', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 51 (2002), p. 337.

²¹ See L. Dorez, 'Notes sur les libraires, relieurs, enlumineurs, papetiers et parcheminiers jurés de Paris extraites des mémoriaux de la faculté de décret (1504-1524)', *Revue des bibliothèques*, 16 (1906), 145-172.

Vásquez (Joannes Vaccaeus) from Murcia.²² If one applies this scheme to Vives, the edition of Jan Dullaert's *Librorum metheororum Aristotelis... Expositio* might be a good candidate to be Vives's first publication: he publishes the book of a master but contributes a small *vita* of him, an 'original' text but strictly connected to the work of a proven author. The edition of pseudo-Hygin was ascribed to the year 1515 by G. Tournoy with convincing arguments against the traditional date of 1514.²³ In such a *cursus*, the *Sapiens*, an original work by Vives, might come at least in second or third position. As for the *Opuscula duo* (in fact *tria*), already a move to unite some personal works, it would be another step on this path.²⁴ By relative dating, it would be plausible to ascribe to them the date of May-June 1514. Finally, the publication of the so-called *Opera* — whether it appeared first in Paris in a lost edition or not — in Lyons, dated 19 October 1514, can be read as the collective publication of the first productions of a young humanist not devoid of pretensions to self-promotion.

Academic surrounding: remodeling the cursus studiorum and the 'battaglia degli arti' in Paris

The *Sapiens* is revelatory of Vives's entourage in Paris in the early 1510s. Although Vives's own declarations are too scarce and scanty to be useful, we can piece together a mosaic of the milieu he frequented and the key figures of his acquaintance. Contrary to the traditional view of the University of Paris in the early sixteenth century which portrays a period of decadence and dereliction, we now know that it was actually a flourishing time marked by deep reflections on poetics, reading of ancient authors, and vivid interest in theories coming from Italy.²⁵ Much of the

²² P. Galand-Hallyn, *Un professeur-poète humaniste: Joannes Vaccaeus, La Sylve Parisienne (1522)* (Geneva: Droz, 2002), introduction, pp. XXIII-XXIX, quoting Charles Thurot, *De l'organisation de l'enseignement dans l'université de Paris au Moyen Âge* (Paris – Besançon, 1850) and Jean Lecointe, 'La Poetica de François Dubois', (Université de Paris-IV Sorbonne, Habilitation thesis, 2000), I: *Biographie*. For new material and reflections on this topic, see O. Pédeflous, 'Nouveaux éclairages sur Joannes Vaccaeus (Juan Vázquez) de Murcie: apostille à Perrine Galand-Hallyn, *Un professeur-poète humaniste* (2002)', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 75 (2013), 123-133.

²³ Tournoy, 'Promulsis Vivica'.

²⁴ IJsewijn, 'J.L. Vives in 1512-1517', p. 87.

²⁵ For a position different from the mainstream discourse, see M.-M. Compère, 'Les collèges de l'Université de Paris au XVIe siècle: structure institutionnelle et fonctions

past scholarship has tried to marginalize this background. As maintained by Enrique González²⁶, before the publication of Erasmus's *Novum Instrumentum* and Luther's famous thesis, the cohabitation between Scholastics and Humanists was quite peaceful. Jean Dupèbe²⁷ rightly notes that 'Comme à Coqueret, à Montaigu, par exemple, les muses latines côtoient sans honte la dialectique'. It was not yet the time for passionate opposition.²⁸

A new phase of the 'battaglia degli arti'²⁹ was coming, however, inducing a questioning of the trivium and the focus instead on certain fields largely undervalued in Paris. A discourse openly hostile to dialectics emerges again and calls the linguistic code into question.³⁰ It is worth noting that Vives, like many of his peers, was acquainted with representatives of both the logician school, led by such men as Gaspard Lax and Jan Dullaert³¹ and the humanistic movement, to which belonged Nicolas Bérauld, a teacher of poetry and grammar. But the opposition

éducatives', in *I Collegi Universitari in Europa tra il XIV e il XVIII secolo*, ed. by D. Maffei and H. De Ridder-Symoens (Milan: Giuffrè, 1991), pp. 101-118.

²⁶ E. González, 'The encounter of Luis Vives (1492/3-1540) and Hadrianus Barlandus (1486-1538) in Louvain, 1514?-1515', *Lias*, 30/2 (2003), 177-212.

²⁷ J. Dupèbe, *Astrologie, religion et médecine à Paris: Antoine Mizauld (c. 1512-1588)* (PhD Thesis, Univ. Paris X Nanterre, 1999), II (2), 509. See C. Vasoli, 'Les débuts de l'humanisme à l'Université de Paris', in *Preuve et raisons à l'université de Paris: Logique, ontologie et théologie au XIVe siècle*, ed. by Z. Kaluza and P. Vignaux (Paris: Vrin, 1984), pp. 269-286.

²⁸ Ch. G. Nauert, 'Humanism as Method: Roots of Conflict with the Scholastics', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 29 (1998), 427-438.

²⁹ E. Garin, *La Disputa delle arti nel Quattrocento* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1982), preface; P.O. Kristeller, 'Il Petrarca, l'umanesimo e la scolastica', *Lettere italiane*, 7 (1965), 367-388 (esp. 380).

³⁰ C. Clavel, 'La cresse philosophale des questions encyclopédiques de Pantagruel. Un opuscule chimérique dans la bataille des arts entre non-sens et signification' (unpublished PhD Thesis, Paris IV-Sorbonne, 2008, *supr.* M. Huchon).

³¹ For the edition of the short Vita, see J.L. Vives, *Early writings. 2: Epistula Forti; Vita Ioannis Dullardi; Christi Triumphus; Ovatio Mariae; Clipeus Christi; Praelectio in quartum rhetoricorum ad Herennium; Praelectio in convivia Philelphi*, ed. by Jozef IJsewijn a.o., *Selected Works of J.L. Vives*, 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1991), pp. 14-15. On Dullaert, see J. Machiels, 'Johannes Dullaert. Gent, ca. 1480-Parijs, 10 september 1513', in *Professor R.L. Plancke 70, Getuigenissen en bijdragen*, ed. by K. De Clerck and H. Van Daele (Gent: Centrum voor de studie van de Historische Pedagogiek, 1981), pp. 69-96 and González, *Joan Lluís Vives*, pp. 148-154 and, still valuable, H. Elie, 'Quelques maîtres de l'université de Paris vers l'an 1500', *Archives d'Histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen âge*, 25-26 (1950-51), 193-243 (chap. 6, 236-240); for Gaspard Lax, see *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, ed. by N. Kretzmann, A. Kenny and J. Pinborg (E. Stump) (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1982), pp. 789-790.

between them, at the time, is much more institutional and social than topical: the logicians are well-known figures of the University, frequently represented in the *regesta*, whereas Bérauld, coming from Orléans, was trained in civil law, a subject not taught in Paris. He was an outsider who arrived in Paris only in 1512. He dabbled in printing in his spare time; he was a layman, not a cleric, as all professors in colleges were required to be. He might offer lectures held in a college precinct, but was not a member of the *alma mater*. He had a private *pedagogy* — an heir of the ‘extraordinary’ lessons in poetics given by similar unaffiliated teachers who were Italians on the move in the 1490s.³²

– *The Encyclopaedic paradigm*: Vives has perhaps imbibed Bérauld’s lessons before being actually mentored by him. As González y González³³ has pointed out, comparative inspection of their publications from 1512 to 1514 makes clear the interest for the same authors. Bérauld was lecturing on Poliziano’s *silva Rusticus*³⁴ in the autumn of 1513, and this created a considerable stir that appears in the important number of editions of his work (first the *praelectio* alone and then the *praelectio* with the commentary), unusual for this kind of publications. It illustrates the keen interest in Poliziano that was greatly fostered by Josse Bade’s publication of his *Opera* in 1512.

Beginning with the *praelectio* of his course, Bérauld made a connection between this particular *silva*, an introductory lesson to the *Georgics*, with another important work by Poliziano, his *Panepistemon*, an inaugural lesson to Aristotle’s similar piece, creating a manifesto for those interested in Encyclopaedia. The focus of Bérauld on this problem is manifested in his comments at the beginning of the *Sapiens*: he insists on the ‘cyclicis disciplinis’ and the ‘disciplinarum circulum’, two synonyms describing the Encyclopaedia. The title of the dialogue is itself a clear promotion of the usefulness of encyclopaedias, promising the reader ‘per omnes disciplinas disquirens’. This very episode features a grammar

³² P. F. Andrelinus, *Amores sive Livia*, met een bio-bibliografie van de auteur uitgegeven door Godelieve Tournoy-Thoen (Brussels: Akad. voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten, Klasse der Letteren, Jaargang 44, no. 100, 1982), p. 35.

³³ González, *Joan Lluís Vives and Edicions princeps*, p. 33.

³⁴ See the modern edition by P. Galand (together with G.-A. Bergère, A. Bouscharain, O. Pédeflous), *Nicolas Bérauld, Praelectio et commentaire à la silve Rusticus d’Ange Politien (1513)* (Geneva: Droz) (forthcoming) with all due bibliographical data on Bérauld’s publications.

teacher (*grammaticus*), a central character in the discussions concerning pedagogy and textual criticism of poetry in the Quattrocento, echoing Poliziano's interest and defense of the *grammaticus* and, on the other hand, Pontano's attacks. Here, Vives is not in the footsteps of Bérauld (and Poliziano).³⁵ Vives is unsparing in his criticism of the character *Grammaticus*. We are not far from the dialogue *Charon* which stages some 'grammatici pointilleux et ridicules'³⁶ underlining their stupidity as they echo Pontano's constant polemics against the *grammatici*. The kind of questions posed for the pupil is a clear glance at Pontano's critics against grammairians unable to judge and understand poetry.

The unusual term *omniscie* in Lax's discourse sounds like a transparent allusion to the *Panepistemon* (Latin *omniscius*). The fortune of the *Panepistemon*³⁷ was considerable, and the text was soon to be copied in a treatise, re-using a lot of quotations without mentioning it. This opusculum entitled *In rhetoricen Isagoge*, composed by a close friend of Jean Salmon Macrin, Rémy Roussel (Remigius Rufus Candidus), was published in 1515 by Josse Bade, under the name of Raymond Lull, certainly to benefit of Lull's famous name and to complete the Lullian corpus in which rhetorics was not represented.³⁸

The Encyclopaedic paradigm is a frequent *mot d'ordre* in the Parisian humanist milieu. In 1976 Franco Simone³⁹ published a pioneering paper convincingly showing the need for an intellectual genealogy of the phenomenon. Although he did not quote Vives, Simone gave the exact context and the necessity of rethinking the Quattrocento inheritance⁴⁰ that

³⁵ P. Galand-Hallyn, 'Nicolas Bérauld: Autoportrait en commentateur enthousiaste', in *La Philologie humaniste et ses représentations*, ed. by Ead., F. Hallyn and G. Tournoy, 2 vols (Geneva: Droz, 2005), II, 311-341.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 334. For a study of this *Charon*, see D. Marsh, *The Quattrocento dialogue. Classical Tradition and Humanist Innovation* (Cambridge/Mass.: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1980), pp. 100-136.

³⁷ J.-M. Mandosio, 'La Fortune du *Panepistemon* d'Ange Politien en France', in *La Réception des écrits italiens en France à la Renaissance. Ouvrages philosophiques, scientifiques et techniques*, ed. by A. Perifano (Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2000), p. 61.

³⁸ M. Pereira, 'L'uso del *Panepistemon* del Poliziano nella *Isagoge in rhetoricam pseudollulliana*', *Physis*, 16 (1974), 223-233.

³⁹ F. Simone, 'La notion d'Encyclopédie: Élément caractéristique de la Renaissance française', in *French Renaissance Studies 1540-70. Humanism and the Encyclopedia*, ed. by P. Sharratt (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press, 1976), pp. 234-262. See also J. Céard, 'Encyclopédie et encyclopédisme à la Renaissance', in *L'Encyclopédisme*, ed. by A. Becq (Paris: Editions aux Amateurs de Livres, 1991), pp. 57-67.

⁴⁰ J.-L. Charlet, 'L'encyclopédisme latin humaniste (xv^e-début xvi^e s.): de la lexicographie à l'encyclopédie', *Quaderni del Centro di Studi sul classicismo*, 2-3 (2004-2005 [= 2006]), 285-306.

gave birth to early French humanism. As C. Vasoli has pointed out, Vives was deeply influenced by the 'alto magisterio filologico-umanistico'⁴¹ of Guillaume Budé, *i.e.*, at the time, by reading the *Annotationes ad Pandectas* (1508). Like the Italians, and especially Poliziano, Budé argued that Philology and high culture were the result of a cumulative knowledge, a cultivation of the liberal arts. It was not, he maintained, a naïve discourse celebrating all-embracing science, but, rather, corresponded to a thorough refashioning of the trivium. At a general level, one can observe the common interest to both logicians and humanists for encyclopaedia, *e.g.* in the *Calculationes* d'Alvaro Tomas, where Georges Bruneau, a grammar teacher in the Collège de Coqueret, celebrates the Portuguese mathematician for his encyclopaedic knowledge.⁴²

Only three years before the supposed date of the publication of Vives's *Sapiens*, Charles de Bovelles, deeply influenced by encyclopaedism and the classifications of arts⁴³, published a short treatise bearing the title 'Sapiens'⁴⁴ (Henri Estienne, 1511). Already in a *reportatio* at a course given by Bovelles at the Collège du Cardinal Lemoine and taken by Beatus Rhenanus in 1504, the reflection was opened by the proposition, *Sapiens est qui se fecit hominem*.⁴⁵ Perhaps this focus on the *sapientia* — 'ce sera l'un des leit-motive du *Livre du Sage* que de faire de l'homme, par la sagesse, l'artisan de sa propre humanité'⁴⁶ — is to be connected with the notion of *humanitas*. A letter from Bovelles to N. Bérald dated from Paris, May 26, 1515⁴⁷, answering Bérald's philosophical question on Plato, gives an idea of the links between these two masters approximately at the same period.

⁴¹ C. Vasoli, 'La concezione filosofica in Vives', in *Luis Vives y el humanismo Europeo*, ed. by F.J.F. Nieto, A. Melero Belido and A. Mestre Sanchis (València: Universitat de València), pp. 117-128.

⁴² Dupèbe, *Astrologie*, II (2), 508.

⁴³ He is the author of a *Libellus de constitutione et utilitate artium humanarum* (...) (Paris: Gaspard Philippe for Jean Petit, 1501). A copy in Sélestat, Bibliothèque humaniste, 254 (3). See A. Renaudet, *Préréforme et humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie (1494-1517)* [1916] (Paris: Champion, 1953), p. 495.

⁴⁴ See the modern edition by P. Magnard, *Le livre du sage* (Paris: Vrin, 1982). Unfortunately, the reedition by Vrin does not include the Latin text and the liminary essay (an eleven-page 'Introduction' cannot satisfactory replace it).

⁴⁵ Sélestat, Bibliothèque humaniste, ms. 58: 'Cahier d'étudiant de Beatus Rhenanus'. See E. Faye and J. Hirstein, '*Metaphysica Colleta*. Un cours de métaphysique fabriste pris en note par Beatus Rhenanus. Présentation et édition partielle', in *Chemins de la pensée médiévale. Etudes offertes à Zénon Kaluza*, ed. by P.J.J.M. Bakker with E. Faye and C. Grellard (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), pp. 169-191.

⁴⁶ Magnard, *Le livre du sage*, introduction, p. 9.

⁴⁷ J. Chomarat, 'Platon et Aristote à Paris au printemps de 1515', *Moreana*, 41 (1974), 49-56.

– *The quaestio: entering an academic genre.* Vives's dialogue seems to be an echo of the vast panorama of scholarly questions of that time. The *quaestio* was an obligatory stage in many courses of study⁴⁸ as we can see when perusing the titles of Parisian *opuscula*⁴⁹ and it was particularly developed in the disputations in physics.⁵⁰ Jan Dullaert had edited and revised for publication Buridan's questions on Aristotle's *Physics* in 1509. Vives was certainly familiar with a part of the *corpus Aristotelicum*; he has perhaps improved his knowledge of some treatises as is proved by a reference to Aristotle's *Physics* in the discourse of the theologian added by Vives in the Lyons edition *Physics*, not in the original edition:

Anima enim quiescens, ait Aristoteles, id est affectuum turbinibus vacans, non corpus sedens sapientior fit atque prudentior (...).⁵¹

Vives's knowledge of dialectics is well represented too. Some lines of the logician in Vives's *Sapiens* have already been connected to the familiar turn of syllogisms in Paris, such as those given by Juan Dolz de Castellar in his *Termini cum principiis necnon pluribus aliis ipsius dialectices difficultatibus* (Paris: Hémon Le Fèvre, c. 1514) by Charles Fantazzi helped by E.J. Ashworth.⁵²

Sint asini duo, homines duo, et angeli tres. Ex unius asini medietate cum alterius asini medietate tertius asinus fiat. Duo angeli cum homine uno binarium unum illorum asinorum possideant, utpote primum cum tertio copulatum et copulative alteri angeli duo cum altero homine secundum binarium asinorum: tunc tibi copulativam probabo possibilem et impossibilem de forma et de forma acceptionis terminorum.

It is a mark of the referentiality of the examples given in the dialogue by Vives⁵³: the *Sapiens* is partly a fictional piece, based on realistic sample of contemporaneous practice.

⁴⁸ Renaudet, *Préréforme et humanisme à Paris*, pp. 26-29.

⁴⁹ Cf. González, *Companion*, p. 34 who gives examples of the titles of these publications.

⁵⁰ B. Lawn, *The Rise & Decline of the Scholastic 'Quaestio disputata' with a Special Emphasis on its Use in the Teaching of Medicine & Science* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), pp. 32-33.

⁵¹ Cf. below, the commentary to l. 233 of the critical edition, by G. Tournoy, who has identified the locus in a medieval Latin version.

⁵² Ch. Fantazzi, 'Vives and the pseudodialecticians', in *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*, ed. by E. Rummel (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2008), p. 94 n. 5. Cf. also W.A. Wallace, 'The "Calculatores" in Early Sixteenth-Century Physics', *The British Journal of the History of Science*, 4 (1969), 221-232.

⁵³ Cf. the authoritative works by E.J. Ashworth, 'The resurgence of medieval logic in France and Spain', in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, ed. by N. Kretzman et al. (ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1982), p. 780.

As for the questions of the *grammaticus*, yet mentioned above, they are not greatly different from the traditional data given by the *accessus ad auctorem* in the *vitae* at the beginning of the editions of the classics, often copied or abbreviated by and for students. Beatus Rhenanus's school handbook, reproducing notes to a *lectio* on the *Georgics* in Sélestat, is a good example of this kind of school exercise.⁵⁴

In early sixteenth-century Paris, this practice was well-known in both professional and private circles. A good example of this is the manuscript in which Josse Clichtove, another former pupil of Lefèvre, answers the 102 questions of János Gosztanyi, bishop of Győr, who was studying in Paris in 1513 and early 1514, probably staying at the Collège de Navarre.⁵⁵ His questions ranged from grammar to astrology, and included liturgical and theological topics. This fits into the pattern of the Platonian-Ciceronian dialogue, a widespread genre yet popularized by Italian forerunners.

Poetics of dialogue

Despite the topics he had in common with the disciples of Lefèvre d'Etaples, the Lucianic turn of Vives's dialogue differs considerably from their systematic rejection of any influence of this author because of his reputation as an atheist.⁵⁶ There is however a clear clue of an Erasmian influence on Vives. This Lucianic context of the *Sapiens* was well studied by J. IJsewijn⁵⁷ who established that Vives was indebted to the *Vitarum Auctio*, i.e. 'The Sale of Creeds', and this survey has been recently completed by Nicolas Corréard.⁵⁸ Developing the *retractatio* of

⁵⁴ I. Suzeau, 'Le cahier d'écolier de Beatus Rhenanus: l'étude de Virgile (Sélestat, 1499)', in *Beatus Rhenanus (1485-1547), lecteur et éditeur des textes anciens*, ed. by J. Hirstein (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 21-32.

⁵⁵ *Dissolutiones nonnullarum quaestionum*. Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, cod. lat. 348. See L.A. Gábel, 'Gosztanyi János párizsi mestere', *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlemények*, 60 (1936), 15-29. Many thanks to Gábor Farkas Kiss who has called my attention to this manuscript he is currently studying.

⁵⁶ Cf. Renaudet, *Préforme et humanisme*, p. 494 for the testimony of Beatus Rhenanus.

⁵⁷ J. IJsewijn, 'Satirical Elements in the Works of J. L. Vives', in *La Satire humaniste. Actes du Colloque international des 31 mars, 1er et 2 avril 1993*, édité par Rudolf De Smet (Leuven: Peeters Press, 1994), pp. 151-163 (154).

⁵⁸ See his very recent article, 'La foire aux maîtres: l'imitation de la *Vitarum auctio* de Lucien de Samosate dans le contexte de la Renaissance érasmienne, évangélique et sceptique', *Anabases*, 15 (2012), 87-99 (esp. 89-91). See also his complementary essay 'Satire des maîtres et mise en question de l'idéal humaniste dans les réécritures de la *Vitarum auctio* (Vies de philosophes à vendre) de Lucien de Samosate au Quattrocento',

Erasmus's *Moriae encomium*⁵⁹, Corréard considers it to be a *promulsis* development of a theme largely treated in the *De causis corruptarum artium* (book II). Michael Screech⁶⁰ has underlined the specificity of Gourmont's 1511 version prior to its later rewriting which significantly changed the balance of the work.

To clarify the effective context of Vives's work with this *opusculum*, some details can now be added to the dossier on the translation published by Béraud in 1516.⁶¹ A copy of the *editio princeps* of Lucian (Alopa, 1496; BnF Rés. Z 247), annotated in Béraud's distinctive handwriting, highlights his preparation of this work, even though we have no precise date for it. We do know that the volume annotated by Béraud belonged to Pierre Lamy who was later François Rabelais's fellow Franciscan in Fontenay-le-Comte; Lamy (as he tells us on the last folio) bought the book in Paris in 1508. Because we know that Béraud was not in Paris prior to 1512, it is reasonable to conclude that Béraud's work of annotation and translation is not earlier than this date and that Vives, as a disciple of Béraud, was made aware of his master's work-in-progress.

Scholarly text books and auto-commentary: From the Sapiens to the praelectio (praefatio?) in Sapientem

The earliest known copy of Vives's *Praelectio in Sapientem* that we have is the one in the Lyons *Opera*. This should not rule out, however, that an earlier Parisian booklet, not extant, served as the model for the Lyon edition. G. Tournoy has studied the particularities of this piece in the Lyons *Opera*, and, in particular, the reasons for printing it twice in nearly identical fashion.⁶² It could be that the hesitation to qualify the commentary on the *Sapiens*, *praelectio* or *praefatio*, may be related to the success of Bade's *Orationes, preleciones, praefationes...* (Paris, 1508) of Poliziano, Beroaldo, Barbaro that other printers often copied.

in *Figures de maîtres*, ed. by C. Bonnet, P. Marot, C. Noacco, C. Orfanos (Rennes: Presses Univ. de Rennes, 2013), pp. 201-212.

⁵⁹ See also Fantazzi, 'Vives and the pseudodialecticians', p. 94.

⁶⁰ M. Screech, *Ecstasy and the Praise of Folly* (London: Duckworth & co Ltd, 1980).

⁶¹ On a recent identification of a copy of the *editio princeps* of Lucian (1496), annotated by Béraud in view to his translation, see R. Menini and O. Pédeflous, 'Les marginales de l'amitié. Pierre Lamy et Nicolas Béraud lecteurs de Lucien de Samosate (BnF Rés. Z 247)', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 74 (2012), 35-70.

⁶² Partial fac-simile in G. Tournoy, 'Juan Luis Vives and the World of Printing', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1994), p. 130.

The *praelectio* gives only a few references if one compares with other ones written by Vives, perhaps because he wants to maintain a general tone in line with the theme of the piece. At the beginning of the work Vives gives an ethical turn to his presentation when he refers to Cicero's *Laelius*. G. Tournoy's *Quellenforschung* reveals in the following sections the presence of Persius, a poet whom Bérauld greatly admired and perhaps introduced to Vives.

The practice of auto-commentary needs some explanation. Once again, Poliziano seems to impose himself as the key, the origin of a singular practice. It is well known that, because his own *Silvae* were difficult to understand, Poliziano often had to explain his own texts.⁶³ Like many Parisian students of his time, Vives is an heir of Poliziano.

The teacher of poetry is eager to find a pretext to compile a florilegium of sources⁶⁴: writing *silvae* or other erudite works was a way of putting this into practice. J. Leonhardt⁶⁵ has shown that Eobanus Hessus, for example, lectured on his own *Silvae* in Leipzig (1514). We have absolutely the same case in Paris: a copy of the *Silvae* (s.a., c. 1523) of Nicolas Petit, a writer and teacher of lesser reputation and a former pupil at the Collège de Montaigu more or less in the same years, is kept at the Bibliothèque municipale de Versailles⁶⁶. Still unbound, it is annotated and bears interlinear notes, a clue to ascribe it to a lesson. Unfortunately we have no record of a publication of a *praelectio* by Petit.

Girolamo Aleandro, who came to Paris in 1508, is certainly a key transmitter of Poliziano's theories and practice of *silva* that marked Josse Bade's composite volume mentioned above. Carlo Vecce⁶⁷ has rightly pointed out that Aleandro's debut in Paris was a reenactment of Poliziano's iconoclastic intent when he took his chair in the *studium* of

⁶³ L. Cesarini-Martinelli, 'Poliziano professore allo Studio fiorentino', in *La Toscana al tempo di Lorenzo il Magnifico: politica economia cultura arte: convegno di studi promosso dalle Università di Firenze, Pisa e Siena, 5-9 novembre 1992*, 3 vols (Pisa: Pacini, 1996), II, 463-481; J.-M. Mandosio, 'Un enseignement novateur: Les cours d'Ange Politien à l'université de Florence (1480-1494)', *Histoire de l'éducation*, 120 (2008), 33-54 (pp. 46, 54).

⁶⁴ Cf. J. Lecoq, 'La poésie parmi les arts au XVI^e siècle', in P. Galand-Hallyn and F. Hallyn (ed.), *Poétiques de la Renaissance: le modèle italien, le monde franco-bourguignon et leur héritage en France au XVI^e siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 2001), pp. 53-71.

⁶⁵ J. Leonhardt, 'Classics as Textbooks. A Study of the Humanist Lectures on Cicero at the University of Leipzig, ca. 1515', in *Scholarly Knowledge. Textbooks in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by A. Grafton (Geneva: Droz, 2009), pp. 89-112 (p. 97).

⁶⁶ Versailles, Bibliothèque municipale, fonds A 4° I 17 n.

⁶⁷ Vecce, 'Girolamo Aleandro a Parigi', p. 332.

Florence. Aleandro chose Quintilian and Statius as the Latin authors on whom he first lectured in Paris. Like Chrysoloras had earlier done in Florence, Aleandro also taught Greek to students in Paris.

In the genealogy of the *praelectio*, Aleandro obviously opened up the way to a practice developed by N. Bérauld and, for example, one of his students, Melchior Volmar. Contrary to Jean Letrouit's assertions⁶⁸, and those produced by the first royal lecturers such as Pierre Danès who was a student nearly in the same years as Vives. This is clearly revealed by the convincing portrait given by Jean Irigoin.⁶⁹ Given what we now know of Vives's concerns, we cannot rule out the possibility that he was present for some of Aleandro's Latin and Greek lectures. Nor can we know for sure that 'Vives certainly knew Aleandro at Louvain', as J. IJsewijn conjectured.⁷⁰ But we do agree with the opinion of González⁷¹ that G. E. McCully, the editor of Vives's earliest known letter to Aleandro (1522), underestimated the extent of the relations between Vives and Aleandro. González has also conclusively demonstrated that Vives followed Berauld's practice of the *praelectio* when he moved to the Low Countries, as evidenced by his *praelectio* to Virgil's *Georgics* in 1518.

* * *

With a focus on this small sophisticated dialogue that has recently surfaced again in its original simplicity, we have tried to capture, to frame the evanescent quality of a classroom piece to be read with the companion *praelectio*. The details of the booklet certainly indicate that it was to be used as an academic exercise. This microscopic study of the work also opens another window on its author Juan Luis Vives as a discrete member of the Parisian 'generation of 1512'.⁷²

⁶⁸ J. Letrouit, 'La prise de notes de cours dans les collèges parisiens au XVI^e siècle', *Revue de la bibliothèque nationale de France*, 2 (1999), 47-56.

⁶⁹ J. Irigoin, 'L'enseignement du grec à Paris (1476-1530). Manuels et textes', in *Les Origines du Collège de France*, ed. by M. Fumaroli (Paris: Collège de France - Klincksieck, 1998), pp. 398-404.

⁷⁰ IJsewijn, 'Vives in 1512-1517', p. 86 n. 13.

⁷¹ González, *Joan Lluís Vives*, p. 139 n. 57. In his *Epistola de ratione studii puerilis* (1523) Vives recommended that Charles Blount, lord Mountjoy, read Aleander's *Tabellae*; see *I.L. Vives Opera...*, 2 vols (Basel, 1555), I, 11.

⁷² Nicole Lemaître, 'Génération 1512. Pour une étude des élites graduées parisiennes', in *De l'histoire de la Brie à l'histoire des réformes. Mélanges offerts au chanoine Michel Veissière*, ed. by M. Bardon, G.-R. Delahaye, J. Jacquart, N. Lemaître (Paris: Fédération des Sociétés historiques et archéologiques d'Ile-de-France, 1993), pp. 29-47.

Not everything is clear in the dossier: certain parts of Vives's fiction and its allusions remain unclear. The presence of the word *philosophus* in the title of another Parisian publication by Vives, however, confirms M. de Schepper's assumption that it was not something imported from Lyons.⁷³ But what does it mean? Is it a clue to a change of status in Vives's academic life? We can only conjecture; but we hope that these *vivica opuscula* will emerge from its Atlantis-like seclusion to give us a better glimpse into the arcane facets of the fascinating world of early sixteenth-century university life in Paris.

II. Critical edition of the *Sapiens* and the *Praefatio* with commentary

In this edition, the general principles outlined for the series *Select Works of J.L. Vives* and enunciated in vol. I, pp. ix-x, have been followed.

Thus this edition is based on the 1514 Lyons edition, which presents the text of the Dialogue and of the *Praefatio* in the form ultimately preferred by the author; the *apparatus criticus* provides the variant readings of the first edition (Paris) — for the Dialogue — or of the first version of the *Praefatio* — and of the later ones.

Indeed, the *Praefatio* does not appear in the Paris edition. On the other hand, it appears twice in the 1514 Lyons edition. Here, strangely, it was not printed directly before the Dialogue itself, but immediately before the preface to the *Christi Triumphus*, on fols. B.iiii^v - B.v^r. Still more strange is the fact that a slightly reworked version appears on the verso side of the title-page (fol. A.i^v). One can easily infer that Vives sent from Paris a (stylistically) improved version to Lyons, asking that it be substituted for the original text. But the printing process was too far advanced, and the printer preferred to condense it into just one page and put it at the very beginning of the booklet.⁷⁴ Thus I consider that version to be the text preferred by the author; the *apparatus criticus* provides the variant readings of the original text as found on fols. B.iiii^v - B.v^r and in the later editions.

⁷³ De Schepper, 'April in Paris'.

⁷⁴ See already Tournoy, 'Juan Luis Vives and the World of Printing', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, especially pp. 130-131, with photographs of the double introduction.

The sigla used in the *apparatus criticus* are the following:

P = editio Parisiensis, Gilles de Gourmont, s.a. (Dialogue only).

H = editio Lugdunensis: Vives, *Opera*, ... Impressa in inclyta urbe Lugdunensi opera et impensis Magistri Guilhelmi Huyon. Anno domini M.ccccccxiij die vero xix mensis Octobris), fol. A.i^v (*Praefatio*) and Dialogue (ff. D.iii^v - D.vii^v).

H¹ = editio Lugdunensis, ff. B.iii^v - B.v^r (*Praefatio*).

B = editio Basileensis: Vives, *Opera omnia*, Basileae, per Nic. Episcopium iuniorem, anno 1555 (I, 296- 297) (*Praefatio*) and Dialogue (I, 297-300).

V = editio Valentina: Vives, *Opera omnia*, cura Greg. Maiansii edita. Valentiae Edetanorum, 1782-1790 (IV, 20-21) (*Praefatio*) and Dialogue (IV, 22-30).

For the sake of clarity and consistency, I have silently expanded all paleographical abbreviations and distinguished between u and v. Punctuation and capitalization have been modernized. Signs or accents on Latin words have been disregarded. The orthography follows the system of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. In referring to classical authors and their works I have followed the system of abbreviations adopted by the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* ... *Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum ex quibus exempla afferuntur*. Editio altera (Leipzig: Teubner, 1990). In order to facilitate later references, paragraphs and line numbers have been introduced.

Finally, in this edition of the Dialogue all participants are indicated in italics and in a single consistent form, as follows:

<i>Beral.</i> = Nicolaus Beraldus	(in the editions: Be., Bera., Beral.)
<i>Vives</i> = Ioannes Lodovicus Vives	(Vi., Viv., Vives)
<i>Lax</i> = Gaspar Lax	(Ga., Gas., Gasp., Gaspar, Lax)
<i>Gram.</i> = Grammaticus	(Gr., Gram., Gramma.)
<i>Puer</i> = Puer	(Pu., Puer)
<i>Poeta</i> = Poeta	(Poeta)
<i>Dialect.</i> = Dialecticus	(Dialec., Dialect.)
<i>Physicus</i> = Physicus	(Phys., Physicus)
<i>Philos.</i> = Philosophus	(Ph., Phi., Philos.)
<i>Rhetor.</i> = Rhetoristes	(Rhe., Rhetor.)
<i>Astrol.</i> = Astrologus	(Astro., Astrol., Astrologus)
<i>Theol.</i> = Theologus	(Th., Theo., Theol.)

Ioannis Lodovici Vivis in suum Sapientem Praefatio

1. Omnes qui de corruptis hominum moribus scribunt quique illos quoquo modo notant, eo fine illorum habent rationem, ut ab iis qui sunt, emendentur, vitentur a minoribus. Sanctus est hic zelus virtutis, et severis hominibus concessus in primis. Hinc lingua philosophis olim libera, et
 5 ipsi habiti graviores atque severi, quasi verum sequentes.
2. Quare mihi de humana vita multo plus benemeriti satyrici videntur quam panegyrici, ut illi apud Catonem Ciceronianum inimici quam ii amici qui dulces videantur: illi enim saepe vera dicunt, hi numquam. Ad hoc, qui hominum vitia quovis modo subticent, nihil ad se de humano
 10 genere putant, ipsi forsitan rectius, cum perspiciant nihilum valere veritatem, voluptatem posse plurimum, animum esse nullum.
3. Si quis sapientiam quaerat vel mentem, inveniatur potius sensus torporem et partus intellectus abortivos atque monstrosos. Nihilo secius tamen insurgendum erat validius in has labes, ne serperent fortiores;
 15 cumque a beluino victu deterriti mortales essent ingenio studentes, relicto sensu, aditus pateret ad eam (qua nihil est in Deo pulchrius) sapientiam, quae vel soli comparata invenitur prior.
4. 'Sapientia prima est', inquit Horatius, 'stultitia caruisse.' Quid putamus fuerit in causa, ut Athenis tot sapientes, ut fuerint tot Romae, ut tot
 20 in Christiana religione, ut hac tempestate tam pauci vel nullus? Nempe quod licebat in liberis civitatibus liberas esse linguas, quae prava quasi discernerent ac dilaniarent.
5. Licebat in exordio crescentis Ecclesiae sedulo peccantes increpare, et quos Dei timor non reddebat meliores, verecundia mundi (quantulumcumque id esset) retrahebat. Atqui habet nostra aetas palpones et Gna-
 25 thones egregios, qui blandis adulationibus facinora foveant. Quis haec non increpat? Sed quis non facit? Idque adeo, ut sint ipsi primi qui deberent Lucilii genuinum experiri.

Tit. Ioannis ... Praefatio **H**: Eiusdem (Eiudem **H**¹) Ioannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini in suum sapientem Praelectio, quam prooemium (proemium **H**¹) fore opusculi iubet **H**¹**BV** 1. Omnes **H**: Cuncti **H**¹**BV** 1-2. quoquo **HH**¹**B**: quoque **V** 3. minoribus **H**: iunioribus **H**¹**BV** 14. validius **HBV**: validus **H**¹ 16. nihil est in Deo **HBV**: nihil in deo est **H**¹ sapientiam **V**: sapientia **HH**¹**B** 17. vel soli **HBV**: soli **H**¹ 20. nullus **HBV**: nullius **H**¹ 24. Dei timor **H**: timor Dei **H**¹**BV** 27. ipsi primi **HH**¹: primi **BV** 28. genuinum **BV**: lucillii ge(n)uiuu(m) **H**, Lucilii genuiuu(m) **H**¹

6. Accedit huc, quod qui magistri veritatis et sapientiae erant aliis tam-
 30 quam exemplar quoddam ac lucerna propositi, mendacia, nugas, mera
 deliramenta secuti, immensas tenebras induxerunt. Quo factum est, ut
 umbras fore vera corpora crediderint, et si quis se solidum vidisse corpus
 asseruerit, habitus fuerit derisui.
7. Quamobrem nunc eos ludentes attingamus experiamurque in utram id
 35 referent partem. Nam si et boni consuluerint et vitam dementiis reddide-
 rint tersiorem, monitorem me non indigebunt, nec talem me ipse haud
 requisitus obferam; sin parum hisce pauculis nos senserimus profecisse,
 aperiemus omnem eorum vitam, faciemus omnibus omnium vanitates
 longiore sermone perquam notas, quando etiamnum ab hoc munere
 40 minime constitui desistere, quoad vel vicero vel obpetiero. Vale.

Commentary

7. **illi apud Catonem Ciceronianum**: cf. Cic. *Lael.* 90: 'Scitum enim est illud Catonis, ut multa: "Melius de quibusdam acerbos inimicos mereri, quam eos amicos, qui dulces videantur; illos verum saepe dicere, hos numquam".'

18. **Sapientia prima**: cf. Hor. *epist.* 1, 1, 41-42: 'virtus est vitium fugere, et sapientia prima | stultitia caruisse.'

25. **palpones**: rare term, occurring in Pers. 5, 176.

25-26. **Gnathones**: Gnatho was the name of a parasite in the *Eunuchus* of Terence, which in consequence was used for a parasite in general, as in Cic. *Lael.* 93.

28. **Lucilii genuinum**: cf. Pers. 1, 114-115: 'Secuit Lucilius Urbem | te, Lupe, te, Muci, et genuinum fregit in illis.'

32. corpora **HBV**: copora **H¹** 33. fuerit **HBV**: fuerat **H¹** 34. experiamurque
HBV: experiamusque **H¹** 37. Sin parum hisce **HBV**: Sui parum hiiisce **H¹**
 39. etiamnum **HBV**: etiam non **H¹** 40. Vale **HBV**: deest in **H¹**

Ioannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini, viri philosophi, urbanus pariter ac gravis dialogus, qui *SAPIENS* inscribitur: in quo sapientem per omnes disciplinas disquirens, professorum earum mores notat, denique veram sapientiam brevi sermone depingit.

NICOLAUS BERALDUS GASPAR LAX VIVES

1. *Beral.* Audivi saepius Lodovicum Vivem Hispanum de viro sapiente (ut est rei philosophicae et summus quidem admirator) graviter multa disserentem, adicereque malle se vel medio quodammodo fieri sapientem quam mortalium omnium longe ditissimum. Felix homo, mea sententia, si persistit in eo appetitu, et dignus qui tum σοφός cum πλούσιος fiat. Sed eccum huc ad nos venientem illum; ego iam interrogabo invenitne sapientem. Lodovice mi, salve!
2. *Vives* Et tu, Beralde, sis salvus!
- Beral.* Accepi te sapientem invenisse eundem consummatissimum.
- 10 *Vives* Quam vel tu mecum vis tantisper iocari vel tibi si quis dixit mihi illudere, non secus ac si gelidos ignes aut beluas versas in homines asseruisset: rari sunt, mi Beralde, rari vel nulli; quod magis credo.
- Beral.* Atqui facile fuit in tanto bonarum litterarum gymnasio complures invenire, si quaesiisses. Nam et sunt cyclicis disciplinis absoluti, in quibus sophiae thesaurus est abstrusus.
- 15 *Vives* Si tu eum mihi digito indicares qui cyclopaediam absolvisset, non diffiterer inventurum me virum, qualem semper optavi.
3. *Beral.* Vis, quando sumus feriati, per haec ipsa gymnasia disquirentes tuum hominem vestigemus? Et tertius nobis Gaspar Lax aderit, quem
- 20 ausim (nisi vereor ne me amore moveri dicas) ad hanc sapientiam accedere plurimum affirmare. Quis enim eo, ut cetera taceam, aequius fert casus humanos, quem video eodem vultu in prosperis et adversis rebus perstare? Verum adventantem salutemus.
4. *Beral.-Vives* Salve, noster Gaspar!
- 25 *Lax* Et vos avete! Quid tractatis et quo tenditis?
- Beral.* Scis quantopere hic Vives desideret sapientem, quem se habiturum arbitratur, si vir exstet, qui disciplinarum circulum quam optime calleat.

1. *Beral. V: deest in PHB* 7. Lodovice *HB: Ludovice P, Ludovici V* 14. invenire si quaesiisses *HBV: offendere si quaesiisses P* 22. casus *HBV: casus P* prosperis *HBV: prorsperis P* 23. adventantem *HLBV: adnentantem P* 24. *Beral.-Vives scripsi: Ber. Vives H, Be. Vi P, Beral. Vi V, Beral et Vives V*

- Eum nos investigaturi vadimus, remque nobis gratissimam spero feceris, si te nostri ducem exhibueris, utpote vir quovis honore dignus.
- 30 **5.** *Lax* Vos minime ducam, sed comitabor. Quare, verbis relictis, eamus! Placet primum hunc Grammaticum interrogemus? Nam non abs re docti viri plerique nomine hoc contenti vixere.
Vives Ne a nobis quicquam hinc quaeras, quin potius quemlibet examinato.
- 35 *Lax* Salvus sis, vir bone, gravis et omniscie, et dignus qui a ceteris omnibus colare!
Gram. Χαῖρε, ὃ ἄνθρωπε!
Vives Quid, mi Beralde, dixit? Nam et magnis titulis et invidiosis est eum noster Gaspar aggressus. Novit enim hominum ingenium facile captantium praefationes sublimes.
40 *Beral.* Atqui ille “Ave, homo!” respondit.
Vives Vide qua Stoica severitate!
- 6.** *Lax* De rebus tuis litterariis, inquam, paululum coram nobis, precamur, agas, nobilis magister, si vacat et si vis.
- 45 *Gram.* Vacat certe; ceterum petitis rem arduam, quam etiam non recusabo pro mea miti natura et facili; non enim sum ut vos philosophi inexorabiles. Dic, puer, in quo anni mense Vergilius mortuus est?
Puer In Septembri, mi magister.
Gram. Ubi terrarum?
- 50 *Puer* Brundusii.
Gram. Quoto Septembris die?
Puer Nono Kalendis.
- 7.** *Gram.* Tu me, nugator, coram his bonis viris dedecorum reddis? Ferulam tu mihi affer, tunicam sustine, extende palmam, pessime! Tu
55 nono Kalendis pro decimo et coram me dicis! Responde tu mihi sequens (Audite, obsecro, viri, scitulum adolescentulum): Sallustius in principio Catilinae coniurationis ‘omneis homines’ an ‘omnes homines’ scripto reliquit?
Puer Sunt in hac sententia cuncti ut ‘omneis’ dixerit; ego vero ‘omnes’
60 forte scripsisse censeo, ac ‘omneis’ contra morem calcographorum per ‘ei’, non ‘i’ solum exarandum esse.

30-31. eamus! Placet primum *scripsi*: eamus placet primum **P**, eamus placet: primum **BV**, eamus placet plurimum **H** 37. Χαῖρε ὃ ἄνθρωπε **B**: Χέρεω αντροπος **PH**, Χαῖρε ὃ αὔθρωπε **V** 46. pro mea miti natura et facili **P**: pro me amitti natura et facili **H**, pro me amitti, natura facilis **B**, pro mea mitti natura, facilis **V** 53. dedecorum **HBV**: dedecorem **P**

8. *Gram.* Quis vocabatur Remi frater, et quam erat barbatus?
Puer Alii dicunt, mi magister, eum vocatum Romulum, alii Romum; inde Roma; sed blandimenti gratia Romulum diminutive postea appellatum.
- 65 In bello vero barbam nullam habebat, in toga prolixam habebat. Sic enim pingitur in Titus Livius Venetiis impressis.
Gram. Quomodo surrexit Alexander, cum primum in terram Asiam cecidit?
Puer Manibus innixus et elato capite.
- 70 9. *Lax* Quid hoc litteratore stultius? Hic, Vives, sapientiam ne expecta! Dispereas, nebulo, qui sic tenellos dedoceas. Verum hunc Poetam videamus. Fuit namque, ut tradunt Horatius et Strabo, poesis prima olim sapientia.
Poeta Venus et Mars a Diomede bello Troiano graviter saucii fuere, adiuvante Pallade, qui postea in adulterio a claudio Vulcano comprehensi colligati fuere. Venus cum Proserpina ad Iovis iudicium venire, utri Adonis concederetur. Quibus data iudex Calliope dimidiatum annum censuit frui illo Venerem, dimidiatum Proserpinam. Lycaon cum Iovis potentiam vult experiri, in lupum convertitur, Arcade postea inter stellas translato et vocato Arctophylace. Haec est poetarum sacra theologia, ob quam recte nos Ennius sanctos apud Ciceronem appellavit.
- 80 10. *Lax* Quid hoc poeta vanius? Et videtis quam sedulo palpebras agitet: animi mobilitate, credo, laborat. Vocem eum poetum, non poetam! Atque utinam haec fabularum studia minuerentur, ne tam
85 valida pestis tantum ut videtis serperet, ubi nihil invenies veri, omnia profana, humana divinis commixta. Quoniam ad id, ob quod poesis hominibus data est, eam convertimus, ad Deum scilicet Deique opera efferenda, ad illa quo plus homines alliciantur quam dulcissime canenda, quomodo hominem, quem quaeris, invenies? Valeat igitur hic daemonis
90 consanguineus, qui loqui nescit, ni mentiatur. Nostros iam dialecticos audiamus. Nam quod vera discernant a falsis, in eis hominem sophon, suspicor, invenies.
11. *Dialect.* Sint asini duo, homines duo, et angeli tres. Ex unius asini medietate cum alterius asini medietate tertius asinus fiat. Duo angeli cum
95 homine uno binarium unum illorum asinorum possideant, utpote primum

70. sapientiam **BV**: sapientia **P**86. commixta **HBV**: commista **P**90. mentiatur **PHV**: metiatur **B**mediate **BV**74. a Diomede **P**: et Diomede **H**, ex Diomede **BV**86-88. Quoniam ... canenda **HBV**: deest in **P**91. sophon **PH** σοφόν **BV**94. medietate **PH**:

cum tertio copulativam, et copulative alteri angeli duo cum altero homine secundum binarium asinorum: tunc tibi copulativam probabo possibilem et impossibilem de forma et de forma acceptionis terminorum.

12. *Lax* Hui, quis nisi mathematicus vel Chaldaeus ea scivisset, ut sunt,
100 coacervare? Quare ego mihi logica videor scripsisse, hi tractant divinationem. O stolidi capita, et eo magis quod cum eam rem tamquam futilem prorsus omnes verbis aspernentur, omnes eam complectuntur. Vidi ego tempore meo disserentes fere cunctos de vera dialectica, enuntiationibus perquam brevibus utentes, et quibus facile respondentem (ni esset
105 impense doctus) capiebant; nunc bonam logicam oblitteratam, haudquamquam intelligibiles enuntiationes in exercitamentis volitare, artem divinandi quaeri. Idcirco illius aevi laureatos *in artes* magistros appello, huius vero magistros *inertes*.

13. At conferamus nos, si lubet, ad physicos. Salvete, rerum naturae
110 indagatores! Sciscitatos velim vos, si minus displicet, quonam modo et adipiscatur et augeatur sapientia.

Physicus Est qui sapientiam acquiri dicat per additamenta graduum ad gradus, praecedentibus subsistentibus semper. Est qui dicat in quovis puncto acquisitionis novam generari, destrui priores omnes. Est qui dicat
115 per minorem cum contrario admixtionem, est qui per maiorem radicacionem in subiecto.

14. *Vives* Gaudeo summopere, et credo invenimus tum omniscium hominem, tum sapientem. Verum haec, doctissime philosophe, exemplis, obsecro, expone.

120 *Philos.* Cum de calore vel albedine declaravero, brevi de sapientia intelliges. Accipiamus igitur pedalem materiam, quam volo divisam in partes proportionales, proportionem multiplici sesquitercia. Prima pars proportionalis sit aliquantum calida vel alba, secunda in octuplo vel albior vel calidior, tertia in millecuplo, quarta in sesquialtero, et aliae omnes in
125 proportionem ad primam super quadripartienti. Hic iam considerare operae pretium est quam calida sit ea tota materia.

15. *Vives* Monstra haec sunt, non disciplinae nec sapientia; eo dementiae iam sapientiae philosophia mater venit? Sperabam me ab hoc philosophastro aliquid sophiae reportaturum, sed nihil, ut video, nisi calorem ingentem, si permansero, et aestum; ad haec, si vertit manum, gelu rigidissimum. Quis sapientiam et bonas scientias a tanto calore, a tanto albore, a tantis partibus proportionabilibus petet?

100. coacervare **PH**: coacervata **BV** 102. ego **P**: eo **HBV** 118. philosophe **PBV**: philosophae **H** 128-129. philosophastro **BV**: philosophrasto **PH**

16. Sed qui fratrem habeo subnigrum, de albore saltem, ne discedam hinc vacuus, sciscitabor. Heus tu, philosophe, quonammodo albedo inducitur?

135 *Philos.* Ab agente per additionem gradus ad gradum.

Vives A quo porro agente?

Philos. Ab agente naturali. Quid scio? Ab a vel b. Voca ut volueris.

Vives A, a, a, abecedarium me docet, ac si ego nescirem! Pro albedine dat mihi litteras. Abeat in malam rem et his gerris suos congerrones participes faciat, non me! Ah! verum id esse nunc experior, quod amicis dictitare solebam, Parisienses philosophos omnem philosophiam interdentes, labra et linguam habere, in mente vero nullam.

17. *Lax* Est iam illic Rhetoristes quidam, qui quartum Rhetoricorum ad Herennium et affectuum artem tradit. Eum nos oratorem conveniamus.

145 *Vives* Non est qualem Cicero et Quintilianus oratorem volunt. Qui si esset, mirabili quadam ornaretur sapientia. Ipsam vero eius provinciam ego quandoque, ut scitis, assumpseram profitebarque me daturum illis brevi artem omnium affectuum movendorum, quam opinabar me perbelle habere. Sed deus bone! quam eram falsus! Aiebam me illos doc-
150 turum uti sibi gratiam et benevolentiam compararent, quam ab illis nequivi umquam adipisci. Meorum enim laborum cum mercedem postulare, ac si telo illos cecidissem, omnes fugerunt. Sed quid obstat ne hunc audiamus?

18. *Rhetor.* Docebam in quodam gymnasio adolescentes plerosque auditorio publico hanc artem. Erat et mecum idiota quidam nugator et prorsus inscius. Persuasit illis mox se esse exactissimum rhetorem; ego vero me aliquantulum doctum esse numquam potui persuadere itaque nihil illic lucrifeci. Vos vero ubi videtis doctrinam meam, bonis stipendiis me donate.

160 *Lax* Ha ha! adolescentibus, quos vocat dementes, amentior se esse doctum non potuit persuadere, in quo minimae quaeque apparentiae sufficiunt, et persuadebit uti sibi pecunias hi pauperculi dent! A divitibus et opulentis hominibus quanto labore vix unus accipit, qui certe abundant, et nonnumquam manticularium agere oportet. Et ab istis egenis extorque-
165 bit? Nam divites et nummatis adolescentes (videte quam bene monet)

141. Parisienses: Parrhysien(ses) **PH**, Parrhysienseis **B**, Parisienseis **V** 152. cecidissem: caecidissem **BV**, caedissem **PH** 154-155. Docebam in quodam gymnasio adolescentes plerosque auditorio publico hanc artem. Erat **HBV**: Nusquam ego tam stolidos vidi homines ut in Germania. Eram illic publicus huiuscae (!) artis professor. Erat **P** 160 Ha, ha adolescentibus **HBV**: Ha ha Germanis **P** 161. minimae **V**: minime **HB**, minine **P**

non potuit in sua lectione detinere. Sciat prius igitur affectus ciere, postea doceat. Propterea in isto, qui se non noscit, desiderandam esse sapientiam minus censeo.

170 **19.** Verum illic astrorum est peritus quidam, quem alloquamur. Salve, prognosticator veracissime!

Astrol. Veracior certe illis, quas fingunt hi poetae, Sibyllis et responsis deorum, et vobis sit Capricornus cum Iove in ascendente princeps viarumstrarum. Quid vultis?

Lax In caelis tuis, vir scientissime, invenistin' sapientiam? Habemus hic
175 quendam Vivem, qui mirabile dictu est, cum tam parum de illa gustarit, quam eius dulcore teneatur atque ita ut exsatiari nulla possit.

Astrol. Mercurium plures antiqui sapientem tradiderunt; solem itidem, quem ideo animum mentemque mundi appellarunt. Sed illa lego, non speculabor. At dabo vobis signum in quo facillime nancisci sapientiam

180 queatis.

20. *Vives* O beatum qui id scias! Non iniuria vos felices Vergilius et Ovidius appellarunt.

Astrol. Cum luna et caput draconis Iovi coniungitur, quidlibet petas licet a Deo consequere, petas divitias, petas sapientiam, petas celebres nuptias.

185 *Lax* Si dedecorum mihi non esset, quam te nunc domi tuae caederem multis! Haec populo mendacia audes venditare ut vel teruncium habeas! Cur illa hora non precare fieri locupletior, ne toties mentiri te cogat egestas?

21. *Vives* Mathematicos visamus, si tibi est cordi, Gaspar mi magister; eos certe qui geometriam, qui arithmetice(n), qui musicen, qui astronomiam, qui perspectivam callent.

Lax Mathematici, mi fili, pro nemine Parisiis verificantur.

Vives In tanto Studio tam bonae scientiae non sunt cognitae, in quibus cum primis versari deberent?

195 *Lax* Deberent quidem, sed nec omnia faciunt, quae debent. Tenentur illas universitatis praecepto audire, sed novus abusus antiquum usum expulit; qui nisi antiquetur, non video cur iure docti viri Parisienses nominari possint. Satis tamen legi facere putant ubi de punctis, lineis, superficiebus cavillatorie disputant, sintne haec divisibilia an indivisibilia. Sed de iuris
200 consultis quid?

168. minus **HBV**: munus **P** 172-173. viarumstrarum **PH**: viarum **BV** 176. exsatiari **BV**: exasciari **PH** 184. a Deo **BV**: adeo **PH** 185. quam te **V**: qua(m)te **P**, quante **H**, quantae **B** caederem **PHV**: cederem **B** 190. arithmetice(n) ... musicen *scripsi*: Arithmetice(n) ... Musicen **PB**, Arithmetice(n) ... Musicem **H**, Arithmetice(n) Musicem **V** 192. verificantur **BV**: verificatur **PH** 198. punctis **PBV**: puncti **H**

22. Beral. Sunt olim sane sapientes et vocati et habiti, nunc vero versutissimi et fraudulentissimi, quorum calliditate nulla lex non est corrupta. Quotae cuiusque legis, Deus bone, integer exstat sensus!

23. Vives Atqui medicos accepi priscis temporibus iudicatos sapientes.

205 **Lax** Nunc vero illos nihilo a carnifice differre aiunt, quibus impune occidere et stipem, cum necaverint, recipere et licere et oportere. Sed ne spera cum illis posse disserere, qui tot negotiis impliciti vix sibi umquam sufficiunt.

Reliquum est ut gravem quendam theologum in clivo illo eremitae, id est
210 solitarii, vitam ducentem adeamus. Custos sit tui Omnipotens, gravis pater, et cum in tentationem fueris adductus, sit ipse tecum ne decidas.

24. Theol. Et pedes vestros, filii mei, deducat angelus bonus Domini per vias, quae placent Altissimo. Dominus mihi vobiscum videtur venire, tribus in nomine Illius, sicut spero, congregatis.

215 **Lax** Quid de sapientia sentias obtestamur, bone pater, nobis aperias ut gratia Paracleti replearis.

Theol. Nonne recte ego vos dixi in nomine Domini congregatos, qui sapientiam, id est, Dei filium quaeritis? De qua, siquidem nox appetit, haec breviter sentio.

220 **25.** Est ea, si quis quoquam modo illam attingere potest, omni thesauro, omnibus aliis bonis praestantior; quam non emit crumena nummis referta, nec vendit mollis et blanda illa eloquentia, sed timor Domini et mens sibi recti conscia. Initium sapientiae (inquiunt sapientissimi Pater et Filius) est timor Domini; ceterum magnum dat illi incrementum Dei et hominum
225 vera caritas, quae illam fovet in perfectionem, quam certe tum adipiscimur cum veram sapientiam Dei filium intuemur, et cognoscimus ut cogniti sumus. Non est itaque in cura et cremento rei familiaris, ut plerique credunt, sita, sed in animorum prima compositione.

26. Ideoque et Apollo cum interrogaretur quis esset sapiens, non 'dives'
230 respondit, sed 'Socrates', cui erat exigua suppellex, animus vero ingens et ornatissimus. Quin potius cum in lucri et ceterarum rerum cupiditates incidimus, curis cordis edacibus et Furiis agitati dementes reddimur ac furiosi. Anima enim quiescens, ait Aristoteles, id est affectuum turbinibus vacans, non corpus sedens sapientior fit atque prudentior, usque adeo ut
235 nullam circa res mundi credam esse sapientiam, sed eam mundi sapientiam, quae corrumpitur, quam perdet Deus cum eius sapientibus, quaeque

206. necaverint **PV**: necaverit **HB** 216. paracleti: **HBV**, parecleti **P** 218. Dei filium **PBV**: Dei filium dei **H** 229. Apollo **BV**: Appollo **PH** 233-234. furiosi. Anima... usque adeo ut **HBV**: furiosi, atque adeo ut **P**

apud Deum stultitia est; animos vero, in quibus et circa quos versatur sapientia, res quasdam ultramundanas cum illo Socrate appello.

27. *Vives* Affectus autem, mi pater, quam habes moderatos?

- 240 *Theol.* Deum in primis hic secedens a gentium frequentia etiam inglorius timeo; quem qui timet quomodo mala potes imaginari faciet? Nulli irascor, nulli invideo, opes non quaero, cui olus et aqua sufficit, et cum parcellissimo utar cibo, in luxuriam non exardesco. Non inaniter laetor, quem Dei timor complexus est, gaudeo vero in Dei timore; neminem odio prosequor, qui Deum et homines omnes diligo, in quo augetur mihi sapientia. Hanc idcirco vitam agens intinxisse in sapientia intellectum mihi videor habereque quasi embamma quoddam. Nam furor est perfectam optare, quam nulli mortalium datam contigisse credo.

28. Haec habui, quae de sapientia brevibus nunc dicerem, disserturus
250 plura si me saepius viseritis. Vos autem interim moneo ut, dimissis mundi reculis momentaneis et voce quadam instabilissimae plebeculae, hanc sequi toto animo conemini; quod si facere studueritis, hominibus Deoque Optimo Maximo eritis perquam cari. Valete.

Commentary

5. **qui tum σοφός cum πλούσιος**: cp. Cic. *Parad.* 42: 'ὅτι μόνος ὁ σοφὸς πλούσιος. Quod solus sapiens dives.'

8. **Beralde**: Nicolaus Beralde = Nicolas Bérauld. On him see now the entry by Perrine Galand-Hallyn in *Cent une figures humanistes de la Renaissance aux Lumières à la mémoire de Marie-Madeleine de la Garanderie*, réunies par Colette Nativel. Avec la collaboration de Catherine Magnien, Pierre Maréchaux et Isabelle Pantin, *Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 414 (Genève: Droz, 2006), pp. 71-78.

14. **cyclicis disciplinis**: cp. Mart. Cap. 9, 998: 'Haec (= Satura)... immiscuit | Musas deosque, disciplinas cyclicas | garrere agresti cruda finxit plasmate.'

16. **cyclopaediam**: Vives uses the Greek form (but with the circumflexus) in his sketch of the history of philosophy of 1518, the *De initiis, sectis et laudibus philosophiae*; see the critical edition by Constant Matheeußen in Vives, *Early Writings*, pp. 1-57 (pp. 32-34: 'Quae tres artes simul cum reliquis illis de quibus paulo antea sumus locuti, conficiunt illum quem Graeci dicunt τὸν παιδείων κύκλον, unde illa est nobilis κυκλοπαιδεία.'

The term κυκλοπαιδία (without accent) occurs for the first time in the edition of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* by Raphael Regius (Venice, 1493), and appeared already in 1503

237. apud Deum **PH**: ad Deum **BV** 240. a gentium **BV**: agentium **PH** 249. brevibus **HBV**: brevibus **P** 253. *In fine add.* **P**: Germani tamen nobis ne succenseant, quos minime stolidos, quin potius oppido quam sapientes iudicamus, quando eos a demente, non a cordato viro dementes dictos inducimus; ceteri quos conscientia premit, quantumlibet exardescant.

in the title of a book by Gregor Reisch: *Margarita philosophica, hoc est ... perfectissima κυκλοπαίδεια* (Freiburg, 1503). It was used along with the term 'encyclopaedia', which eventually superseded it. This second term was mistakenly printed for ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν in the editio princeps of Quintilian by Giovannantonio Campano (Rome, 1470): 'ut efficiatur orbis ille doctrinarum, quem Graeci ἐγκυκλοπαιδείαν vocant' (*inst.* 1, 10, 1); the Latin transliteration originated in humanistic circles around Ermolao Barbaro and Angelo Poliziano at the end of the fifteenth century. It is to be found for the first time in Barbaro's edition of Pliny's *Naturalis historia* (Venice, 1497). See Jürgen Hennigsen, "Enzyklopädie". Zur Sprach- und Bedeutungsgeschichte eines pädagogischen Begriffs', *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte*, 10 (1966), 271-362; Ulrich Dierse, *Enzyklopädie. Zur Geschichte eines philosophischen und wissenschaftstheoretischen Begriffs*, *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte*. Supplementheft, 2 (Bonn, 1977).

19. **Gaspar Lax**: Gaspar Lax (1487-1560), was an Aragonese dialectician in Paris who taught Vives; on him see Kretzmann e.a. (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, pp. 789-790 and González y González, *Joan Lluís Vives*, pp. 143-145, 154-159 and *passim*.

45-69. In his *De Tradendis Disciplinis* III, 2 (see V, VI, 304) Vives makes it clear that a teacher should not give importance to mythological trifles, such as: 'Who was Aeneas's real mother?' and similar pedantic questions, exactly the ones the 'Grammaticus' is asking here.

52. **Nono Kalendis**: the use of the ablative instead of the accusative by both the pupil and the teacher confirms that uncertainty concerning dating according to the rules of classical Antiquity was still widespread at the beginning of the sixteenth century; it would remain so for many more decades to come.

53-54. **Ferulam... extende palmam**: cf. *Iuv.* 1, 15: 'Et nos ergo manum ferulae subduximus'. The tradition of the famous 'Orbilius plagosus' of Horace (*epist.* 2, 1, 70-71) remained unchallenged until well into the twentieth century.

54-55. **nono Kalendis pro decimo**: the teacher here does not follow the *Vita* by Aelius Donatus, where one reads (35): 'Brundisium appelleret, ubi paucis diebus obiit XI Kal. Octobr.' (21 September), but the *Vita Donati Aucti*, 51: 'Brundisium adventarit, ubi diebus paucis obiit X Kal. Octobr.'. See Georgius Brugnoli — Fabius Stok (eds.), *Vitae vergilianae antiquae* (Rome, 1997), p. 34 and p. 100.

57. **omneis homines**: *Sall. Catil.* 1, 1. This spelling was discussed in the *Ars grammatica* of Diomedes (see H. Keil, *Grammatici latini*, 8 vols (Leipzig, 1855-1880; repr. Hildesheim 1961 and 1981), I, 305, ll. 25-30).

63. **alii Romum**: cf. Plutarch, *Romulus*, 2, 1: 'Οἱ δὲ Ῥώμον ἐκ Τροίας ὑπὸ Διομήδους ἀποσταλέντα τὸν Ἡμαθίωνος.'

65. **In bello... barbam nullam, in toga prolixam**: The pupil probably confused the information he had read in the life of Theseus, the founder of Athens, with that concerning Romulus, founder of Rome. In *Theseus's Life*, 5, 4 Plutarch indeed writes that the Abantes shaved their beards so that the enemy could not easily hold on to them, and that for the same reason Alexander ordered his generals to have the beards of his Macedonians shaved off. See also (pseudo-) Plutarch, *Apophthegmata* 180B.

66. **Titus Livius Venetiis impressis**: illustrated editions of Livy were published at Venice in 1493, 1495, 1502, 1511 and 1514. In none of these is Romulus represented with a beard. See Max Sander, *Le livre à figures italien depuis 1467 jusqu'à 1530. Essai de bibliographie et de son histoire*, 6 vols (Milan, 1941; reprinted Nendeln, 1969), II, 689-690, nos. 3997-4003). It might be worthy of note, however, that the Latin translation of Theseus's *Vita* in *Plutarchi Vitae* (Venice: Bart. Zanni, 1496) is accompanied by a representation of a fight between the centaur Eurytus and the beardless Theseus, who grasps the hair of the centaur; see Sander, *Le livre à figures italien*, V, ill. no. 179.

67. **surrexit Alexander**: it is unclear where this anecdote derives from.

72. **ut tradunt Horatius et Strabo:** Hor. *ars* 391-401; Strabo, *Geogr.* 3, 2, 12 and 3, 4. 74-75. **Diomede ... adiuvante Pallade:** Hom. *Il.* 5, esp. 800-860.

76-78. **Venus ... Proserpinam:** the muse Calliope was summoned by Zeus to mediate in the quarrel between Venus and Proserpina, who both loved Adonis. She settled the dispute by allowing Adonis to spend summer and spring with Venus, and autumn and winter with Proserpina. The most detailed version is told by Ov. *met.* 10, 519-738.

78-79. **Lycaon ... Arcade:** Lycaon was a mythological king of Arcadia, whose daughter Callisto was seduced by Zeus. Lycaon served up for Zeus the limbs of his own grandson and Zeus's son Arcas. Thereupon Zeus turned him into a wolf. See Ov. *met.* 1, 163-252. Later on Zeus set both Callisto and her son Arcas among the stars (Ursa Maior and Ursa Minor); see Ov. *met.* 2, 401-530, especially 500-507.

81. **Ennius ... apud Ciceronem:** Cic. *Arch.* 18: 'Quare suo iure noster ille Ennius sanctos appellat poetas, quod quasi deorum aliquo dono atque munere commendati nobis esse videantur.'

83-84. **poetum, non poetam:** an untranslatable pun. 'Poetus' means 'with leering eyes'. On Vives's view of poetry, see J. IJsewijn, 'Vives and Poetry', *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 26/3 (1978), 21-34; Id., 'Vives e la poesia', in Carmen Codoñer & Juan Antonio González Iglesias (eds), *Antonio de Nebrija: Edad Media y Renacimiento* (Salamanca, 1994), pp. 469-477. Cp. also Vives, *Veritas Fucata*, §§1 and 13 (ed. Charles Fantazzi in Vives, *Early Writings*, pp. 68 and 80).

93-98. **Sint asini duo... terminorum:** a nonsensical sophism, quoted by C. Fantazzi, 'Vives and the Pseudodialecticians', in *Biblical humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*, ed. Erika Rummel, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, 9 (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2008), pp. 93-114 (p. 94, n. 5).

99. **Chaldaeus:** the Chaldaeans were famous as soothsayers.

108-109. **in artes magistros ... inertes:** another pun: Vives makes a play on the verbal parallels but contrasting senses of the phrases 'magistros in artes' (instead of the normal 'in artibus', – 'master in arts') and 'magistros inertes' – 'artless masters'.

A few years later Vives will dedicate to his former roommate in Paris, Juan Fort, a vehement invective against the Paris dialecticians, his *In Pseudodialecticos*. See Charles Fantazzi, *Juan Luis Vives, In Pseudodialecticos. A Critical Edition. Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 1979).

132. **proportionabilibus:** Since Vives had used the term 'proportionalis' twice before, one is inclined to correct here 'proportionabilibus' into 'proportionalibus'. One should bear in mind, however, that 'proportionabilis' occurs in logical and philosophical writings by mediaeval authors, such as St Bonaventure (ca. 1217-1274), Thomas Aquinas (ca. 1225-1274), Duns Scotus (ca. 1265-1308), John Buridan (ca. 1292-1358); it also occurs in Boethius.

143. **Rhetoristes:** a disparaging term for the usual 'rhetor' or 'orator', which Vives also uses in his *Ad Herennium Praelectio*, §4: 'Oratores..., quos ego rhetoristas et oratorum simios solitus sum appellare'. See the modern edition by Jozef IJsewijn and Angela Fritsen in Vives, *Early Writings*. 2, p. 132.

151-152. **Meorum enim laborum ... fugerunt:** Although Vives in the Paris edition sets the scene in Germany (maybe Louvain?), it is revealing that he recalled an identical reason in his *Praelectio in convivia Philelphi* for having suspended his lecturing on *Ad Herennium* (probably between March 1513 and the summer of 1514). See the modern edition by J. IJsewijn in Vives, *Early Writings*. 2, p. 144: 'Nempe ut intelligatis priore interpretatione, cum non arbitrarer mercedem, quam pollicebantur auditores, meo labori ac arti illi, quam profitebar, respondere, duxisse me satius lectionis filum rumpere quam exiguitate mercedis perterritum nihil quod illis placeret ... in medium afferre'. With that 'prior interpretatio' Vives clearly meant his course on *Ad Herennium*, as IJsewijn has stated *ibid.*, p. 126.

152. **cecidissem**: The form without reduplication ('caedissem'), present in the Paris and Lyons edition, might very well have been the normal form in 15th- and 16th neo-Latin authors. See, for instance, 'credisset' in a poem by Jean Miélot instead of 'credidisset'; cf. Gianni Mombello, 'Quattro poesie latine di Jean Miélot', in *Miscellanea di studi e ricerche sul Quattrocento francese*, ed. Franco Simone (Torino, 1967), pp. 211-240 (p. 235).

177-178. **Mercurium plures antiqui sapientem ... appellarunt**: Cic. *nat.* 3, 56: 'Mercurius ... Aegyptiis leges et litteras tradidisse; hunc Aegyptii Theyt appellant'; Cf. Caes. *Gall.* 6, 17, 1: 'Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt... hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt, hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem'; Macr. *Sat.* 1, 19, 7-9: 'Mercurius sermonem, quod est Musarum munus, impertit. Praeter hoc quoque Mercurium pro sole censeris multa documenta sunt. Primum quod simulacra Mercurii pennatis alis adornantur, quae res monstrat solis velocitatem. Nam quia mentis potentem Mercurium credimus appellatumque ita intellegimus ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρμηνεύειν, et sol mundi mens est, summa est autem velocitas mentis'; Macr. *Sat.* 1, 18, 17: 'mundi autem mentem solem esse opinantur auctores'.

181-182. **Non iniuria vos felices Vergilius et Ovidius appellarunt**: Verg. *georg.* 2, 490-494: 'Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas | atque metus omnis et inexorabile fatum | subiecit pedibus strepitumque Acherontis avari. | Fortunatus et ille, deos qui novit agrestis, | Panaque Silvanumque senem Nymphasque sorores'; Aen. 6, 662-669: 'quique pii vates et Phoebus digna locuti ... dicite, felices animae tuque optime vates'; Vergil also calls the augur Tolumnius 'felix' in Aen. 11, 429; and Ovid does the same with Carmenta, the goddess of prophecy, in Ov., *fast.* 1, 585: 'At felix vates'.

211. **cum in tentationem fueris adductus**: cp. the words of the *Lord's Prayer* (Vulg. *Matth.* 6, 9-13): 'Et ne nos inducas in tentationem': Gaspar Lax starts to use biblical words and expressions, and so does the Theologian.

212-213. **Et pedes vestros, filii mei, deducat angelus bonus Domini per vias**: a combination of biblical terms; see for instance: Vulg. *Ps.* 33, 8: 'Castra ponit angelus Domini'; *Tob.* 10, 11: 'Angelus Domini sanctus sit in itinere vestro'; *Matth.* 2, 13, 19: 'Angelus Domini apparuit in somnis Joseph'; *Luc.* 1, 79: 'ad dirigendos pedes nostros in viam pacis'; *Ps.* 22, 3: 'Deduxit me super semitas iustitiae'; *Sap.* 10, 10: 'iustum deduxit per vias rectas'.

214. **tribus in nomine Illius ... congregatis**: cf. Vulg. *Matth.* 18, 20: 'Ubi enim sunt duo vel tres congregati in nomine meo, ibi sum in medio eorum.'

222-223. **mens sibi recti conscia**: Verg. *Aen.* 1, 604: 'mens sibi conscia recti.' Vives uses this quotation again in his *Christi Iesu Triumphus*; see SWV 2, pp. 64-66.

223-224. **Initium sapientiae ... est timor Domini**: Vulg. *Ps.* 110, 10 and *Sirach.* 1, 16: 'Initium sapientiae timor Domini.'

226-227. **et cognoscimus ut cogniti sumus**: Vulg. *I Cor.* 13, 12: 'Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate; tunc autem facie ad faciem. Nunc cognosco ex parte; tunc autem cognoscam sicut et cognitus sum.' Quoted also by Aug. *civ.* 22, 29.

229. **Apollo cum interrogaretur quis esset sapiens**: cf. Plato, *Apol.*, 21A; Xen. *Apol.* 14-16; Diog. Laert. 2, 46: 'Καὶ σοφὸν εἶπε θεός'; Apul. *De deo Socratis* 17: 'Socrates, vir adprime perfectus et Apollinis quoque testimonio sapiens.'

233. **Anima enim quiescens, ait Aristoteles**: for the idea, see Arist. *Phys.* 7, 3, 247b: 'τῷ γὰρ ἡρεμῆσαι καὶ στήναι τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπιστασθαι καὶ φρονεῖν λέγομεν ... τῷ γὰρ καθίστασθαι τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκ τῆς φυσικῆς ταραχῆς φρόνιμόν τι γίνεται καὶ ἐπιστήμον'; see Aristotele, *Physique*. Texte établi et traduit par Henri Carteron, 2 vols (Paris, 1966), II, 82.

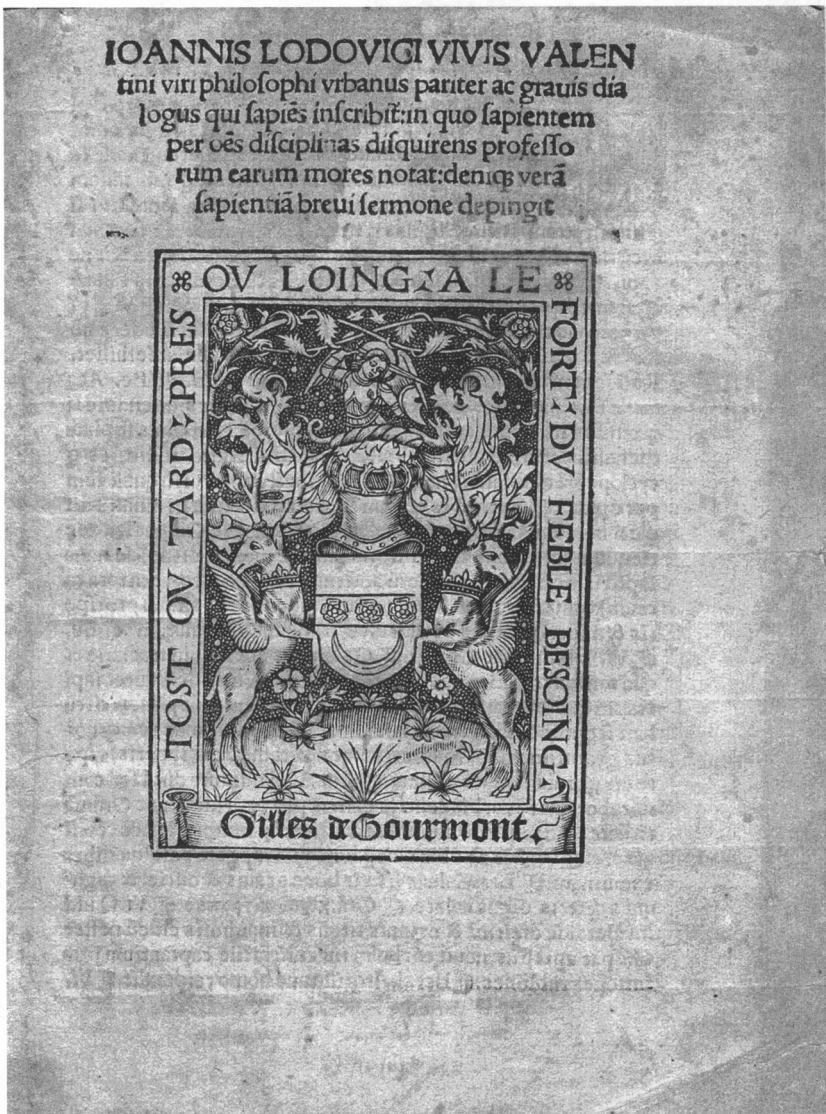
Vives has used a mediaeval Latin translation, where one reads: 'In quiescendo namque et sedendo anima sciens fit et prudens.' See Arist., *Physica*. *Translatio vetus*, edd. Fernand Bossier – Jozef Brams, Aristoteles latinus 7, 1 (Louvain, 1990), p. 267, l. 16; see also Jacqueline Hamesse, *Les Auctoritates Aristotelis. Un florilège médiéval. Etude historique*

et édition critique, 3 vols (Louvain – Paris, 1974), III, 155, no. 189: ‘In quiescendo et cedendo (!), scilicet mundanis, anima fit sciens et prudens.’

238. **Socrate**: Perhaps Vives was thinking of Plato, *Phaedo* 115d = lxiv, where Socrates said concerning the state of his soul after death: ‘ἀλλ’ οἰχίσσομαι ἀπιὼν εἰς μακάρων δῆ τινας εὐδαιμονίας’, or its paraphrase in Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 103.

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Title-page of the edition of the *Sapiens* (Paris: Gilles de Gourmont, [1514])
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Alła BRZOWSKA

ERASMI VITELLII, EPISCOPI PLOCENSIS
ET ORATORIS REGIS POLONIAE, LITTERAE BINAЕ AD
BERNARDINUM CLESIUM NUNC PRIMUM EDITAE

Multa adhuc latent in archivis variorum institutorum. Permulta monumenta, quae novam lucem in historiam proicere possint, nondum edita sunt vel edita parum nota manent. Inter varia manuscripta, quae in Archivo Publico Tridentino servantur, extant epistolae episcopi Plocensis et oratoris regis Poloniae Erasmi Ciołek, qui more humanistarum Vitellius appellabatur, annis 1519 et 1520 ad episcopum Tridentinum Bernardinum Clesium missae.¹ Duae harum epistolarum benevolentia ministrorum praedicti Archivi, cum aliorum tum Pauli Giovannini, nunc primum in lucem prodeunt.² Litterae asservantur sub numero indicis insequentis: *Archivio di Stato di Trento, Archivio del Principato Vescovile, Corrispondenza Clesiana, Busta 4, fasc. B 3*. Prius vero quam epistulas ostendam opus est pauca de ipso Erasmo Vitellio dicere.

Inter senatores et officiales tam spirituales, quam saeculares, qui sexto decimo saeculo in regno Poloniae Magnoque Ducatu Lithuaniae florebant, haud spernendum locum obtinet Erasmus Vitellius. Difficile est vitae curriculum Erasmi describere; multa enim de illo ignota vel dubia manent. Viri docti, qui vitae illius episcopi studiis operam navarunt, fere omnes sententiae Stanislai Lubienski assensi sunt³ et eius verba repetere solent: 'quo genere, quave stirpe genitus fuerit Erasmus Vitellius, unde

¹ Extant sex epistolae Erasmi Vitellii ad episcopum Bernardinum Clesium missae. Prior pars earum hic legi potest, altera autem tempore posteriore in lucem prodibit. Auctrix huius commentationis editionem operum omnium episcopi Plocensis praeparat.

² Parva adnotatiuncula de loco, ubi hae epistolae asservantur, est in opere: Paul Oscar Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, 6 vols (London – Leiden, 1963-92), II (third edition, Leiden: Brill, 1998), 188-189.

³ Józef Maksymilian Ossoliński, *Wiadomości historyczno-krytyczne do dziejów literatury polskiej*, 3 vols (Kraków: w Drukarni Gröblowskiej Jozefa Mateckiego, 1819-1822), I (1819), 356; Stanisław Lukas, *Erazm Ciołek: biskup płocki (1503-1522), dyplomata polski XVI-go wieku* (Warszawa: Wyd. Redakcyi Biblioteki Warszawskiej, Drukarnia

prodierit, quomodo creverit, et illa ipsa qua vixit ignoravit aetas'.⁴ Veri est simile Erasmus Vitellium natum esse Cracoviae die 28 mensis Februarii anno 1474. Notitiam diei natalis Erasmi ex annotatiunculis, quae in vacuis paginis libri Onuphrii Panvinii⁵ manu Iacobi Brzeźnicki, episcopi Ennensis et suffraganei Posnaniensis, scriptae sunt, habemus. Cum esset hic suffraganeus Romae, excrispsit epitaphium Erasmi Vitellii, quod in ecclesia Sancta Maria de Populo olim erat et accuratissimum numerum annorum, mensium, dierum nec non horarum vitae episcopi continebat.⁶

De familia Erasmi pauca nota sunt. Creduntur parentes illius origine plebeii fuisse. Pater eius nomine Stanislaus erat civis Cracoviensis, qui in via Sanctae Annae habitabat et ibidem cauponam vel tabernam vinariam habebat.⁷ Matri eius nomen Agnes erat, uti scimus ex litteris, quibus Alexander rex Poloniae et magnus dux Lithuaniae in supplicationibus Erasmi Vitellii, secretarii sui et praepositi Vilmensis, matrem eius a solutione et datione omnium vectigalium praesentium et instituendarum, et domum eius ab omni statione curiensium liberavit.⁸

Józefa Bergera, 1878), p. 2; Henryk Folwarski, *Erazm Ciołek biskup i dyplomata* (Warszawa: Drukarnia Diecezjalna w Łomży, 1935), p. 1.

⁴ Stanislaus Lubienski, *Series, vitae, res gestae episcoporum Plocensium*, ed. A. Trzebicki (Cracoviae: in officina Francisci Caesarii, 1642), p. 154.

⁵ Onuphrii Panvinii *De praecipuis Urbis Romae sanctioribusque basilicis, quas septem ecclesias vulgo vocant liber* (Romae: apud Haeredes Antonii Bladii, 1570).

⁶ 'DEO OPT. MAX. Erasmo Vitellio e gente Selyma [sic!], natione Polono, Plocensi Ep<iscop>o, viro liberalitate in omnes, pietate in patriam, adversus Reges suos fide, rerum gerendarum dexteritate incomparabili. Hinc etiam Regibus primum suis, Alexan<dro> deinde VI, Iulio II, Leoni X, Adriano item VI Pontificib<us> Max<imis> et Maximil<iano> Caesari, apud quos legati perfunctus munere, probatiss<imo>. Qui cum omnium potius, quam suorum (demestica [sic!]) praevalente invidia experiretur benevolentiam, caelo gratiam virtutibus debitam propriis quaesiturus, fragilem sui partem, Adriano VI Pont<ifice>, magno Urbis et bonor<um> o<mn>i<u>m moerore hoc reliquit sarcophago V Idus Septembris MDXXII. Vix<it>: an<nos> XLVIII Menses VI, D<ies> XII, H<oras> XVI' (Ks. Kazimierz Miaskowski, 'Z biblioteki seminarium duchownego w Poznaniu', *Przegląd Kościelny*, 6/34 (1904), 124-139 (p. 132). Proh dolor! Ignota est origo illius epitaphii neque clarum est utrum ipse Brzeźnicki hoc viderit, an auditum vel lectum scripserit.

⁷ *Księgi przyjęć do prawa miejskiego w Krakowie 1392 – 1506*, ed. K. Kaczmarczyk (Kraków: Archiwum Aktów Dawnych Miasta Krakowa, 1913), p. 209, nr 6306; *Acta rectoralia Almae Universitatis Studii Cracoviensis inde ab anno MCCCCLXIX*, ed. W. Wisłocki, 2 vols (Cracoviae: Sumptibus Academiae Litterarum Cracoviensis, 1893-1909), I (1893-1897), nr 478, 487, 1139, 1372; Folwarski, *Erazm Ciołek biskup i dyplomata*, p. 5.

⁸ *Codex diplomaticus Universitatis Studii Generalis Cracoviensis*, 5 vols (Cracoviae: sumptibus et typis Universitatis, 1870-1900), III (1880), 210-211, nr CCCI; Warszawa, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, Metryka Koronna, vol. 19, fol. 90; Cf. Folwarski, *Erazm Ciołek biskup i dyplomata*, p. 5.

Qua in schola primis litterarum elementis eruditus sit Erasmus non est notum. Traditum est eum puerum adhuc principem Alexandrum cantu adeo delectavisse ut inter familiarissimos eius receptus sit⁹, sed huius rei probationem non habemus. Die 26 mensis Aprilis anno 1485 nomen dedit facultati artium liberalium Academiae Cracoviensis¹⁰, in qua primum anno 1487 ad gradum bacalaureatus¹¹, deinde anno 1491 ad gradum magisterii promotus est.¹² Post haec Erasmus per duos annos, ut creditur, docendi munus in Alma Matre sua habuit et *De generatione, Libros Metheororum, Libros Topicorum* Aristotelis, *Tractatum* Petri Hispani atque epistolas Ovidii praelegit.¹³

Anno 1494 secretarius magni ducis Lithuaniae Alexandri factus regestrum ducale Vilnae administrare coepit.¹⁴ Anno 1499 brevi tempore accepit beneficia ecclesiastica: primum canonicatum, tum decanatum, denique praeposituram Vilnensem.¹⁵

Initio anni 1501 aetate viginti septem annorum¹⁶ ad Sedem Apostolicam cum oboedientia nomine ducis Alexandri et omnium inhabitantium

⁹ 'Puerque egit citharoedum Alexandri, Principis Regii: qui plurimum eius ingenio oblectatus, ipsum inter familiarissimos suos recepit'. Ignatius Daniel Janocki, *Ianociana sive clarorum atque illustrium Poloniae auctorum maecenatumque memoriae miscellae*, 3 vols (Varsoviae et Lipsiae: 1776-1819), II (1779), 82, nr XLII.

¹⁰ *Album studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis*, 5 vols (Cracoviae – Wratislaviae: Typis et impensis Universitatis Jagellonicae-Institutum Ossolinianum Academiae Scientiarum Polonae, 1887-1956), I (1887), 270.

¹¹ *Statuta nec non liber promotionum philosophorum ordinis in Universitate Studiorum Jagiellonica ab anno 1402 ad annum 1849*, ed. Iosephus Muczkowski (Cracoviae: Typis Universitatis, 1849), p. 99.

¹² *Statuta nec non liber promotionum philosophorum ordinis in Universitate Studiorum Jagiellonica ab anno 1402 ad annum 1849*, p. 103.

¹³ *Liber diligentiarum Facultatis Artisticae Universitatis Cracoviensis*, pars 1: a. 1487-1563, ed. W. Wisłocki, Archiwum do dziejów literatury i oświaty w Polsce, Seria I, 15 vols (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1878-1925), IV (1886), 19-26. Hoc munus Erasmi in Academia Cracoviensi non est certum, quia in editione *Libri diligentiarum* apud nomen *Erasmus de Cracovia* tantum semel annotatio *episcopus Plocensis factus* apparet et in libro manuscripto nulla annotatio est (Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Rkp. BJ 249 III, fol. 10v-15), at circa annum 1491 quinque inhabitantes Cracoviae nomine *Erasmus* ad gradum magisterii promoti sunt. Cf. Lukas, *Erasm Ciołek, biskup płocki*, pp. 11-12.

¹⁴ *Regestrum Illustrissimi Dni Alexandri M. Lithuanie Principis signatum continens, que per manus Mgri Erasmi Sue Celsitudinis secretarii transierint feliciter incepit Anno Dni 1494* (Warszawa, AGAD, *Rachunki królewskie*, vol. 23, fol. 2). De annis, quos Erasmus Vilnae munere secretarii ducalis obrutus transegerat, plura scripsit Folwarski, *Erasm Ciołek biskup i dyplomata*, pp. 13-21.

¹⁵ Ludwik Birkenmajer, 'Zapiski historyczne wśród starych almanachów Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, ed. A. Semkowicz, R. 16 (1902), 445-458 (p. 448).

¹⁶ Si epitaphium Erasmi a Iacobo Brzeźnicki relatum authenticum est.

Lithuaniae missus est. Illic die 31 mensis Martii coram pontifice maximo Alexandro VI in consistorio secreto orationem habuit, qua finita ab omnibus laudatus et a papa protonotarius apostolicus creatus est.¹⁷ Pluribus beneficiis acceptis et rebus ducatus diligenter gestis magno cum honore mense Ianuario anni insequentis domum revertit eiusque summi pro rebus ducatus labores a novo electo rege Poloniae Alexandro¹⁸ magnis praemiis compensati sunt. Etenim mater Erasmi in filii gratiam varia beneficia accepit¹⁹, ipse autem post confirmatam a duce nobilitatem²⁰ ad capitulum cathedrale Posnaniense²¹, Vladislaviense²², Wratislaviense²³, Cracovienseque²⁴ in canonicum receptus et deinde die 16 Aprilis anni

¹⁷ '[...] cui Papa respondit, prout voluit, et responsionem huiusmodi conclusit in laudem oratoris, subjungens quod propterea faceret eum ex nunc protonotarium apostolicum. Orator accessit ad Papam et post eum omnis familia sua, que osculata est pedem Pape, oratore ad dexteram Pape stante. Cui postquam familia pedem Pape osculata est, deposui vestem superiorem, quam, licet nobis esset debita, dedi uni ex familiaribus suis, sperans nos meliorem recompensam recepturos; paraveram prius pro eo rocchetto, cappam et capellum protonotariatus, quibus Papa, omnibus cardinalibus consistorialiter consedentibus, oratorem successive induit et eum protonotarium fecit et creavit'. Ioannes Burchardus, *Diarium sive rerum urbanarum commentarii (1483-1506)*, ed. L. Thuasne, 3 vols (Paris: Ernest Leroux 1883-5), III (1885), 122.

¹⁸ Cum esset Erasmus Vitellius apud Sedem Apostolicam, allatum est in Urbem nuntium de morte regis Poloniae Ioannis Alberti et electione in regem fratris defuncti regis, Alexandri, illo tempore magni ducis Lithuaniae. Birkenmajer, 'Zapiski historyczne wśród starych almanachów Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej', p. 449.

¹⁹ *Codex diplomaticus Universitatis Studii Generalis Cracoviensis*, III, 210-211, nr CCCI; Warszawa, AGAD, Metryka Koronna, vol. 19, fol. 90; Cf. Folwarski, *Erazm Ciołek biskup i dyplomata*, p. 5.

²⁰ Praelati et canonici ecclesiae Cracoviensis obiecerunt Erasmo ignobilitatem neque voluerunt eum in eandem ecclesiam recipere. Et, quamquam tempore mansionis suae in Urbe curavit ille super derogationem apostolicam, coactus est die 14 Aprilis 1502 nobilitatem suam coram magno duce Alexandro deducere. Dux Alexander nobilitatem secretarii sui deductam approbavit confirmavitque, at quia, ut videtur, dubium quippiam inerat, addidit verba 'omnem nobilitatis geniture defectum si quis in eo esset abolendum et abolemus tenore presentium mediante in perpetuum'. Konstanty Hoszowski, *Rozbiór krytyczny biografów Erazma Ciołka* (Kraków: w Drukarni Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1875), pp. 26-29.

²¹ Die 22 Novembris anno 1502 (Birkenmajer, 'Zapiski historyczne wśród starych almanachów Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej', p. 449).

²² Die 19 Ianuarii anno 1503 (*ibid.*, p. 449); *Acta Capitulorum nec non iudiciorum ecclesiasticorum selecta*, ed. B. Ulanowski, 2 vols (Kraków: Nakł. Akademii Umiejętności Krakowskiej, 1894-1902), I (1894), 286.

²³ *Acta capituli Wratislaviensis*, ed. A. Sabisch, 2 vols (Köln – Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1972-1976), I (1972), 109.

²⁴ Capitulum Cracoviense Erasmus recepit demum mense Maio anni 1504. Cf. Birkenmajer, 'Zapiski historyczne wśród starych almanachów Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej', p. 451.

1503 episcopus Plocensis nominatus est²⁵ et die 8 Iunii 1504 accessit ad ecclesiam Plocensem.²⁶ Non mansit tamen diu in dioecesi sua. Nam brevi post tempore, die 13 Iulii, exivit illinc Cracoviam, unde iterum legatus est ad Sanctam Sedem Apostolicam, ut oboedientiam nomine regis Poloniae magnique ducis Lithuaniae Alexandri praestaret.²⁷ In Urbem una cum Victorino de Siennes²⁸ et Nicolao Czepiel²⁹ sollemniter intravit et die 11 mensis Martii in consistorio publico orationem dixit.³⁰ Legatione peracta magna cum gloria in patriam revertit, ubi merito praemio a rege affectus est.³¹

Post inexpectatam mortem regis Alexandri non solum dioecesim suam Plocensem administrabat, sed etiam tamquam senator et consiliarius regius negotia rei publicae industrie peragebat. Exempli causa anno 1511 interfuit conventui Thoruniensi, ubi actum est de obsequio, iureiurando et oboedientia regi et regno Poloniae a magistro Alberto et ipso ordine Cruciferorum praestanda secundum constituta pacis anni 1466³²; eodem anno missus est nomine regis ad ducissam Masoviae Annam³³; post mortem reginae Barbarae adhortatus est per litteras regem, ut denuo uxorem duceret, et primus ei suasit, ut Bonam Sfortiam, Ioannis Galeatii, ducis Mediolanensis, et Isabellae Aragonae filiam, sibi deligeret ad matrimonium³⁴;

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 449; *Codex diplomaticus ecclesiae cathedralis necnon dioeceseos vilnensis*, ed. J. Fijałek – W. Semkowicz, vol. I, 2 fascs (Kraków: Nakładem Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, 1932-1939), I/1 (1932), 640-643; *Acta Alexandri regis Poloniae, Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae*, ed. F. Papée, Monumenta medii aevi historica res gestae Poloniae illustrantia, 19 vols (Kraków: Nakł. Akademii Umiejętności Krakowskiej, 1874-1927), XIX (1927), 276. Bullae de expeditione episcopatus Plocensis datae sunt a papa Iulio II die 29 Novembris 1503. Roma, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, *Misc. Arm. XXXII*, t. 21, fols. 138v-142v.

²⁶ Birkenmajer, 'Zapiski historyczne wśród starych almanachów Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej', p. 451.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 452. Litteras credentiales et instructionem legationis publicavit F. Papée. Cf. *Acta Alexandri regis Poloniae, Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae*, 442-448.

²⁸ Victorinus de Siennes (ca 1463-1530) – miles et baro regni Poloniae, castellanus Malogosciae.

²⁹ Nicolaus Czepiel de Posnania (1452-1518) – doctor iuris, professor Academiae Cracoviensis, secretarius regis Poloniae, praepositus Wratislaviensis et canonicus Cracoviensis.

³⁰ Burchardus, *Diarium sive rerum urbanarum commentarii (1483-1506)*, III, 379-381.

³¹ Accepit Erasmus 1500 florenos de privato argentario regali. *Liber quitantiarum Alexandri regis ab anno 1502 ad 1506*, Teki Adolfa Pawińskiego, 7 vols (Warszawa: 1897-1905), I (1897), 216.

³² *Acta Tomiciana*, 18 vols (Posnaniae: 1852-1999), I (1852), 135.

³³ *Acta Tomiciana*, I, 147-148.

³⁴ *Acta Tomiciana*, IV, 215-217.

erat unus eorum, qui anno 1518 missi sunt obviam novae regis Poloniae Sigismundi uxori, ut illam nomine regis exciperent et ad regnum comitarentur.³⁵

Denique anno 1518 missus est ad suam postremam legationem: primum ad conventum Augustanum, ubi coram Caesare Maximiliano omnibusque principibus electoribus pulchram orationem habuit³⁶, tum ad Sedem Apostolicam, ubi munere perfungens derelictus est a rege in circumstantiis magnae discordiae, quia nonnulli subditi regis, praecipue primas regni Poloniae et archiepiscopus Gnesnensis Ioannes Lascius, accusarunt eum, quod magis sua negotia, quam rem publicam curaret, et obiecerunt ei, quod exemptionem episcopatus sui a corpore regni atque cardinalatum a papa Leone X peteret.³⁷ Praematura autem et inopinata morte obiit die 9 Septembris anno Domini 1522 et sepultus est Romae in choro ecclesiae Sanctae Mariae de Populo.³⁸

³⁵ *Acta Tomiciana*, IV, 268.

³⁶ 'Episcopus Plocensis, vir litteratus et gravis, orationem habuit latinam plane et rei satis accommodatam, in qua sapienter et erudite [...] disputavit'. (Ricardus Bartholinus, *De conventu Augustensi concinna descriptio rerum etiam externarum gentium que interim geste sunt cum elegantia intersertis* (Augustae: Silvan Otmar, 1518), p. 20). De pulchritudine et vi orationis Erasmi Vitellii scripsit etiam Iacobus Spiegel in epistula ad primam editionem illius orationis adiecta, quam dedicavit et opus Vitellii commendavit Erasmo Roterodamo: 'Reverendissimus dominus Erasmus Vitellius episcopus Plocensis singulari integritate vitae, raraque doctrina Romanaque facundia insignis vel eo mihi nomine precipue colendus, quia cognominis de te perquam egregiam frequenter facit mentionem. Primam (ut aulicus aulico utar verbo) audientiam coram Cesare, sacri imperii electoribus omnibus, et ceteris Germaniarum principibus proceribusque obtinuit. Sic ornate, sic gravior oravit ut ad intima usque precordia auditorum vehementia sententiarum penetraverit, pluresque ad fletum concitavit, ei vero docto simul et facundo omnes docti et eloquentes palmam tribuunt'. Erasmus Vitellius, *Oratio per reverendissimum patrem dominum Erasmus Vitellium episcopum Plocensem in celeberrimo Augustensi conventu ad Caesarem Maximilianum nomine victoriosissimi regis Poloniae Sigismundi habita coram omnibus Sacri Imperii electoribus plurimisque Germaniae principibus die veneris, XX Augusti anno domini MDXVIII* (Augustae Vindelicorum: in officina Millerana, 1518).

³⁷ *Acta Tomiciana*, VI, 57-69; *Andreae Cricii Carmina*, Msc. Biblioteki K rnickiej PAN, BK00244, fol. 90v, <http://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=89709&from=FBC>.

³⁸ Creditur ex epitaphio, de quo supra dictum est, Erasmus die 9 Septembris mortuus esse, sed et Marius Sanuto et Blasius de Cesena, magister caeremoniarum pontificum Leonis X et Hadriani VI, in diariis suis scripserunt Erasmus Vitellium obiisse die 10 Septembris, et in litteris papae Hadriani VI ad regem Poloniae die 9 Septembris missis nihil de morte oratoris dictum est. Fieri tamen potest, ut Sanuto et Cesena praebuerint diem sepulturae, litterae vero papae scriptae sint antequam mors Erasmi innotuerit. Cf. *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto*, ed. R. Fulin et al., 58 vols (Venezia: F. Visentini, 1879-1903), XXXIII (1892), 449; Roma, BAV, Vat. Lat. 12276, fol. 28r; *Acta Tomiciana*, VI, 121-123. Hanc cogitationem affirmat etiam annotatio in Actis Episcopalibus dioecesis Plocensis facta: 'Anno quo supra millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo secundo die Martis nona mensis

Erasmus Vitellius erat humanista, vir magni ingenii, efficax legatus, qui labori assiduo et suae indoli omnia debebat. Erat episcopus fautor et patronus litterarum³⁹, optime meritus de studiis Polonorum promovendis: adiuvit linguae Graecae magistrum, ut in Academia Cracoviensi docere inciperet et libros ad linguam Graecam docendam arcesseret⁴⁰; regis Sigismundi rogatu misit Cracoviam secretarium suum Hispanum, doctorem utriusque iuris Garsiam Quadrum, in Academia Jagellonica studia illustraturum⁴¹; eius mandatu facti sunt codices liturgici, id est *Pontificale*⁴², *Missale*⁴³ et *Graduale*⁴⁴, qui inter pretiosissimos libros saeculo sexto decimo in Polonia conscriptos numerantur, collegit magnam bibliothecam librorum tam manuscriptorum, quam typis expressorum.⁴⁵ Erigebat ille ecclesias, renovabat et construebat aedes aedificiaque⁴⁶, curavit de Italia importanda marmora⁴⁷, in eius palatio Cracoviensi habuit

Septembris indictione X pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Adriani pape VI anno ipsius primo Reverendissimus in Christo pater dominus Erasmus bone memorie episcopus Plocensis Rome oratorem regum agens ibidem uti domino placuit rebus humanis exemptus ad superos cum sanctis omnibus, ut pie creditur, regnaturus convolvavit. Cuius corpus die sequenti ibidem in ecclesia sancte Marie de Populo ecclesie traditum et sepultum'. Płock, ADP, Acta Episcopalia, XI (1521-1523), fol. 103v.

³⁹ Exempli causa erat patronus poetae Nicolai Hussoviani (ca 1475- post 1533), qui Erasmi Vitellii mandatu verbis orationum illius utens conscripsit allegoricum *Carmen de statura, feritate ac venatione biontis* (Nicolai Hussoviani *Carmen de statura feritate ac venatione biontis* (Cracoviae: per Hieronymum Vietorem, 1523)). Rudolphus quoque Agricola Minor 'litterarum et litteratorum Maecenatem' eum appellavit et merita eius cecinit in libro, cui est titulus *Illustrissimae reginae Bonae paraceleusis ad Reverendissimum episcopum Plocensem* (Impressum Cracoviae 1518, fols. 1-1v, 3v-4).

⁴⁰ Adiuvit magistrum Constantium Claritti de Cancellaris Bononiensem, ut linguam Graecam in Academia Cracoviensi docere inciperet et libros sibi et discipulis necessarios emeret atque Cracoviam arcesseret. Videsis Kazimierz Morawski, *Historia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, 2 vols (Kraków: Druk. Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1900), I, 249-251. Et ille magister Claritti dedicavit Erasmo Vitellio suam Latinam interpretationem operis Luciani Samosatensis, c. t. *Philopseudes sive Apiston* (Impressum Bononiae apud B. Hectoris anno 1505).

⁴¹ Acta Tomiciana, II, 133.

⁴² Kraków, BCzart. Ms. Czart. 1212 IV.

⁴³ Factum est in annis 1513-1518. Nunc asservatur Varsoviae in Biblioteka Narodowa sub signatura: Rps 3306.

⁴⁴ Asservatur in Bibliotheca Seminarii Plocensis sub signatura: BSemP116.

⁴⁵ Kazimierz Hartleb, *Działalność kulturalna biskupa-dyplomaty Erazma Ciołka* (Łwów: Towarzystwo Miłośników Książki, 1929), pp. 157-173.

⁴⁶ Folwarski, *Erazm Ciołek biskup i dyplomata*, pp. 116-123.

⁴⁷ Stanisław Kutrzeba – Jan Fijałek, 'Kopiarz rzymski Erazm Ciołka', in *Archiwum Komisji Historycznej PAU. Seria 2*, 4 vols (Kraków: Nakładem Akademii Umiejętności, 1924-1948), I (1924), 69.

suam officinam editoriam Florianus Ungler.⁴⁸ Per totam vitam, ut etiam ex adiectis epistolis elucet, mentem defensionis reipublicae ac christianitatis, et praesertim generali expeditioni contra infideles (Tartaros et Turcos) applicavit. Ad nos pervenerunt quattuor orationes Erasmi, quas ipse diligenter in lucem edidit in locis, ubi sunt habitae⁴⁹, atque paucae epistolae in variis archivis dispersae.

Duas vero epistolas, quae hic proponuntur, Erasmus Vitellius scripsit principi et episcopo Tridentino, Bernardino Clesio⁵⁰, annis 1519 et 1520, cum esset Romae. Epistolae manu secretarii episcopi Plocensis scriptae sunt et in fine utriusque manu ipsius Erasmi signatae. Prior earum dolorem Erasmi propter recentem mortem Caesaris Maximiliani ostendit et de materia futurae electionis caesareae atque de beneficiis, quae Erasmus Romae, pro voto Caesaris obtinuit, tractat. Ex hac epistula demum paululum notum fit, quam partem habuerit Vitellius Romae ut orator caesareus et quae sint ea secretiora Erasmo credita a Caesare et agenda commissa.⁵¹ Hoc loco addendum est, quod tempore conventus Augustani

⁴⁸ Stephanus Monetarius, *Epithoma utriusque musices practice*, impressum Cracoviae 1515 per Florianum Unglerum in domo rev. in Christo patris Domini Erasmi episcopi Plocensis; Cf. Hartleb, *Działalność kulturalna biskupa-dyplomaty Erazma Ciołka*, p. 144.

⁴⁹ Erasmus Vitellius, *Erasmi Vitellii prepositi Vilmensis illustrissimi domini Alexandri magni ducis Lithuaniae secretarii et oratoris ad Alexandrum sextum pontificem maximum in praestita obedientia Romae habita oratio* (Romae: Ioannes Besicken, 1501); Erasmus Vitellius, *Oratio in praestita obedientia solenni Sanctissimo domino nostro Iulio II Pape nomine serenissimo principis Alexandri regis Poloniae et magni ducis Lithuaniae habita Romae in Consistorio publico die Lunae mensis Marcii Anno Salutis MDV* (Romae: Eucarius Silber, 1505); Erasmus Vitellius, *Oratio per reverendissimum patrem dominum Erasmus Vitellium episcopum plocensem in celeberrimo Augustensi conventu ad Caesarem Maximilianum nomine victoriosissimi regis Poloniae Sigismundi habita coram omnibus sacri imperii electoribus plurimisque Germaniae principibus die Veneris, XX Augusti anno Domini MDXVIII* (Augustae Vindelicorum: in officina Millerana, 1518); Erasmus Vitellius, *Orationes reverendi patris domini Erasmi Vitellii episcopi Plocensis, invictissimi et victoriosissimi regis Poloniae Sigismundi ad Sanctam Sedem Apostolicam et Sacram Imperialem Maiestatem oratoris, habitae per eum in facto generalis expeditionis contra Turchos, una Romae coram Leone Papa X, altera Augustae coram Maximiliano Caesare anno Domini MDXVIII* (Romae: Iacobus Mazochius, anno Domini MCCCCCXIX die XXVII mensis Ianuarii).

⁵⁰ Bernardinus Clesius (italice Bernardo Clesio vel Bernardo II di Cles) natus anno 1485 in oppido Cles et mortuus 1539 Brixinone. Anno 1514 nominatus est episcopus Tridentinus et anno 1530 cardinalis, in fine suae vitae ab anno 1538 administravit quoque dioecesim Brixinensem. Erat consiliarius Caesaris Maximiliani, post cuius mortem in electione Caroli V bene meruit et magnus consiliarius caesareus factus est.

⁵¹ August Theiner, *Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae gentiumque finitimarum historiam illustrantia; maximam partem nondum edita ex tabulariis Vaticanis de prompta collecta ac serie chronologica disposit*, 2: ab Ioanne PP. XXIII. usque ad Pium PP. V. 1410-1572 (Romae: Typis Vaticanis, 1861), II, 393. Usque ad hoc tempus non erat notum quid faciendum fuisset Erasmo pro Caesare in Sede Apostolica. Cf. Folwarski, *Erazm Ciołek biskup i dyplomata*, p. 92.

Maximilianus Erasmus Vitellium pro oratore suo apud Sedem Apostolicam nominavit.⁵² In eadem epistula mentionem fecit de quodam negotio Sigismundi Thon⁵³, affinis episcopi Tridentini. Altera vero epistola tractat de cessione per Laurentium de Bergomotiis de Mutina, cantorem secretum et familiarem papae Leonis X, de prioratu in dioecesi Feltrensi praedicto Sigismundo Thon provisā, qui mandatum ad rem efficiendam dedit Erasmo Plocensi. Exemplar ipsius cessionis, alia manu scriptum, adiectum est litteris. In fine mentionem fecit Erasmus de quodam instrumento sibi curis Bernardini Clesii perficiendo et in manibus eius asseruando.

Restat, ut normas editionis afferam: manuscripti stilus, formae grammaticae servatae sunt, interpunctio autem perspicuitatis causa secundum recentiorem consuetudinem mutata est. Itaque servantur: *e* pro diphtongis *ae*, *oe*, ut cesaree; *ę* pro *ae*, ut Romę etc. Distinctum est tamen ubique inter *u* vocalem et *v* consonam. Omnes abbreviationes et ligaturae resolutae sunt, exempli causa: *Rmo* = *Reverendissimo*; *Xpō* = *Christo*; *Dnō*, *D.*, *Domī*... = *Domino*, *Dominus*, *Domini* etc.; *Omēm* = *omnem*; *Consolacōm* = *consolacionem*; *R.P.* = *Reverendissima Paternitas*; *&* = *et*; *p* = *per*; *q* = *quod*; *q3* = *que*; *rescripsim9* = *rescripsimus* etc. Mutatum est autem *i* ubi erat *j*, ut *Februarij*.⁵⁴

Litterae 1

In dorso: *Reverendissimo in Christo patri domino Bernardino Dei gratia Episcopo Tridentino amico singulari et observando.*

Reverendissime in Christo pater, amice singularis et observande, salutem in domino et sui commendacionem. Occupavit hic corda omnium meror communis ex insperata hac morte Cesaree Maiestatis⁵⁵ et ego habeo, quid [sic!] doleam. Profecto res miranda est quod quocienscumque expedicio

⁵² Romae, ASV, Misc. Arm. II, 73, fol. 393v.

⁵³ Sigismundus von Thun (1487-1569) Austriacus legatus Venetias, caesareus consiliarius secretus et camerarius, atque orator nomine Caesaris ad concilium Tridentinum missus.

⁵⁴ In fine huius symbolae velim meritas et debitas gratias agere iis, qui me in hoc labore perficiendo benevolenter adiuverint: Antonio Haaker, qui latinitatem meam emendavit; Adamo Poznański, qui consilia de modo manuscripta legendi mihi dedit; professori Universitatis Wratislaviensis Gostivito Malinowski, qui me in omni difficultate adiuvit et ad editionem conficiendam adhortatus est; demum profestrici Almae Matris Wratislaviensis Theresiae Szostek, quae studia mea doctoralia regit.

⁵⁵ Caesar Maximilianus I obiit die 12 Ianuarii anno 1519 in oppido Ovilava (ger. Wels).

ista generalis contra Thurcas tractatur, et iam indubitata de ea concipitur fides, semper in procinctu⁵⁶ maxime expectationis aut Papa moritur aut Cesar, et hoc tandem bene incepta distrahit, quod multi ante similes eventus demonstrarunt, ut facile credi possit nolle umquam deum maximum flagellum hoc amovere a cervicibus nostris, ne spes ulla ponatur in homine, sed tota fiducia boni et felicitis status nostri ex sola dei clemencia et meritis nostris dependeat⁵⁷. Utinam medio saltem anno Sacra illa Maiestas supervixisset! Revera expectasset omnem consolacionem suam et totum desiderium suum fuisset adimpletum, ut iam ex illis litteris meis per Accursium⁵⁸ secretarium nuper datis ad Cesarem clare notari poterat, super que expecto responsum a Reverendissimo Domino Gurcensi⁵⁹ aut a vestra paternitate, quid tandem facere me hic velint. Si propositum Maximiliani ad effectum optatum deduci volunt⁶⁰, offero me totum pro omni felicitate et exaltacione domus Austriae, cuius ego cum anima et corpore donec vixero esse volo.

Facio ego debitum meum in partem Regis Catholici⁶¹ et sepius cum oratore sue Maiestatis⁶² convenio misique nuper unum ex secretariis meis

⁵⁶ Ms. *precinctu*.

⁵⁷ Habuerunt illo tempore Turci imperium potentissimum, quod ex anno in annum crescebat et quod, captis Constantinopoli (1453), Graecia (1460), Serbia (1459), Albania (1478-1479), Bosnia (1463-1464), Theodosia (1475), atque Syria (1516) et Aegypto (1517), maximum periculum relictis dominiis christianorum ferebat. Per multos annos papae et principes christiani more medii aevi cruciatam contra Turcos praeparare conati sunt, at propter discordias et privata bella continua omnia consilia et incepta differebantur. Electo pontifice Leone X expeditio generalis ad effectum optatum perductum iri videbatur. Papa mittebat suos legatos ad principes christianos, ut inter se pacem vel indutias quinquennales compararent. Consultum est etiam de modis pecunias colligendi et exercitus conscribendi. Institutum est bellum triennale contra Turcos indicere et Caesar Maximilianus una cum rege Poloniae Sigismundo et rege Gallorum, Francisco, declaravit se exercitibus praesidere, sed post inexpectatam mortem Maximiliani omnia ad expeditionem pertinentia in dubium ceciderunt. Cf. *Acta Tomiciana*, IV, 350-354; *Letters and papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII*, ed. J.S. Brewer et al., 21 vols (London: 1862-1910), II, part 2 (1864), 1195-1201; Vide etiam: Kenneth M. Setton, *The papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, 4 vols (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1976-1984), IV (1984), 172-197.

⁵⁸ Ni fallimur agitur de Mariangelo Accursio (italice Accorso, 1489-1546), humanista, poeta et philologo nato Aquilae in Italia.

⁵⁹ Matthaeus Lang Wellenburgensis (1468-1540) cardinalis, episcopus Gurcensis (1505-1522), princeps et archiepiscopus Salisburgensis (1519-1540).

⁶⁰ Propositum Caesaris Maximiliani erat, ut nepos Carolus in throno imperii sibi succederet.

⁶¹ Carolus I (1500-1558), rex Hispanorum, nepos Caesaris Maximiliani idemque imperator Carolus V.

⁶² Illo tempore apud Sedem Apostolicam erant duo oratores regis Hispaniae: Hieronymus de Vich et Valterra (1459-1535), atque Luis de Carroz Villarragut (1485-post 1543).

per mare cum certis materiis⁶³, que ad rem hanc attinent. Vestra Paternitas sollicitet illuc, qui in partem nostram sunt, sive electores, sive consiliarios domus Austrie, ut michi comunicent, quid proponant et que hic curare committent [sic!]. Si erit voluntas et novum mandatum Sacre Maiestatis Regis Polonie⁶⁴, ego iterum redibo ad electionem futuram⁶⁵ nomine tutorio Regis Boemie tanquam unius principis electoris⁶⁶.

Quod etiam tempus credit electionis instantis, et si iam cittacio premissa est? Hic dicunt Reverendissimum Dominum Maguntinum⁶⁷ Cesa-rem secutum. Si hoc verum foret, esset magna distractio et negligencia ad electionem intimandam. Peto vestram Reverendissimam Paternitatem, ut me quantocius de omnibus certiore reddat, ut sciam hic ad obiecta respondere, que fiunt multa et sepius.

Iubilei gratiam illam, quam nuper pro voto Cesaree Maiestatis ad omnia dominia sua obtinui et per Accursium transmisi⁶⁸, si nondum est

Cf. *Calendar of state papers and manuscripts, relating to English affairs, existing in the Archives and collections of Venice, and in other libraries of Northern Italy*, ed. R. Brown et al., 38 vols (London, 1864-1947), II (1867), 525.

⁶³ Erasmus Vitellius misit secretarium suum Iacobum Degres ad regem Hispaniae Carolum I cum epistola scripta Romae 13 Martii a.D. 1519, in qua tractavit de bono progressu inceptorum et optima mente constantiaque electorum, de termino futurae electionis rogavitque regem ut admoneret electores, ne dissentirent constitutioni bullae aureae et curarent providenda omnia, quae Caesar Maximilianus I ante mortem suam cum eis consulerat. Addidit Erasmus litteris inclusa exempla litterarum Matthaei Lang Wellenburgerensis, cardinalis Gurcensis et Bernardini Clesii, episcopi Tridentini. Cf. Władysław Pociecha, *Polska wobec elekcji cesarza Karola V w roku 1519* (Wrocław: Wrocławskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1947), pp. 73-74.

⁶⁴ Vitellius sperabat (et papa Leo X hoc voluit) se in electionem a rege Sigismundo missum iri, at rex Poloniae misit Matthiam Drevium (1467-1535) episcopum Wladislaviensem et Raphaellem de Lesno (1480-1527), castellanum Landensem et capitaneum Czucholiensem. Cf. *Acta Tomiciana*, V, 43.

⁶⁵ Primum electio instituta erat, ut colligitur ex litteris credentialibus, quas oratores a rege Poloniae, tamquam patruo tutore regis Hungariae et Bohemiae, Ludovici, principis Imperii electoris, obtinuerant, tempore conventus Augustani, quem Erasmus una cum Raphaele de Lesno et Bogussio (†1530), marsalco Lithuano, petivit, sed electio dilata est in annum insequentem, in conventum Francofurtensem. Inspice *Acta Tomiciana*, IV, 345-349.

⁶⁶ Rex Poloniae Sigismundus I fuit frater regis Hungariae et Bohemiae Vladislai (1456-1516), post cuius mortem in conventu Bohemico una cum Caesare Maximiliano tutor regis Ludovici electus est (*Acta Tomiciana*, IV, 179-180).

⁶⁷ Albertus Hohenzollern vel Brandeburgensis (1490-1548) fuit cardinalis et archiepiscopus Moguntinus, dux elector et cancellarius Sacri Imperii Romani.

⁶⁸ In fine mensis Decembris anni 1518 Erasmus Vitellius transmisit Caesari Maximiliano breve cruciatae et iubilaei, atque scripsit ei de modo obtinendi coronationem papalem in civitate Tridenti. Hae litterae olim asservabantur in Archivo Publico Tridentino sub numero indicis: *Archivio Principale Vescovile, Sezione Latina, capsula 16, fasc. 48 et 54*, sed pro dolor! iam non extant. Cf. Giuseppe Ippoliti OFM – Angelo Maria Zatelli OFM,

incepta, forte quod dubitabant posse incipi propter mortem Caesaris, mitto nunc breve declaratorium, ut incipiant et practicent iuxta bulle tenorem et peccunias conservent, ut breve dicit, usque ad informationem Pape, quamprimum electio intimabitur⁶⁹. Obtinebo aliud breve et Illustrissimus Dominus Ferdinandus⁷⁰ de eis disponat contra infideles et Croatos adiuvandos et alios, ut informatio continebit, quam indies expecto.

In facto illius pensionis Domini Sigismundi Thon nichil aduc factum est, neque enim mandatum misit, neque bancum Fukyerorum ordinavit iuxta concordie tenorem. Misi ego per bancum Fukyerorum de octava Ianuarii breve absolucionis cum litteris ad vestram Dominationem et minuta mandati, quale hic ad Curiam mitti debuit. Fuit una magna ligatura litterarum ad Cesarem cum uno fasciculo ad Reginam nostram et ibidem fuit breve hoc absolucionis cum litteris ad vestram Dominationem et ad dominum Sigismundum, ac minuta mandati, et supra totam ligaturam inceratam fuit inscriptum 'Sacre Imperiali Maiestati'. Missus est iste fasciculus per [⁷¹] Dominum Anthonium Fukyer⁷² Venecias et de Veneciis debuit illico mitti ad Tridentum, et fuerunt littere nostre ad Dominum G. capitaneum Tridentinum, quem petii, ut sine mora misisset [sic!] ad Cesarem. Curet vestra Reverendissima Paternitas, ut mittatur mandatum et ordinetur Bancus Fukyerorum, qui se obliget; alias reincidet in primas difficultates et forte peiores. Iam enim adversarius intellecta morte Caesaris querit restitutionem. Ego tamen rem custodio, ut possum, amore vestre Reverendissime Paternitatis et Domini Sigismundi, super quibus habeam quamprimum responsum. Bene valeat et me amet, ut inceptit. Ex Urbe Lune xiiii Februarii Anno Domini M^oDXIX.

Bonus Frater Erasmus Episcopus

Plocensis orator

Regis Sigismundi.

Archivi principatus Tridentini regesta. Sectio Latina (1027-1777), a cura dei F. Ghetta e R. Stenico, 3 vols (Trento, 2001), I, 372-373.

⁶⁹ Hoc breve asservatur in Archivo Publico Tridentino (*Archivio di Stato di Trento, Archivio del Principato Vescovile, Corrispondenza Clesiana, Busta 4, fasc. A*).

⁷⁰ Ferdinandus I Habsburgensis (1503-1564) fuit frater Caroli, regis Hispaniae, archidux Austriae, iam ab anno 1526 rex Hungariae et Bohemiae factus est, et ab anno 1558 fuit imperator Sacri Romani Imperii.

⁷¹ Littera a scriba cancellata.

⁷² Antonius Fugger (1493-1560) mercator et argentarius Germanus.

Litterae 2

In dorso: *Reverendissimo in Christo patri domino Bernardino Dei gratia Episcopo Tridentino amico singulari et observando.*

Ad acceptandum cessionem per venerabilem dominum Laurencium de Bergomotiis⁷³, clericum Mutinensem, Sanctissimi domini nostri pape cantorem secretum et familiarem continuum commensalem, de hospitali sive prioratu Sanctorum Martini et Iuliani de Castingia [sic!] Vallis pirrarie [sic!] Feltrensis diocesis⁷⁴, in manibus Sanctissimi domini nostri pape respective fiendum petendumque et obtinendum ipsi domino constituenti de prioratu sive hospitali predicto per prelibatum sanctissimum dominum nostrum sibi provideri.⁷⁵ Resarciata ipsi domino Laurencio super fructibus eiusdem hospitalis sive prioratus annua pensione, centum ducatorum [auri de⁷⁶] in auro largorum, ab omnibus et singulis decimis papalibus eciam pro Sancta Cruciata fabrica principis Apostolorum de urbe vel quavis alia eciam plus importante maiorique et efficaciori causa *statimque*⁷⁷ sub isdem et aliis quibuscumque impositionibus, oneribus et gravaminibus tam prefata Apostolica, quam auctoritate Ordinaria, quomodolibet impositis et imponendis, quomodocumque et qualitercunque appellentur et nominentur, immutationis libera et exempta singulis annis in festo Nativitatis domini nostri, Iesu Christi, in Romana Curia per ipsum dominum constituentem persolvenda et que ullo modo respectu, aut quavis ratione, vel causa eciam inexcogitabili, per ipsum dominum constituentem in iudicio, vel extra impugnari, vel annullari, tentari, eciam sub pretextu, quod omnes fructus absorberent et excederet, vel ad minorem summam reduci, aut illius solutioni aliquid opponi posset sub censuris et penis ecclesiasticis, in similibus apponi solitis et consuetis, et ultra quod ipse dominus constituens ad eiusdem pensionis solutionem ipsi domino Laurencio nostro predicto, ut prefertur fienda, tam per litteras Apostolicas

⁷³ Laurentius de Bergomotiis de Mutina († Mutinae die 19 Aprilis 1549), ab anno 1513 usque ad annum 1521 fuit cantor secretus papae Leonis X. Videsis: <http://sophia.smith.edu/~rsherr/bergomoz.htm>.

⁷⁴ Procul dubio agitur de hospitali Sanctorum Martini et Iuliani de Castrossa vallis Primerii (hodie San Martino di Castrozza Italice nominatur).

⁷⁵ Aliter: Laurentius de Bergomotiis de Mutina, cantor secretus et familiaris continuus commensalis pontificis maximi Leonis X, hospitale seu prioratum Sanctorum Martini et Iuliani de Castrossa Vallis Feltrensis diocesis cedit in manus pontificis ad obtinendum per dominum constituentem, videlicet Sigismundum von Thun.

⁷⁶ Vocabula a scriba cancellata.

⁷⁷ Lectio incerta.

de et super dicta pensione expediendas, ac ad partem eciam per publicum instrumentum in ampliori forma camere cum submissionibus, renunciationibus, procuratorum constitutionibus, iuramento promissionibus et obligationibus, ac aliis clausulis et cautelis in similibus apponi solitis et consuetis obligentur.⁷⁸ Ita quod eciam littere eciam non expedite habeantur pro intimatis, nec illarum ulteriori intimacioni locus sit consenciendus et eciam obligandus, prout eciam ex nunc ipse dominus constituens se modo et forma premissis obligat et consentit, et ultra premissa eciam sub similibus obligationibus et formis consenciendum, quod similiter earundem litterarum Apostolicarum desuper expediendarum et instrumenti ad partem conficiendi vigore, ipse dominus constituens ad prestandum in eadem Curia banchariam fideiussionem pro duobus annis proximis et deinde de triennio in triennium de pensione predicta ipsi domino constituenti sic, ut prefertur reservata ipsi domino Laurencio hic in Curia, ut supra dictum est, solvenda.⁷⁹ Ita, quod eadem bancharia cautio semel prestita, nisi in finem singuli triennii per novum et alium banchum, fiat semper continueque, alias ad vitam ipsius Laurencii firma in suo robore permaneat, prout eciam modo et forma supradictis idem dominus constituens pro se banchariam fideiussionem huiusmodi modo premissis prestare et dare promisit et se obligavit, et in eventu cessacionis solutionis pensionis huiusmodi, aut tentacionis invaliditatis, vel reductionis, vel cuiuscumque contradictionis solucionis, aut non prestacionis caucionis bancharie predictae pro dicto primo biennio et deinde de triennio in triennium, ut supra, pro ipso domino Laurencio ad prioratum sive hospitale predictum, etiam per cessum, vel decessum ipsius domini constituentis, aut omissionem, dimissionem, privacionem, vel quamvis aliam vacationem, eciam apud Sedem Apostolicam regressum ipsi domino Laurencio latissime

⁷⁸ Aliter: Pro obtinendo prioratu dominus constituens Laurentio de Bergomotiis annuam pensionem centum ducatorum in auro largorum pro omnibus et singulis decimis papalibus acceptis de urbe immutationis liberam et exemptam singulis annis in festo Nativitatis in Romana Curia solvere se obligat. Solutio pensionis nullo modo in iudicio vel extra impugnari, annullari, opponi, vel ad minorem summam reduci potest et sub censuris et poenis ecclesiasticis persolvenda est. Conditiones solutionis huius pensionis partim in litteris Apostolicis de et super pensione expeditis, partim in instrumento publico descriptae sunt.

⁷⁹ Aliter: Habeantur pro intimatis litterae Apostolicae, quae nondum expeditae sunt, et documentum praecedens ad hanc rem pertinens vim non habet. Hoc documento dominus constituens se obligat praestare in Curia Romana fideiussionem argentariam, in qua dictum est se in mensa argentaria reservatam domino Laurentio pensionem pro duobus annis proximis habere. Post autem duos annos de triennio in triennium debet praestare eiusdem generis novam fideiussionem argentariam.

extenden<ti> reservato⁸⁰, litterarumque Apostolicarum de super expedien-
darum consenciendum iuramentumque, quod in omnibus et singulis pre-
missis non intervenit, neque interveniet fraus, dolus simonie, labes, aut
quevis alio pactio illicita, seu corruptela et generaliter respective super
quibus omnibus *respective actis respective*⁸¹.

Ita est Erasmus
Episcopus Plocensis

Ita est Laurencius
Ita est ego Lombardinus
Burgensis.

Reverendissime in Christo pater, amice charissime et observande, salu-
tem et sui commendacionem. Reddite fuerant nobis littere Reverendis-
sime Dominationis vestre date Tridenti xxi decembris, quibus describit
plures ante ad nos datas. Post electionem Cesaree Maiestatis⁸² unicas
tantum ab ea habuimus, ad quas habunde fuit responsum, ad istas eciam
heri per magistrum postarum rescripsimus. Ne tamen, ut fieri solet, ille
perdantur, voluimus per hunc presbyterum, qui suas attulerat, iterum
replicare, et eadem duplicata, ut altera saltem via ad eam perveniat
repente. De negotio domini Sigismundi Thon, affinis sui, fecimus exac-
tam diligenciam, ut iam vestra Reverendissima Dominatio ex aliis litteris
nostris intelligere debuit. Et deduximus rem ad eos terminos, ut ipse
cupiebat, que nullus ante efficere poterat, pro quo effectum beneficia eciam
certa apud Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum impetravimus, ut adversa-
rium suum ad vota nostra conduxissemus [sic!]. Verum ipse dominus
Sigismundus sibi deesse videtur. Misimus enim sibi iampridem copiam
mandati, quale huc mittere debuit et ipse longe aliud misit. Et ita cum
adversario tota conclusio fuerat immutata. Mors eciam Cesaris non pau-
cas in hoc difficultates auxit.

Nichil fuit in mandato primo magis durum, quam quod Laurencius
cupiebat pensionem hanc assignari cum potestate transferendi in alium et
ita quodammodo perpetuari videbatur. Super quo Laurencius nimium fuit

⁸⁰ Aliter: Cautio argentaria semel praestita firma maneat. Si dominus constituens velit
solutionem pensionis cessare, aut tentare invaliditatem, aut reducere, aut non praestet cau-
tionem argentariam, vel si hospitalis sive prioratus alio quodam modo in manus pontificis
maximi regrediatur, hospitale sive prioratus reservetur pro Laurentio de Bergomotiis.

⁸¹ Lectio incerta.

⁸² Post mortem Maximiliani I, die 28 Iunii anno 1519 in conventu Francofurtensi impe-
rator Sacri Imperii Romani Nationis Germanicae electus est nepos eius, Carolus, rex His-
paniae et dux Burgundiae, qui in coronatione caesarea sibi nomen imposuit Carolum V.

durus. Volebat enim dum ad senium pervenisset, eandem in consanguineum quendam transferre. Nos tamen amore vestre Reverendissime Dominationis per medium Pontificis tantum effecimus, quod illam eiam clausulam de translacione obmisit.

Mittimus itaque novum exemplar mandati, quod in nulla sui parte quicquam gravitatis continet; revidimus enim cum domino Lombardino⁸³ singulas clausulas, que honeste sunt et tollerabiles. Itaque simile mandatum, nullis penitus mutatis, hic mittatur ad manus nostras, ut veniat per totum Februarium. Reliquimus enim hic simile signatum, similiter manu Laurencii et nostris; alias omnia ruent et ipse in pristinas censuras et difficultates recidet.

Super redemptionem pensionis parum videtur Laurencio de sexcentis Renensibus, quos equidem *neque*⁸⁴ hic nominari volunt, ad octingentos de camera aspirare videtur, de qua extinctione postea liberius tractari poterit, firmato prius bene negotio principali. Revera iam nos abhorret scribere super hiis, ex quo numquam suam executionem habent.

De instrumento, ut ipsa scribit, quod brevi perfici debeat, curet, ut sit singulare aliquid et, dum paratum fuerit, apud se conservet, nos vero mittemus, que ipsa mandaverit.⁸⁵ Romę die saturni xiii Ianuarii Anno domini MDXX.

Bonus Frater +. Erasmus Episcopus
Plocensis orator Regis Sigismundi

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⁸³ Lombardinus Burgus (obiit 1525) fuit protonotarius apostolicus in utroque iure peritus (cf. *Cremona literata seu in Cremonenses doctrinis, et literariis dignitatibus eminentiores chronologicae adnotationes*, auctore Francisco Arisio, 3 vols (Parmae – Cremonae, 1702-1741), II (1706), 49).

⁸⁴ Lectio incerta.

⁸⁵ Verisimile est hoc instrumentum fuisse tam expectatam et desideratam ab Erasmo Vitellio nominationem caesaream ad quandam ecclesiam Sacri Imperii Romani. Instrumentum cum anulo iam mense Martio anni 1520 paratum fuit, de quo in aliis litteris ad episcopum Tridentinum legi potest.

José María MAESTRE MAESTRE

NOTA DE CRÍTICA TEXTUAL
A LA *LINGVAE LATINAE EXERCITATIO* DE JUAN LUIS VIVES:
¿CODEX EXCERPTORIVS O CODEX EXCEPTORIVS?

I. Todos los investigadores del latín de los humanistas sabemos que uno de los pilares del aprendizaje de la lengua del Lacio de aquella época radicó en la preparación por parte de los estudiantes de un cuaderno de hojas en blanco que habían de dividir en determinadas secciones temáticas y en el que ellos apuntaban después, de forma ordenada y haciendo constar con la mayor brevedad su localización o cualquier otro aspecto de interés, los vocablos, expresiones, máximas, proverbios, historias, etc. que o bien les dictaban sus profesores o bien, lo que era mucho más importante, habían escudriñado ellos mismos a lo largo de sus obligatorias y pausadas lecturas de los autores importantes, entre los que obviamente estaban los clásicos.

La importancia de este cuaderno es enorme. Tengamos en cuenta que, si lo pensamos bien, servía de fundamento del ‘latín de laboratorio’ del Renacimiento.¹ Queremos decir que el engarce de *iuncturae* sacadas de

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Dedicamos este trabajo al Dr. D. Manuel García Teijeiro, Catedrático de Filología Griega de la Universidad de Valladolid, con motivo de su jubilación y en reconocimiento de su valiosa trayectoria científica en el campo de la Filología Clásica. Fue precisamente él quien en el lejano curso académico de 1978-1979, cuando era Decano de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Laguna, nos animó a la lectura del libro de S. Rizzo que citamos en la nota 9 de este trabajo y a abrir una línea de investigación sobre el léxico filológico de los humanistas en nuestros estudios del latín del Renacimiento.

¹ Sobre el concepto de ‘latín de laboratorio’, cf. J. M^a. Mestre Mestre, ‘La influencia del mundo clásico en el poeta alcañizano Juan Sobrarias: estudio de sus fuentes literarias’, *Anales de la Universidad de Cádiz*, 2 (1985), 325-340; ‘Sistema, norma y habla, y crea-

los clásicos en los textos neolatinos, tanto en prosa como en verso, guarda una obvia relación con este método de estudio. Consideremos, en efecto, que, aunque es indudable que los humanistas tenían *in mente* los propios textos clásicos cuando escribían o hablaban latín, dado el enorme cultivo de la memoria en aquella época², sin embargo, no podemos pasar por alto la realidad de que esa memorización se veía facilitada por las muchas horas que previamente habían dedicado a anotar en el citado cuaderno los vocablos o expresiones clásicas y por las que dedicaron después a aprender de memoria el material recopilado.

Este nuevo método de aprendizaje de la lengua latina fue explicado por A. Fontán en 1974 como ‘el resultado de la evolución de la técnica de estudio importada a Italia, en el siglo XV, por los profesores bizantinos’, aunque haciendo ver también el influjo en el mismo de la división de la gramática en las secciones de *Methodice* e *Historice* que hallamos en Quint., *inst.*, 1, 9, 1.³ Pero sus raíces son más antiguas y más extensas a lo largo de la historia, como hizo ver en 1996 A. Moss remontándose a la teoría aristotélica de los lugares comunes y poniéndolo en relación, entre otras obras, con los *florilegia* medievales.⁴

tividad literaria latino-tardía’, en J. Higuera Maldonado (coord.), *Actas del I Congreso Andaluz de Estudios Clásicos: Jaén, 9-12 diciembre, año 1981* (Jaén: Excma. Diputación Provincial. Instituto de Estudios Giennenses [C.S.I.C.], 1982), pp. 260-267; *Poesías varias del alcañizano Domingo Andrés. Introducción, edición crítica, traducción, notas e índices a cargo de...* (Teruel: Instituto de Estudios Turolenses de la Excma. Diputación Provincial de Teruel. Adscrito al Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1987), pp. XLVI-LXXVI; y *El humanismo alcañizano del siglo XVI. Textos y estudios de latín renacentista* (Cádiz, Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz – Instituto de Estudios Turolenses. Excma. Diputación de Teruel- Excma. Ayuntamiento de Alcañiz, 1990), pp. 345-364.

² Recordemos que la memoria formó parte en la Antigüedad y en el Renacimiento de la retórica y, que para su cultivo se idearon diferentes métodos mnemotécnicos, como nos hace ver la magnífica monografía de L. Merino Jerez, *Retórica y artes de memoria en el humanismo renacentista. Jorge de Trebisonda, Pedro de Ravena y Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas* (Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura, 2007), pp. 19-77, donde el lector encontrará una extensa bibliografía sobre el tema. Para el cultivo de la memoria en el ámbito de la enseñanza de la lengua latina por parte de los humanistas y, en especial, de Juan Lorenzo Palmireno, cf., por otra parte, Maestre Maestre, ‘Los humanistas como precursores de las actuales corrientes pedagógicas: en torno a Juan Lorenzo Palmireno’, *Alazet*, 14 (2002), 160-164.

³ Cf. A. Fontán, ‘El latín de los humanistas’, en *Humanismo romano* (Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 1974), p. 266. Debemos señalar que la preposición ‘a’ de la cita es corrección nuestra, pues en el original aparece la errata ‘de’. De la misma manera señalamos que en la segunda línea del apartado ‘Un nuevo método de estudio’ donde aparece esta cita, encontramos, en referencia también a los profesores bizantinos que llegaron a Italia, la errata de ‘siglo XVI’ en lugar de ‘siglo XV’.

⁴ Cf. A. Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 1-100, donde la autora traza la historia de

Ahora bien, la formulación teórica de esta técnica de estudio no tomó cuerpo hasta el s. XVI. Ya Erasmo recomendó, en el ámbito de la retórica, la preparación de un cuaderno *per locos communes* en su tratado *De copia rerum*.⁵ Pero quien más atención teórica prestó al que ahora nos ocupa fue — como bien señaló Fontán⁶ — Juan Luis Vives: sin lugar a duda, fue el gran pedagogo valenciano quien describió minuciosamente cómo habían de preparar los estudiantes un cuaderno destinado, sobre todo, al aprendizaje del léxico latino, como tan atinadamente precisó Moss⁷, y quien dio nombre al mismo.

Como es obvio y refleja el título del presente trabajo, nuestro propósito no es abordar la descripción de este método de estudio de los humanistas, que dejamos a un lado por ser un tema hartamente conocido,⁸ sino investigar

las colecciones de lugares comunes anterior a Erasmo, desde la Antigüedad al Renacimiento. El trabajo resulta, además, capital para el estudio de mismo tema hasta su consolidación y posterior declive en el s. XVII.

⁵ Cf. *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Opera omnia, emendatiora et auctiora, ad optimas editiones, praecipue quas ipse Erasmus postremo curavit, summa fide exacta, doctorumque uirorum notis illustrata. Recognovit Ioannes Clericus* (Lugduni Bataurorum: cura et impensis Petri Vander Aa, MDCCIII), I, 100 B-109 C (*Ratio colligendi exempla*). Sobre el tratado *De duplici copia uerborum ac rerum* erasmiano, cf. Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, pp. 101-115, donde se aborda también la '*Ratio colligendi exempla*' (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 103, en la que se alude a la misma en el texto del *De ratione studii* 120 [ed. J.-C. Margolin, en *Opera omnia* (Amsterdam, 1971), I, 2, 120] allí traducido al inglés, y 112-115). Por último, sobre el influjo del *De copia rerum* en las obras de Vives, cf. nota 7.

⁶ Cf. Fontán, 'El latín de los humanistas', pp. 266-267.

⁷ Por sí mismo habla a este respecto el título del brillante capítulo dedicado a nuestro compatriota 'Vives: words' que encontramos en Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, pp. 115-119. Recordemos, además, que, tras relacionar con acierto la labor de Vives con la de Erasmo escribiendo en la p. 115 'There is a sense of progression about the order in which the chosen texts are placed, because, although the contributions from Vives are letters dated 1523, a decade after the *De ratione studii* and the *De copia* of Erasmus, they are in some ways the simplest exposition of what learning by the commonplace-book method entails', la autora llama después la atención sobre la reducción del cuaderno de Vives al campo del léxico al hablar tanto de la carta de Vives dirigida a Catalina de Aragón, para la educación de su hija María, como de la que escribió para la formación de Carlos Mountjoy, hijo de William Blount: 'Texts for Vives's pupils to excerpt are preselected for content, and the system he gives them for arranging their excerpts concentrates their attention on words (*verba*) rather than on matter (*res*)', señala respecto a la primera en p. 116, y 'The organizing principle is almost entirely lexical, and the categories employed cover everyday and unusual vocabulary', puntualiza, para la segunda, en p. 117.

⁸ Cf., nota 6, para el estudio de Fontán, y nota 7, para el de Moss. El tema, sin embargo, es más conocido entre los profesores de latín de la Universidad que entre los de la Enseñanza Secundaria, donde la aplicación del mismo, *mutatis mutandis*, puede ser muy interesante. Por nuestra parte ya hicimos una llamada de atención al respecto recordando, al hilo del *Prouerbiador o cartapacio* de Palmireno, que los humanistas mandaban confeccionar a sus alumnos el citado cuaderno, para desterrar así de las aulas el continuo uso del diccionario y hacer que los muchachos aprendiesen de memoria el vocabulario básico

un aspecto del mismo que, sin embargo, no ha sido estudiado con la profundidad que le correspondía: como veremos, el nombre que Vives dio a su cuaderno ha sido objeto de una silenciada, pero avivada polémica, a lo largo de la historia. Resulta del todo necesario, en suma, indagar si Vives llamó en latín al cuaderno *codex excerptorius* o *codex exceptorius*, cuestión esta que sorprendentemente ha escapado a los estudiosos del léxico filológico de los humanistas.⁹

II. Comencemos por presentar, por su importancia posterior para nuestros razonamientos, los textos de los cinco principales pasajes en los que Vives nos habla sobre este cuaderno:

a) El primer pasaje se halla en el apartado de 'Autores' de la *Exercitatio Latine scribendi* de la primera de las *Epistolae duae de ratione studii puerilis*, que fueron escritas por Vives en 1523 y vieron la luz al año siguiente en las prensas de D. Martens en Lovaina junto con la *Introductio ad sapientiam* y el *Satellitium siue Symbola*:¹⁰

[...] Conficiat sibi libellum ex vacua charta, in quo sua manu conscribat sententias, quas memoriae mandatura est, eritque ei vice cujusdam enchiridii.

Vives recomienda a la reina Catalina de Aragón que su hija María Tudor, a cuya educación va destinada la primera epístola, que 'confeccione una libretita de hojas en blanco', en el que escriba pequeñas sentencias — sacadas, según cabe deducir, de los autores de los que acaba de hablar¹¹ —

tanto para traducir como para componer en la antigua lengua del Lacio (cf. Maestre Maestre, 'Los humanistas como precursores...', pp. 165-167).

⁹ Los mencionados nombres no aparecen ni en el libro de S. Rizzo, *Il lessico filologico degli umanisti* (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1973), ni en el de R. Hoven, *Lexique de la Prose Latine de la Renaissance* (Leiden – New York – Köln: E. J. Brill, 1994).

¹⁰ Citamos por *Ioannis Ludouici Vivis Valentini Opera omnia, distributa et ordinata in argumentorum classes praecipuas a Gregorio Maiansio, Gener. Valent., [...] (Valentiae Edetanorum: In officina Benedicti Monfort, excellentissimi et illustrissimi domini archiepiscopi typographi, anno MDCCLXXXII), I, Epistola I. De ratione studii puerilis*, p. 266.

¹¹ Vives recomienda en este apartado (cf. *Ioannis Ludouici Vivis Valentini Opera omnia*, I, 265) la lectura de los *Catonis disticha*, los *Mimi Publani* y las *Sententiae septem sapientum*, editadas por Erasmo en un mismo libro (recordemos, por ejemplo, la edición intitulada *Contenta in hoc opere sunt haec. Catonis precepta moralia recognita... ab Erasmo... Mimi Publani. Septem sapientum illustres sententiae. Institutio hominis christiani... per Erasm... Isocratis Paraenesis ad Demonicum Rudolpho Agricola interprete, recognita per Martinum Dorpium* (s. l., s. n., aunque datable en 1515). Y aconseja, además, la lectura de *fabellae* sacadas de Gelio, Livio o de las Sagradas Escrituras, la de

que han de aprender de memoria:¹² de esta forma, concluye, la libretita tendrá la función de un *enchiridion* o 'manual'.¹³

b) El segundo pasaje se encuentra también en la primera de las *Epistolae duae de ratione studii puerilis* y, más concretamente, en el apartado de *Annotationes*:¹⁴

Habeat librum vacuum majusculum, in quem manu sua conjiciat tum verba, si qua, inter legendum graves auctores, inciderunt vel utilia usui quotidiano, vel rara, vel elegantia; tum loquendi formulas argutas, venustas, lepidas, eruditas; tum sententias graves, facetas, acutas, urbanas, salsas; et historias ex quibus exemplum vitae suae possit petere. Advertet etiam ubi, et quemadmodum grammaticorum servantur praecepta, ubi negligantur, nam ars grammatica ex usu auctorum nata est, ideo hic est arti praeferendus, quum discrepant; ars tamen necessaria est, quae recte et emendate loqui ex observatione docet.

El humanista valenciano recomienda ahora a la soberana de Inglaterra que su hija tenga a mano 'una libreta de hojas en blanco grandecita'. Aconseja que apunte en ella la información que pudiera encontrar ella misma al hilo de su propia lectura de autores importantes cuyo espacio temporal no precisa en ese momento.¹⁵ En primer lugar recomienda

Griselda *iam vulgata* (por el *Decameron* de Boccaccio, debemos entender), y otras sacadas de Valerio Máximo y de Marco Antonio Sabellico.

¹² Cf. nota 2.

¹³ La traducción de *enchiridion* por *manual* se deja ver en la versión al castellano como *Manual del caballero cristiano* (Alcalá de Henares, 1526) del *Enchiridion militis Christiani* de Erasmo, obra que compuso éste en 1501 y que contribuyó al éxito del citado término entre los humanistas. El propio Vives recomendaba su lectura a los alumnos, como indicamos en la nota 15.

¹⁴ Cf. *Ioannis Ludouici Vivis Valentini Opera omnia*, I, *Epistola I. De ratione studii puerilis*, p. 268 (advertimos que hemos corregido en 'salsas' la errata 'falsas', de acuerdo ello con la edición de París, S. de Colines, 1527, f. [55^v]). Traduce al inglés y llama la atención sobre parte de este pasaje Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, p. 116, aunque el texto latino que reproduce la investigadora en p. 300, nota 123, tiene diversas variantes respecto al nuestro por estar sacado de la edición del *De ratione studii* de Vives publicada en Basilea en 1541, 35-36. Entre estas variantes conviene recordar que, en lugar de *librum vacuum majusculum* aparece allí *librum chartaceum maiusculum*, lectura esta última que, por cierto, es idéntica en sus dos primeras palabras a la de *librum chartaceum* que hallamos en el texto al que se refiere la nota 20.

¹⁵ 'Auctores in quibus versabitur, ii erunt qui pariter et linguam et mores excolant, atque instituant; quique non modo bene scire doceant, sed bene vivere; huiusmodi sunt [...]' señala a continuación de este pasaje Vives dándonos el siguiente listado: Cicerón, que, como era de esperar, abre la lista, Séneca, las obras de Plutarco traducidas al latín, recuerda el humanista, por varios autores, los diálogos de Platón, en especial los que tratan de *republica*, las epístolas de San Jerónimo, algunas obras de San Ambrosio, las

recoger los vocablos de uso cotidiano, los raros y los elegantes; después las expresiones ingeniosas, bellas, graciosas y eruditas; a continuación las sentencias graves, elegantes, agudas, cultas y salerosas; y, por último, las historias que pudieran servir de ejemplo para su propia vida. Cierra, por último, sus consejos señalando la conveniencia de anotar si los escritores leídos cumplían o no con lo preceptuado por la gramática.

c) El tercer pasaje se halla en el apartado de *Annotationes* de la segunda de las *Epistolae duae de ratione studii puerilis*, que, como hemos dicho, fueron publicadas por primera vez en 1524:¹⁶

Compones tibi librum chartae purae justae magnitudinis, quem in certos locos ac velut nidos partieris: in uno eorum annotabis vocabula usus quotidiani, velut animi, corporis, actionum nostrarum, ludorum, vestium, temporum, habitaculorum, ciborum: in altero vocabula rara, exquisita: in alio idiomata et formulas loquendi, vel quas pauci intelligunt, vel quibus crebro est utendum: in alio sententias: in alio festive, in alio argute dicta: in alio proverbia; in alio scriptorum difficiles locos, et quae alia tibi aut institutori tuo videbuntur; sicque haec omnia habebis annotata et digesta, ne solus sciat liber: tibi legenda, relegenda, memoriae mandanda atque infigenda sunt, ut non minus scripta gestes in pectore quàm in libro: et occurrant, quoties erit opus: parum enim prodest libros habere eruditos, si pectus habeas rude.

Vives aconseja a Carlos Mountjoy, hijo de William Blount, a cuya educación va destinada la segunda epístola, que ‘prepare una libreta de hojas en blanco de tamaño apropiado’. El pedagogo valenciano le indica que ha de hacer en ella varias secciones o compartimentos. En uno de estos apartados habría de anotar los vocablos de uso cotidiano, como los referentes al espíritu, al cuerpo, a nuestras acciones, a los juegos, a los vestidos, al tiempo, a la vivienda y a los alimentos; en otro los vocablos raros y selectos; en otro los idiotismos y expresiones, tanto los que sólo comprenden unos pocos, como los que se usan con frecuencia; en otro

obras de San Agustín, la *Institutio principis*, el *Enchiridion* y las *Paraphrases* de Erasmo, la *Utopia* de Tomás Moro, las historias de Justino, Floro y Valerio Máximo, el Nuevo Testamento, Prudencio, Sidonio, Paulino, Arator, Próspero, Juvenco, Lucano, Séneca el Trágico y gran parte de la obra de Horacio. Aconseja, además, Vives que, cuando el alumno lea esas obras, tenga a mano los diccionarios de Calepino o de Perotti (cf. *Ioannis Ludouici Vivis Valentini Opera omnia*, I, 269, apartado titulado ‘AVCTORES’)

¹⁶ Cf. *Ioannis Ludouici Vivis Valentini Opera omnia*, I, 272. Trata sobre este pasaje Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, pp. 116-117, aunque la investigadora toma como base para el texto latino que reproduce en p. 300, nota 126, la edición del *De ratione studii* de Vives sacada a la luz en Basilea en 1541, 6.

las sentencias; en otro los dichos o hechos graciosos; en otro los proverbios; y en otro los pasajes difíciles de los escritores y los que hubiera interpretado de manera distinta bien él, bien su preceptor (percatémonos de que a este sólo se le menciona de pasada aquí, pues es el propio alumno el que ha de ‘seleccionar’ y ‘extraer’ la información a partir de sus propias lecturas).

En el pasaje nuestro compatriota habla, además, de la necesaria memorización¹⁷ por parte de Carlos Mountjoy de toda la información filológica¹⁸ apuntada en el cuaderno, lo que, como ya señalamos al comienzo de nuestro trabajo, es de absoluta importancia para comprender el ‘latín de laboratorio’ de los humanistas.¹⁹

d) El cuarto pasaje aparece en el cap. VI *De eruditione* de la *Introductio ad sapientiam*, que fue escrita y publicada por primera vez en 1524:²⁰

Habebis librum chartaceum, in quo annotabis si quid legeris, vel audieris dictum festive, aut eleganter, aut prudenter, vel vocabulum aliquod exquisitum, rarum, utile sermoni quotidiano, ut quum usus poscat, habeas paratum.

Vives aconseja a todo estudiante que ‘tenga una libreta de hojas’ en la que anote las expresiones graciosas, elegantes, juiciosas, vocablos selectos, raros y útiles para el lenguaje cotidiano que hubieran sacado de sus propias lecturas o las que hubiera oído de otros, de suerte que pudiera utilizarlas cuando llegare la ocasión (‘ut quum usus poscat’).

e) El quinto y último de los pasajes aparece en el cap. III del *De tradendis disciplinis liber III* de la *Secunda pars* de los *De disciplinis libri XX*, que apareció por primera vez en 1531:²¹

¹⁷ Cf. nota 2.

¹⁸ Recordemos que, como bien señaló Moss (cf. nota 7), Vives recomienda a los alumnos ‘seleccionar’ y ‘extraer’ sobre todo material ‘léxico’. Nosotros, sin embargo, para recoger también otras materias que, como los *scriptorum difficiles loci*, de los que se habla en el texto que comentamos, o las historias, que se mencionan en los textos a los que se refieren las notas 14 y 21, no caben en el citado epígrafe, preferimos utilizar en este y otros pasajes de nuestro artículo el adjetivo ‘filológico’, que obviamente es mucho más amplio.

¹⁹ Cf. nota 1.

²⁰ Como ya indicamos, la obra salió a la luz por primera vez en el citado año de las prensas de D. Martens en Lovaina dentro de un volumen que contenía también el *Satellitium siue Simbola* y las *Epistolae duae de ratione dicendi studii puerilis*. Por nuestra parte citamos por *Ioannis Ludouici Vivis Valentini Opera omnia*, I, 14 (nE 172).

²¹ La *editio princeps* de la obra es la que salió a la luz de las prensas de M. Hillen en Amberes en el citado año. Nosotros, sin embargo, citamos el pasaje por *Ioannis Ludouici*

Itaque unusquisque puerorum habebit librum chartae vacuum, in partes aliquot divisum, ad ea accipienda, quae ex ore praeceptoris cadent, utique non viliora, quàm gemmae: in parte una reponet verba separata et singula; in altera proprietates loquendi atque idiomata sermonis, vel usus quotidiani, uel rara, vel non omnibus nota, atque exposita; in alia parte historias; in alia fabulas; in alia dicta, et sententias graves; in alia salsas et argutas; in alia proverbia; in alia viros famosos ac nobiles; in alia urbes insignes; in alia animantes, stirpes, gemmas peregrinas; in alia locos auctorum difficiles explicatos; in alia, dubia nondum soluta: haec initio simplicia, ac velut nuda, aliquanto post convestiet ac ornabit; habebit maiorem codicem; eodem referet tum quae a praeceptore acceperit copiosius dicta et fusius, tum quae ipse sua opera apud magnos scriptores legerit, vel ex aliis dicta observarit; et quemadmodum in hoc suo veluti calendario sedes et nidos habet quosdam, ita si velit singulorum nidorum notas pinget sibi, quibus ea distinguet in scriptoribus, quae in quemque est locum relaturus: [...]

El humanista valenciano recomienda, en primer lugar, que cada uno de los estudiantes ‘tenga una libreta de hojas en blanco’, que ha de compartimentar en distintas secciones para anotar la información — sobre todo la más relevante — que hubieran oído de labios de sus profesores. Precisa después que en el primero de los compartimentos los alumnos habrían de colocar las palabras por separado y de una en una (nos encontramos, pues, ante una especie de *index* de la libreta);²² en otro, las propiedades de las palabras y los idiotismos de uso cotidiano, los raros, o los no conocidos y claros para todos; en otro, las historias, en otro, las fábulas; en otro, los dichos y sentencias graves; en otro, las salerosas y agudas; en otro, los proverbios; en otro los nombres de hombres famosos y nobles; en otro, los de las ciudades más célebres; en otro los de los animales, las plantas y piedras preciosas extrañas; en otro, los pasajes difíciles de los escritores ya explicados; y en otro, por último, las dudas aún no aclaradas. Y concluye señalando que en un principio las referencias habrían de ser simples y, por así decirlo, desnudas, pero que con el paso del tiempo habrían de arroparlas y adornarlas.

Vivis Valentini Opera omnia, VI, 310. Trata sobre la parte final de este pasaje (desde ‘habebit maiorem codicem’ a ‘locum relaturus’) Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, pp. 202-203, aunque ella toma como base del texto latino que reproduce en p. 300, nota 128, la edición de los *Opera omnia* de Vives publicada en Basilea, 1555, I, 468.

²² La recomendación de esta especie de *index* no es extraña, pues los humanistas tenían también un cuaderno llamado *regestum* o ‘registro’, que servía de ‘de rerum et dictionum index est, ordine abecedario distinctus’ y en el que anotaban ‘apud quem autorem et quoto folio, quae notata sunt, inueniantur’, como, en relación a los ‘regesta majuscula’ de Vives (cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 34), escribe Mota en el texto al que remite la nota 59.

A continuación, nuestro compatriota señala que el estudiante también ‘tendrá un cuaderno de mayor tamaño’, en el que habría de anotar la información de la misma índole que le hubiera ofrecido con más extensión y profundidad su profesor, la que hubiera leído él mismo en las obras de los autores importantes o la que hubiera obtenido a partir de otras personas.

Cabe concluir que en los apartados de *Annotationes* de la *Epistola I* y de la *Epistola II de ratione studii puerilis*, escritas en 1523, y en la *Introductio ad sapientiam*, que fue redactada un año después, Vives sólo recomendaba que los estudiantes — niños y niñas²³ — tuvieran una ‘libreta de hojas en blanco’, en la que, una vez compartimentada debidamente, apuntaran ellos la información filológica que hubieran recogido a lo largo de sus propias lecturas — extremo que se explicita en el segundo y quinto pasaje²⁴ — o la que le hubieran dictado sus profesores — extremo que se explicita en el quinto de los pasajes y se menciona de pasada en el tercero.²⁵ Pero en el cap. III del *De tradendis disciplinis liber III* de la *Secunda pars* de los *De disciplinis libri XX*, aparecidos por primera vez en 1531, el pedagogo aconseja que los alumnos tuviesen dos tipos de cuadernos: uno ‘básico’, al que llama ‘libreta de hojas en blanco’ (‘liber chartae uacuuus’), en el que ellos apuntaran sólo la información filológica que les hubieran suministrado sus profesores; y otro ‘avanzado’, que denomina ‘cuaderno de mayor tamaño’ (‘codex maior’), en el que tomaran nota de la información filológica que hubieran entresacado ellos de sus lecturas de los autores importantes, la que hubieran oído de sus profesores con mayor amplitud y profundidad, o la relevante que hubieran obtenido de otras personas.

El reflexivo cambio de Vives va más allá de lo que revela él en el último texto citado. Pensemos que, al contener el ‘cuaderno básico’ sólo información dictada por los profesores, uno de los objetivos didácticos era, sin duda, el que fuesen ellos los que enseñasen a los estudiantes a elaborar un instrumento de estudio de esta naturaleza. Resulta evidente, en definitiva,

²³ Tengamos presente que el programa educativo de Vives respecto a los ‘niños’ y a las ‘niñas’ es, prácticamente, el mismo, aunque con la diferencia que bien explicita Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, p. 115, al hablar de la diferencia de género de los destinatarios de las dos citadas *epistolae* escritas por el humanista valenciano en 1523: ‘They differ very little in content or in the methods they propose, except that the boy is assumed to have fellow pupils, whereas the girl is obviously being educated on her own’.

²⁴ Este dato resulta de interés, como veremos después en el subapartado IX, c.

²⁵ Debemos considerar también este dato por resultar interesante para lo que diremos en el subapartado VIII, b.

que, cuando los alumnos iban a trabajar en el 'cuaderno avanzado', no sólo conocían de forma práctica qué tipo de información filológica habían de 'seleccionar' y 'extraer' ellos de los autores importantes, sino cómo anotarla debidamente en las distintas secciones establecidas.

III. Como vemos, en los cinco citados pasajes Vives sólo se refiere a estos cuadernos con nombres relacionados con el material con el que habría de elaborarse o con su tamaño: 'libellus ex vacua charta'²⁶, 'liber uacuu majusculus'²⁷, 'liber chartae purae justae magnitudinis'²⁸, 'liber chartaceus'²⁹, 'liber chartae uacuu'³⁰ y 'maior codex'.³¹ Con tales nombres el pedagogo valenciano no precisaba, en definitiva, si lo que recomendaba a los estudiantes eran unos meros 'cuadernos para tomar apuntes' o unos 'cuadernos para anotar la información 'seleccionada' y 'extraída' directa o indirectamente de los autores importantes'.

Lo hizo, sin embargo, en 1539 dentro de un libro suyo que se convirtió en 'un *best seller* de su tiempo'.³² la *Linguae Latinae exercitatio*, que terminó de escribir a comienzos de julio del año anterior, cuando vivía en Breda y era el preceptor de Dña. Mencía de Mendoza, la mujer del Duque de Nassau, y que dedicó al príncipe Felipe, futuro rey de España.³³ Leamos, en efecto, el siguiente pasaje del cap. XIV, titulado *Cubiculum et lucubratio*, que reproducimos siguiendo la moderna edición crítica de M^a. P. García Ruiz:³⁴

PLIN. Et huc adducito puerum exceptorem, nam lubet aliquid dictare. Da mihi illos calamos et pennas duas aut tres cannae amplae et thecam puluerariam. Profer mihi ex armario Ciceronem et Demosthenem, tum ex pluteo

²⁶ Cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 10.

²⁷ Cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 14. Recuérdese que también existe la variante *liber chartaceus maiusculus*, como hemos señalado en esa misma nota.

²⁸ Cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 16.

²⁹ Cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 20.

³⁰ Cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 21.

³¹ Cf. *ibid.*

³² Así lo llama con razón M^a. P. García Ruiz (ed.), *Luis Vives. Los diálogos (Linguae Latinae exercitatio)*. Estudio introductorio, edición crítica, y comentario de... (Pamplona: Euns. Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 2005), p. 27.

³³ Para una visión de conjunto de la obra remitimos a la magnífica introducción de García Ruiz (ed.), *Luis Vives. Los diálogos*, pp. 27-112; y, para su innovación frente a los *Colloquia* de Erasmo, al excelente estudio de D. Sacré, '*Exercitatio linguae Latinae* (1538-1539). Les colloques scolaires de Vivès', en W. Geerts – A. Paternoster – F. Pignatti (eds.), *Il sapere delle parole. Studi sul dialogo latino e italiano del Rinascimento. Giornate di Studio Anversa 21-22 febbraio 1997* (Roma: Bulzoni Editore, 2001), pp. 7-22.

³⁴ Cf. García Ruiz (ed.), *Luis Vives. Los diálogos*, p. 248, lín. 44-49.

codicem excerptorium et regesta maiuscula, audin? et mea schedia in quibus libet nonnulla expolire.

El capítulo es un diálogo sobre el aposento y el estudio nocturno entre cuatro personajes que reciben los nombres de Plinio, Epicteto, Celso y Dídimo. El contexto del pasaje es el siguiente: Plinio, personaje principal, que previamente había indicado a Epicteto que llamara a Dídimo, su ayo, le pide a aquél que llame también a su amanuense, pues quería hacerle un dictado; y a continuación, dirigiéndose ya a Dídimo, según cabe entender por la posterior respuesta de este, le pide unas cañas, dos o tres plumas grandes, el tintero, dos libros del armario, uno de Cicerón y otro de Demóstenes, y, lo que más nos interesa a nosotros ahora, el *codex excerptorius* que estaba en el pupitre.

De esta suerte, dentro de su conocida fragua de neologismos de los *Colloquia*³⁵, Vives acababa de dar el nombre de *codex excerptorius* al cuaderno del que, *mutatis mutandis*, había hablado en la primera³⁶ y segunda³⁷ epístolas *De ratione studii puerilis*, en su *Introductio ad sapientiam*³⁸ y en el cap. XIV del *De tradendis disciplinis liber III*.³⁹ como es fácil colegir, el humanista valenciano fraguó el adjetivo *excerptorius* de su *noua iunctura*⁴⁰ — no documentado ni en los diccionarios

³⁵ Cf. García Ruiz (ed.), *Luis Vives. Los diálogos*, pp. 593-603 ('Contribución al estudio del léxico nominal de la *Linguae Latinae exercitatio* de Juan Luis Vives') contabiliza 32 neologismos, diez de forma *stricto sensu* (por ejemplo, *cydoniatum* 'el dulce de membrillo', *feminicruralia* 'calzas de muslos y piernas', *pyrolabes*, *pruniceps* y *forfex ignaria*, 'tenazas o coge brasas'), 11 de sufijaciones productivas (por ejemplo, *aulicitas*, 'cortesanía', *dominaster*, 'señorito', 3 de sentido (por ejemplo, *aestuaria*, 'habitaciones cálidas o estancias de verano') y 8 de *nouae iuncturae* (por ejemplo, *ligulae astrictoriae* y *uincula uestiaria*, 'agujetas').

³⁶ Cf. los textos a los que se refieren las notas 10 y 14.

³⁷ Cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 16.

³⁸ Cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 20.

³⁹ Cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 21.

⁴⁰ Dentro, en efecto, de la clasificación de García Ruiz de la que hemos hecho una síntesis en la nota 35, *codex excerptorius* pertenece a las *nouae iuncturae* o neologismos pluriverbales creados por Vives, que la citada investigadora califica como 'sintagmas formados por la unión de sustantivo y adjetivo' para precisar a continuación que 'aunque no se encuentran en la clasificación erasmiana, son un método sugerido por Cicerón y también por Horacio' (cf. García Ruiz (ed.), *Luis Vives. Los diálogos*, p. 596): como tal *noua iunctura* podemos afirmar que nos encontramos ante un *hápax legómenon* fraguado por el humanista valenciano. Cabe precisar, además, que, si resulta que el adjetivo *excerptorius* -a -um fue creado por nuestro compatriota en su *Linguae Latinae exercitatio*, como nos invita a pensar el hecho de que no aparece ni en los diccionarios renacentistas anteriores a dicho año (cf. nota 41) ni en la mayoría de los actuales (cf. nota 42), el término

del Renacimiento publicados hasta 1539⁴¹, que es lo que más nos debe importar, ni tampoco en nuestro actual *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*⁴² — a partir del verbo *excerpere*, es decir, a través de la labor de los estudiantes o de sus profesores de ‘seleccionar’ y ‘extraer’⁴³ el material filológico aconsejado a través de la lectura de los clásicos.

V. Conviene aclarar que la lectura *codex excerptorius* está avalada por las diez ediciones de la *Linguae Latinae exercitatio* realizadas entre marzo de 1539 y el 6 de mayo de 1540, es decir, por las diez que vieron la luz en vida de Vives.⁴⁴ Así nos lo demuestra la citada edición crítica

entraría dentro también de los neologismos con sufijaciones productivas relacionado con *excerptum*-i y, en último extremo, con el verbo *excerpere* (cf. nota 43).

⁴¹ El adjetivo *excerptorius* -a -um no aparece ni en el *Lexicon* de Elio Antonio de Nebrija de 1492 (cf. nota 146), ni en el *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* de Robert Estienne publicado por primera vez en 1532 (cf. nota 147), ni en el diccionario latino que publicó por primera vez Ambrosio Calepino en Reggio en 1502 con el título de *Cornucopiae* y que nosotros hemos consultado a través de *Ambrosii Calepini Dictionarium decem linguarum* [...] (Lugduni: MDLXXXVI), p. 383 [s.v. ‘excerpo’].

⁴² El adjetivo *excerptorius*-a-um no se constata ni en el *ThLL* ni en otros afamados diccionarios clásicos (como el Forcellini y el *Oxford Latin Dictionary*) o medievales (como el Du Cange). Pero debemos precisar que sí se constata en F. Gaffiot, *Dictionnaire illustré latin français* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1934), p. 617, donde leemos ‘*excerptorius*-a-um (*excerpo*), propre à extraire: GLOSS’ (el autor francés nos aclara *ibid.*, p. 1710 que la sigla equivale a ‘CORPUS GLOSSARIORUM LATINORUM’ [éd. Loeve et Goetz, 1901; ed. W. M. Lindsay, 1928])’ y, siguiendo a este, en A. Blánquez Fraile, *Diccionario latino-español* (Barcelona: Editorial Ramón Sopena, 1960), vol. I, p. 659, donde leemos ‘*excerptorius*, a, um II (de *excerpo*), adj.. Gloss. Que sirve para extraer’. A la presencia del término en Gaffiot, cabe añadir que también aparece en la obra de O. Gradenwitz, *Laterculi uocum Latinarum* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhanlung, 1966), p. 497, s.v. ‘**excerptorius*’, aunque en los ‘*Praemonenda II*’ que hallamos al principio de la obra se nos aclara: ‘*Georgesii copias supplevimus ex Pauckeri variis collectaneis eis que quae in Wölffinii Archivio inveniuntur lexicis addenda. Quae a Georgesio absunt asterisco (*) notauimus*’. En tal tesitura sólo podemos concluir que nos encontramos ante un adjetivo latino del que podemos afirmar que no fue utilizado por los grandes escritores antiguos ni tampoco por los grandes autores medievales y renacentistas anteriores a 1539, pero del que, dada su ausencia en los importantes diccionarios mencionados, no sabemos con certeza si realmente apareció o no en la latinidad antes de que lo utilizara Vives en el citado año.

⁴³ Como es obvio, estos son los significados propios del verbo *excerpere* (cf. *ThLL* V, 1227, 77-1228,13), que vertebrata etimológicamente el adjetivo *excerptorius*, como bien puso de relieve Pedro de la Mota al sacar a la palestra en su anotación al pasaje del diálogo XIV, titulado *Cubiculum et lubricatio*, donde Vives da nombre a su cuaderno, la cita de Plin., *ep.*, 3, 5, 10 ‘*Nil enim legit quod non exciperet*’ (cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 58), y como apuntan Gaffiot y Blánquez (cf. nota 42).

⁴⁴ Las diez ediciones son las siguientes: Basilea, R. Winter, marzo de 1539; *ibid.*, julio de 1539; Amberes, G. Montanus, julio de 1539; Lyon, J. Frellon y F. Frellon, 1539; Milán, G. A. di Castiglione, 1539; Paris, J. Foucher y V. Gaultherot, 1539; Amberes, G. Montanus, 19 de marzo de 1540; Lyon, J. Frellon y F. Frellon, 1540; París, J. Foucher

moderna de García Ruiz, que coteja, además, las mismas con otras tres que ofrecen la misma lectura en el texto del humanista valenciano: nos referimos a la que vio la luz en Ausburgo en 1547⁴⁵, y a las dos de los *Opera omnia* del humanista valenciano de los s. XVI y XVIII, es decir, a la de Episcopius, que se estampó en Basilea en 1555⁴⁶, y a la de Mayans, publicada en 1782.⁴⁷

A esas ediciones cabe añadir otras muchas — de hecho podemos decir que en la mayoría de las existentes — como la de Lyon de 1543⁴⁸ y 1544⁴⁹, la de Estella publicada hacia 1548⁵⁰, la de Lyon de 1551⁵¹, la de Venecia de 1565⁵², la de Madrid de 1644⁵³, o la de Valencia de 1723.⁵⁴

y V. Gaultherot, 1540; y París, D. Gaygnot, 1540 (cf. García Ruiz (ed.), *Luis Vives. Los diálogos*, pp. 87-91, n^{os} 1-10).

⁴⁵ Cf. *ibid.* pp. 91-92, n^o 11.

⁴⁶ Cf. *ibid.* p. 93, n^o 12.

⁴⁷ Cf. *ibid.* p. 93, n^o 13.

⁴⁸ Cf. *Ioannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini Linguae Latinae exercitatio. Cum rerum, et verborum memorabilium diligentissimo indice* (Lugduni: apud Seb. Gryphium, 1543), p. 61.

⁴⁹ Cf. *Ioannis Lodovici Valentini, Linguae Latinae exercitatio. Accessit etiam Graecarum priscarumque dictionum et locorum suboscurosum interpretatio per P. Mottam, Vnà cum rerum et verborum memorabilium diligentissimo indice* (Lugduni: apud Guiljelmum de Millis, MDXLIII), p. 61.

⁵⁰ Nos referimos al ejemplar de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid R/ 7935, cuya portada *Ioannis Lud. Viues Exercitationes Linguae Latinae cum Ioannis Maldonati opusculo eiusd. Argumenti et Petri Motae notis* (Bredae Brabanticae, Anno Domini, 1538) no es original, sino que fue suplida en el s. XVIII: el ejemplar fue editado en Estella por Adrián de Amberes en una fecha posterior a 1548 (cf. S. Albiñana – V. Gutiérrez (eds.), *Vives. Edicions princeps* (Valencia: Universitat de València, Generalitat Valenciana. Conselleria de Cultura, Educació y Ciència, 1992), pp. 51 y 194-195, n^o 41; J. F. Alcina, 'Las primeras anotaciones a los *Diálogos* de Vives en España: de Pedro de Mota a Juan Maldonado', *Nova tellus*, 18/2 (2000), 159-165. El pasaje al que ahora nos referimos aparece en el f. [38^v].

⁵¹ Cf. *Linguae Latinae exercitatio, Io. Lodo. Viue autore. Cum Petri Mottae Complutensis Graecarum, priscarumque dictionum, ac suboscurosum locorum interpretatione: quam in fine libri ante Indicem rerum ac uerborum inuenies* (Lugduni: Apud Antonium Vicentinum, MDLI), p. 57.

⁵² Cf. *Exercitatio linguae Latinae Ioannis Lodovici Viuis Valentini. Accesserunt annotationes in singula Colloquia, doctissimi uiri Petri Motte Complutensis. Cum Indice Latino Italico vocum difficiliorum* (Venetiis: Apud Lelium Barilettum, 1565), f. [29^v].

⁵³ Cf. *Ioannis Ludovici Vivis Valentini, Dialogistica Linguae Latinae exercitatio. Annotationes praeterea in singula colloquia, doctissimi viri Petri Mottae Complutensis, in Hispanae iuuentutis gratiam adiecimus. Cum indice Latino Hispanico vocum difficiliorum ab Ioanne Ramirez compilato* (Matriti: Por Francisco Garcia, Impressor del Reyno, 1644), p. 84.

⁵⁴ Cf. Ch. Coret y Peris (ed.), *Dialogos de el docto valenciano Luis Vives, corregidos de los muchos yerros que han contraido al passo que se han reiterado sus impresiones. Traducidos en lengua española por el Dr...* (En Valencia: Por Antonio Balle, 1723), p. 202.

Pero de todas ellas nos interesa ahora sobremanera la que apareció en Lyon en 1544, ya que probablemente es la que por primera vez⁵⁵ nos ofrece la *Graecarum priscarumque dictionum et locorum suboscuroorum interpretatio* que preparó el clérigo alcalaíno Pedro de la Mota, profesor de gramática de la Catedral y de la Universidad de Granada⁵⁶ para los lectores de la edición de la *Linguae Latinae exercitatio* que publicó él ese mismo año, pero que no conservamos en la actualidad.⁵⁷ Leamos, en efecto, lo que el citado comentarista escribió para explicar el nombre de *codex excerptorius*:⁵⁸

8 Codicem excerptorium, et regesta) Plinius Senior, ut ait Iunior, “Nihil legebat, quod non excerperet”. Librum igitur album, ubi uocabula, sententiae, loquendi formulae et reliqua, quae optima uidentur, ex auctoribus collecta reponuntur, “excerptorium” appellat. Qui autem rerum et dictionum index est, ordine abecedario distinctus, apud quem autorem et quotum folio, quae notata sunt, inueniantur, “regestum” dicitur, uulgo “registro”.⁵⁹

Como vemos, Mota nos dice que Vives llamó a su *codex excerptorius* siguiendo los pasos de Plinio el Viejo, quien, según Plinio el Joven, ‘nil legebat, quod non excerperet’.⁶⁰ En definitiva, los estudiantes debían leer los autores importantes y ‘seleccionar’ y ‘extraer’ las distintas expresiones que habrían de apuntar en las distintas partes de su cuaderno.

⁵⁵ Respecto a la hipótesis de que la edición de Lyon sea la primera que contiene los comentarios de Mota, cf. Alcina, ‘Las primeras anotaciones’, pp. 150-151.

⁵⁶ Sobre la biografía de Pedro de la Mota, cf. Alcina, ‘Las primeras anotaciones’, pp. 135-146.

⁵⁷ Aunque en la actualidad no se conoce ningún ejemplar de la misma, sabemos que Mota preparó la primera edición comentada del texto de la *Linguae Latinae exercitatio* realizada en España (cf. Alcina, ‘Las primeras anotaciones’, p. 135).

⁵⁸ Cf. *Ioannis Lodovici Valentini, Linguae Latinae exercitatio. Accessit...*, p. [a 5^a] (advertimos que hemos corregido en *quoto* la errata *quotto*, de acuerdo con el texto de otras ediciones (cf., por ejemplo, *Ioannis Ludouici Viuis Valentini Dialogistica Linguae Latinae exercitatio...*, p. 141).

⁵⁹ Sobre al término *regesta* encontramos la siguiente anotación marginal al texto de Vives en la edición de Florencia de 1568: ‘*Regesta*, registro, ut Budaeus’ (cf. *Ioannis Ludouici Viuis Colloquia alioqui Latinae Linguae Exercitatio ex optimorum codicum collatione innumeris mendis purgata, adiectis a tergo non nullis aliis ad copiam uerborum nunc primum in lucem editis, cum annotationibus indicantibus nomina, et locos auctorum qui citantur. Cum indice uocum Etrusco* (Florentiae: Apud Iuntas, 1568), p. 65). Para mayor información, cf. nota 22.

⁶⁰ Cf. Plin., *ep.*, 3, 5, 10. Aclaramos que el texto exacto de la cita ‘Nil enim legit quod non excerperet’ aparece inmediatamente después del pasaje no menos interesante para nuestros intereses ‘Post cibum saepe (quem interdum leuem et facilem ueterum more sumebat) aestate si quid otii iacebat in sole, liber legebatur, adnotabat excerpebatque’.

Pero, si interesante nos resulta por esa anotación la consulta de la edición de Lyon de 1544, no menos importante es abrir ahora la que hacia 1548 publicó en Estella el afamado humanista Juan Maldonado. Esta edición es la primera española conservada en la que encontramos, además de la *interpretatio* de Pedro de la Mota, la *Tabula alphabetica eorum quae in hoc volumine Colloquiorum continentur ex Latino sermone in vulgarem Hispanum translata*⁶¹, es decir, el famoso *Index Latino Hispanicus uocum difficiliorum ab Ioanne Ramirez compilatus*, como reza, por ejemplo, en la portada de las ediciones de la *Linguae Latinae exercitatio* de Vives aparecidas en Lyon de 1546 y 1549.⁶² Dentro de él, Juan Ramírez, profesor de la Universidad Complutense, escribió lo siguiente⁶³ hacia 1545:⁶⁴

Codex excerptorius, *El cartapacio donde se escribe lo que se saca de los libros.*

Mota y Ramírez certificaron, en definitiva, que Vives había llamado a su cuaderno *codex excerptorius* porque lo que había de hacer el estudiante era apuntar en su cuaderno lo que era propio del verbo *excerpere*: ‘sacar de los libros’ los vocablos importantes.

Con tales avales nada de extraño tiene que el nombre del cuaderno ingresara de inmediato en los manuales pedagógicos y en los diccionarios. Así nos lo demuestra, en primer lugar, el *Tyronicum linguae Latinae* que

⁶¹ Maldonado no explicita el nombre de Juan Ramírez en el título de la *Tabula alphabetica*, pero sí lo hace en la *Ad lectorem epistola* que precede a la *Tabula alphabetica* (cf. *ibid.* [O VI] (cf. Alcina, ‘Las primeras anotaciones’, pp. 165-171). El editor dice que fue el primero en unir los trabajos de Mota y Ramírez sobre la *Linguae Latinae exercitatio*, lo que lleva a suponer a nuestro admirado investigador que debió hacerlo no en la edición aparecida en Estella hacia 1548, sino en una edición anterior a las de Lyon de 1546, de las que tratamos en la nota siguiente, pues ambas tienen ya esos mismos trabajos (cf. *ibid.*, p. 162).

⁶² La portada de la edición *Ioannis Lodov. Vivis Valentini, Linguae Latinae exercitatio. Annotationes praeterea in singula colloquia doctissimi viri Petri Mottae Complutensis, in Hispanae iuuentutis gratiam adiecimus. Cum indice Latino Hispanico uocum difficiliorum ab Ioanne Ramirez compilato* (Lugduni: Apud Ioannem Frellonium, 1549), idéntica en todo a la de 1546, excepción hecha del año, puede verse en Alcina, ‘Las primeras anotaciones’, p. 164.

⁶³ El texto se encuentra en el f. [O VIII] de la edición publicada en Estella hacia 1548, que como hemos dicho tiene la falsa portada de ‘Brede Brabanticae, Anno Domini, 1538’ (cf. nota 50).

⁶⁴ El *Index* fue compuesto entre 1544, fecha de la edición de la *Linguae Latinae exercitatio* sacada a la luz por Mota y hoy perdida, con cuyas *annotationes* tiene claras coincidencias en los términos castellanos (cf. Alcina, ‘Las primeras anotaciones’, pp. 165-167), y diciembre de 1545, fecha de la muerte de Ramírez (cf. *ibid.*, 167).

publicó en Amberes Pedro Apherdiano en 1552, pues dentro del *Caput decimnnonum de Armis scholasticis* hallamos la siguiente anotación:⁶⁵

Volumen est quod plures continet in se libros partiales. Codex excerptorius, collectaneorum libellus / eenen schrijf boeck.

Y así nos lo evidencia, de otro lado, el *Dictionarium Latinohispanicum* de Elio Antonio de Nebrija que salió de las prensas de Amberes en 1560. Dentro del diccionario latino-castellano se reproduce tal cual la citada explicación de Ramírez.⁶⁶ Y en el castellano-latino se añade *Codex excerptorius* al final de la nota léxica sobre ‘cartapacio de papel blanco’ que figuraba en los diccionarios del humanista andaluz anteriores:⁶⁷

Cartapacio de papel blanco. Albiolus, i. Codex excerptorius.

VI. Pero no todo serían parabienes para el *hápax legómenon*⁶⁸ acuñado por Vives en sus *Colloquia* para designar el nombre del famoso cuaderno. Como pasamos a hacer ver a continuación, el nombre de *codex excerptorius* se trocó en *codex exceptorius*. Comencemos por evidenciar la constatación del término en el mismo ámbito filológico que hemos puesto de relieve en el apartado anterior.

En el marco de las ediciones de la *Linguae Latinae exercitatio* de Vives hemos de señalar que la sustitución de *codicem excerptorium* por *codicem exceptorium* se constata ya en el s. XVI. Así nos los demuestra la edición de Lyon de 1551, que, pese a imprimir *codicem excerptorium* en el texto del humanista valenciano, como ya señalamos⁶⁹, sin embargo, estampa *exceptorius codex* en el *Rerum et uerborum index*.⁷⁰ Así nos lo evidencia, por otra parte, la edición de Florencia de 1568, que, pese a ofrecernos la explicación ‘*codex excerptorius*, il libro de notabili’ en su *Index aliquarum vocum in Colloquiis Viuis cum versione*⁷¹, sin

⁶⁵ Cf. *Tyronicum linguae Latinae ex optimis quibusque Autoribus collectum, et in capita digestum in gratiam iuuentutis. Authore M. Petro Apherdiano* (Antuerpiae: Excudebat Ioannes Latius, An. MDLIII), f. [40^v].

⁶⁶ Cf. *Dictionarium Latinohispanicum, et vice versa Hispanicolatinum, Aelio Antonio Nebrissensi interprete, nunc denuo ingenti vocum accessione locupletatum, pristinoque nitori sublata mendarum colluie restitutum* (Antuerpiae, In aedibus Ioannis Steeltij, MDLX), s.v. *Codex excerptorius*.

⁶⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, s.v. El lector puede comprobar que se trata de un añadido cotejando este texto con el que citamos en la nota 202.

⁶⁸ Cf. nota 40.

⁶⁹ Cf. nota 51.

⁷⁰ Cf. *Linguae Latinae exercitatio, Io. Lodo. Viue autore...*, p. [k^v].

⁷¹ Cf. *Ioannis Ludouici Viuis Colloquia alioqui Latinae linguae Exercitatio...*, p. [R 3^v]. Debemos señalar que, como demuestra el simple cotejo de las distintas entradas léxicas, el

embargo, imprime *exceptorium* en la obra de Vives⁷², en la entrada y en el cuerpo de la anotación de Mota⁷³, y en el *Index uocum quas interpretatus est Petrus Motta*.⁷⁴ Y así nos lo hace ver la edición de Valencia en 1597, que saca a la luz *codicem exceptorium* en el texto del humanista valenciano⁷⁵ y *codex exceptorius* en el *Index* de Ramírez⁷⁶, aunque estampa *excerptorium* tanto en la entrada como en el cuerpo de la nota de Mota.⁷⁷

En el s. XVII también encontramos ediciones de los *Colloquia* con la lectura *codex exceptorius*. Es el caso de la edición que publicó Juan Ortiz de Zárate en Madrid en 1644, que no sólo realiza el cambio en el texto de Vives⁷⁸, sino que lo coloca, además, tanto en la entrada de la *annotatio* de Mota⁷⁹, en cuyo cuerpo estampa, sin embargo, *excerptorium*, como también en el *Index* de Ramírez.⁸⁰ Y así nos lo demuestra la edición de Venecia de 1647 que, en consonancia con el *codicem exceptorium* del texto de Vives⁸¹, saca a la luz la siguiente anotación en el *Index aliquorum uocum in Colloquiis Viuis cum versione Etrusca*:⁸²

Codex exceptorius, il lib. doue copia, ò trascr.

mencionado *Index* no es otra cosa que una adaptación al italiano, con algunos suprimidos, del preparado en España por Ramírez: la aquí rara entrada *codex excerptorius* nos hace pensar que el editor italiano hubo de consultar la explicación de Ramírez a través de un texto similar al que hace referencia la nota 63.

⁷² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 65.

⁷³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 145.

⁷⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. R', s.v. 'Exceptorius codex'.

⁷⁵ Cf. *Ioannis Ludouici Viuis Valentini Dialogistica Linguae Latinae exercitatio. Annotationes praeterea in singula Colloquia doctissimi viri Petri Mottae Complutensis in Hispanae iuuentutis gratiam adiecimus, cum indice Latino Hispanico vocum difficiliorum ab Ioanne Ramirez compilato* (Valentiae: Apud Petrum Patricium, Expensis Balthasaris Simonis, 1597), p. 60.

⁷⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. [K 4*].

⁷⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 141.

⁷⁸ Cf. *Ioannis Ludouici Viuis Valentini. Dialogistica linguae Latinae exercitatio. Annotationes praeterea in singula colloquia, doctissimi viri Petri Motta Complutensis, in Hispanam iuuentutis gratiam adiecimus. Cum indice Latino Hispanico vocum difficiliorum ab Ioanne Ramirez compilato* (Matriti: Por Francisco Garcia, Impressor del Reyno, 1644), p. 84.

⁷⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 206.

⁸⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, s.v. 'Codex exceptorius'.

⁸¹ Cf. *Ioannis Ludouici Colloquia, alioqui Latinae Linguae Exercitatio. Optimorum codicum collatione innumeris mendis purgata. Adiectis à tergo nonnullis alijs ad copiam verborum, nunc primum in lucem editis. In adnotationibus indicantibus Nomina, et locos Auctorum qui citantur. Cum Indice vocum Hetrusco* (Venetiis: Apud Gerilios, MDCXLVII), p. 64.

⁸² Cf. *ibid.*, s.v. 'Codex exceptorius'.

La lectura *codex exceptorius* también cobró vida en las ediciones del s. XVIII, como nos demuestran distintas ediciones de Valencia. Así nos lo evidencia, de un lado, la edición de 1774, que, aunque realiza el trueque en el texto de Vives⁸³, en la entrada y en el cuerpo de la *annotatio* de Mota⁸⁴, mantiene, sin embargo, incólume el *codex excerptorius* del *Index* de Ramírez.⁸⁵ Así nos lo hace ver la edición de C. Coret y Peris de 1780, que, pese a sacar a la luz *codicem excerptorium* en el texto de la *Linguae Latinae exercitatio*⁸⁶, al igual que en la edición citada de 1723⁸⁷, no obstante, introduce en la explanación de Ramírez *Codex exceptorius*.⁸⁸ Y así nos lo pone de relieve el propio Mayans en su edición de 1782, que, aunque no altera el pasaje de Vives⁸⁹, sin embargo, escribe *exceptorius* tanto en la entrada y el cuerpo de la *annotatio* de Mota⁹⁰ como en el *Index Latino Hispanicus* de Ramírez.⁹¹

Como vemos, la lectura *codex exceptorius* cobró verdadera vida en las ediciones de los *Colloquia* desde el s. XVI al s. XVIII. Es más, también sobrevivió, dentro y fuera de España, en las centurias posteriores, como nos demuestra simplemente ya en el s. XX, para no cansar al lector con más datos, las ediciones que sacaron a la luz B. Verguetti y C. Fernández en 1934⁹² y 1944⁹³, respectivamente, en cuyos textos encontramos *codicem excerptorium*.

Pero el trueque no sólo se produjo en el campo de las ediciones de la *Linguae Latinae exercitatio*: también cobró vida en el mundo de los

⁸³ Cf. *Ioannis Ludovici Vivis Dialogistica linguae Latinae exercitatio. Annotationes praeterea in singula colloquia doctissimi viri Petri Motae Complutensis in Hispanae iuventutis gratiam adiecimus. Cum Indice Latino Hispanico vocum difficiliorum, à Ioanne Ramirez compilato; denuò recognita, et à multis mendis expurgata* (Valentiae: Apud Benedictum Monfort, Illustrissimi Archiepiscopi Valentini Typographum, An. 1774), p. 119.

⁸⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 273.

⁸⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 288.

⁸⁶ *Dialogos de Juan Luis Vives traducidos en lengua castellana por... Septima edición. Corregida la traduccion, y añadidas tambien algunas Notas, por un Discipulo* (Valencia: Por Salvador Fauli, 1780), p. 190.

⁸⁷ Cf. nota 54.

⁸⁸ Cf. *Dialogos de Juan Luis Vives traducidos en lengua castellana por...*, p. 429.

⁸⁹ Cf. *Ioannis Ludovici Vivis Valentini Opera omnia*, I, 340.

⁹⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, I, 340, nota 2.

⁹¹ Cf. *ibid.*, I, 411.

⁹² Cf. B. Verguetti (ed.), *Joannis Ludovivi Vives. Colloquia. Nova editio et emendatior, curante ...* (Taurini, Tip. M. E. Marietti, 1934), p. 85.

⁹³ Cf. C. Fernández (ed.), *Diálogos latinos de Luis Vives (Exercitatio linguae Latinae) con introducción, notas, vocabulario y un apéndice alfabético-biográfico* (Barcelona. Edit. Políglota, 1940), p. 112.

filólogos. Así nos lo demuestra, sobre todo, un firme seguidor de Vives en España⁹⁴, el alcañizano Juan Lorenzo Palmireno, Catedrático del Studi General de Valencia, que, aunque sigue los pasos de Vives, utiliza el término *codex exceptorius* en el opúsculo titulado *El prouerbiador o cartapacio*, publicado en *El estudioso de la aldea* (Valencia, 1568⁹⁵ y 1571⁹⁶) y de forma mucho más sucinta en *El estudioso cortesano* (Valencia, 1587⁹⁷), así como en otras obras suyas, como estudiamos con la profundidad debida en otro trabajo.⁹⁸ Y así nos lo hace ver el Catedrático de la antigua Universidad Complutense, Alfonso García Matamoros, que, pese a ser amigo de Ramírez,⁹⁹ escribió *in codicem exceptorium e his libellis exceptoriis* al final del 'Cap. XIX. De usu describendi alienas conciones' del *De methodo concionandi liber unus* que sacó a la luz en Alcalá de Henares en 1570.¹⁰⁰

[...] Quòd si iuuenes qui Theologicas disputationes in scholis excipiunt, congressi cum suis aequalibus easdem agitent, agitatat cum veterum authorum monumentis conferrent, collatas memoriae commendarent, quas ne aliquando à mente exciderent, in codicem exceptorium referrent, me profecto reuocarem, consuetudinémque scribendi vehementer laudarem. Verùm tantum abest, vt haec ita fiant, vt quàm plurimi ex his qui theologiae

⁹⁴ Cf. V. Moreno Gallego, *La recepción hispana de Juan Luis Vives* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana. Consellería de Cultura, Educació y Esport, 2006), pp. 526-534.

⁹⁵ Cf. *El estudioso de la aldea*, compuesto por Lorenzo Palmyreno, con las quatro cosas que es obligado a aprender un buen discípulo, que son deuoción, buena criança, limpia doctrina y lo que llaman 'agibilia'. Hay también *Paradoxa grammatica*, Catálogo de historiadores cathólicos en todas lenguas, Catálogo de cosmógrafos, Catálogo de medallas, Catálogo de poetas y una España (Impresso en Valencia: en casa de Ioan Mey, a la Plaça de la Hierua, 1568), pp. 132-202.

⁹⁶ Cf. *El estudioso de la aldea de Lorenzo Palmireno*. Añadióse en esta segunda impresión el Borrador y la declaración de lo que el Christiano vee en los sagrados templos (Valencia: en la officina de Pedro de Huete, a la Plaça de la Yerua. Año 1571), pp. 131-180.

⁹⁷ Cf. *El estudioso cortesano de Lorenzo Palmireno*. Agora en esta vltima impression añadido el Prouerbiador o cartapacio (En Alcala de Henares: en casa Iuan Íñiguez de Lequerica, 1587), ff. 139'-151'.

⁹⁸ Remitimos al lector a Maestre Maestre, 'El influjo de Juan Luis Vives en Juan Lorenzo Palmireno: ¿*codex exceptorius* o *codex excerptorius*?', en *Homenaje al profesor Arnaldo Espiritu Santo* (Lisboa, Universidad de Lisboa, en prensa), aunque aclaramos que también abordamos el opúsculo *El prouerbiador o cartapacio* en los textos del presenta artículo a los que se refieren las notas 204 a 206 y 217 a 235.

⁹⁹ Cf. Alcina, 'Las primeras anotaciones', p. 168.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. *Alphonsi Garsiae Matamori Hispalensis et rhetoris primarii Complutensis de Tribus dicendi generibus, siue de recta formandi styli ratione commentarius: cui accessit de Methodo concionandi liber unus eiusdem authoris* (Compluti: Ex Officina Andreae de Angulo, 1570), ff. [181v]-182r.

student, et excolendi ingenij gratia professorum gymnasia frequentant his libellis exceptoriis contenti totum quadriennium neque diuum Thomam, neque Scotum legant, neque domi fortassis eorum authorum libros habeant. [...]

aunque, como podemos ver, frente a Palmireno, no saca a la palestra el nombre del cuaderno dentro del mismo ámbito en que lo creó Vives, es decir, en el del aprendizaje de la lengua latina y, fundamentalmente, de su léxico¹⁰¹, sino que lo emplea en el campo de la retórica religiosa.¹⁰²

No menos interesante resulta hacer la indagación en el campo de los diccionarios. Así en la edición del *Dictionarium Latinohispanicum*, et uice uersa *Hispanicolatinum* de Nebrija que vio la luz en Granada en 1572 se escribió *exceptorius* tanto en la entrada del diccionario latino-castellano¹⁰³ como en la del castellano-latino¹⁰⁴ frente al *excerptorius* que constatamos, según ya dijimos, en la edición de Amberes de 1560.¹⁰⁵

Ese trueque tendrá su influjo en el famoso *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española* de Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, como nos demuestra la edición de Madrid de 1611, donde, dentro de la vox 'Carta', leemos:¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ Cf. nota 7.

¹⁰² García Matamoros nos hace ver que los estudiantes de teología de su época utilizaban el *codex exceptorius* como un mero 'cuaderno de apuntes' (tengamos en cuenta a estos efectos la presencia del verbo *excipiunt*), pero, como demuestra el pasaje, el autor no está de acuerdo con esa realidad, sino que recomienda que, lejos de dedicarse sólo a copiar las enseñanzas retóricas recibidas, los alumnos las trabajasen en grupo, unos con otros, las cotejasen con textos de los *veteri auctores*, y las memorizasen, introduciéndolas previamente en el cuaderno para que no olvidasen nada. En opinión, pues, del humanista andaluz el *codex exceptorius* no habría de ser un mero 'cuaderno de apuntes', sino un cuaderno bien estructurado para apuntar en él una información retórica religiosa trabajada previamente. Podemos decir, en definitiva, que, *mutatis mutandis*, García Matamoros incurre en el mismo error que Palmireno: utiliza *codex exceptorius* en el sentido de *codex excerptorius*. Pero, pese a que sus pinceladas sobre lo que los estudiantes habrían de hacer antes de introducir la información en el cuaderno, son tan atinadas como elocuentes, sin embargo, no son tan minuciosas como la descripción que, al hilo de lo señalado por Vives, plasmó el humanista alcañizano en el ámbito del aprendizaje de la lengua latina y, fundamentalmente, de su léxico (cf. el trabajo nuestro que citamos en la nota 98), ni la que, en el mismo campo ahora de la retórica religiosa, hizo en 1584 fray Tomás de Trujillo en el *Thesauri concionatorum tomus primus* (cf. los textos a los que se refieren las notas 118 a 123).

¹⁰³ Cf. *Dictionarium quadruplex Aelii Antonii Nebrissensis cum ex aliis eiusdem Autoris Commentariis tum ex lexico Latino nondum edito hactenus quidem numquam impressum sed nunc denuo multis et varijs dictionibus Locupletatum hoc tali signo 8 ad marginem annotatis* (Apud inclitam Granatam: anno MDLXXII), f. [32^v].

¹⁰⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, f. 219.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. notas 66 y 67.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española. Compuesto por el licenciado Don Sebastian de Cobarruias Orozco*,... (En Madrid: por Luis Sanchez, impressor del Rey N. S., MDCXI), f. [206^v].

[...] Cartapacio, el libro de mano en que se escriuen diuersas materias, y propositos: o el cuaderno en que vno va escriuiendo lo que dicta su maestro desde la catreda. Antonio Nebris. Cartapacio, albiolus, codex exceptorius. Brocense, cartophilacium. [...]

Mucho más elocuente se nos muestra el tomo segundo de la primera edición del *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* de la Real Academia Española aparecido en Madrid en 1729, dentro ahora de la voz ‘Cartapacio’:¹⁰⁷

CARTAPACIO. s. m. Libro ò cuaderno de papél blanco en que se anota lo que se observa, leyendo ù discutiendo: y también se llama assi el que sirve para escribir las materias que en las Universidades dictan los Maestros. Lat. *Codex exceptorius*. [...]

Las ediciones del *Dictionarium Aelii Antonii Nebrissensis* del s. XVIII, como las que salieron a la luz en 1776 y 1792, siguen los mismos pasos que ya constatamos en la edición granadina de 1572¹⁰⁸ y escriben *codex exceptorius* tanto en el léxico latino-castellano¹⁰⁹ como en el castellano-latino.¹¹⁰

Por idéntico sendero se mantiene el *Sobrino aumentado o Nuevo diccionario de las lenguas española, francesa y latina* de Francisco Cormón, como nos hace ver la edición de Amberes en 1776 bajo la voz ‘Cartapacio’:¹¹¹

CARTAPACIO, s. m. Registre, tablettes, livre de mémoire, registre qui sert de bordereau, cahier dans lequel on écrit ce que les Professeurs dictent dans les Universités. L. *Codex exceptorius*.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. *Diccionario de la lengua castellana, en que se explica el verdadero sentido de las voces, su naturaleza y calidad, con las frases o modos de hablar, los proverbios o refranes, y otras cosas convenientes al uso de la lengua...* Compuesto por la Real Academia Española (En Madrid: En la Imprenta de Francisco de Hierro, Impressor de la Real Academia Española, 1729), II, 203.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. notas 103 y 104.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. *Dictionarium Aelii Antonii Nebrissensis, grammatici, chronographi regii; imo quadruplex eiusdem antiqui dictionarii supplementum...* Quae Omnia accuratius revisa, perquam diligenter recognita, ab innumeris quibus scatebant mendis vindicata, pristinae integritati restituta, admodum aucta, castigata, illustrataque prodeunt opera, studio, diligentia R. P. M. Fr. Eugenii Zeballos, Ordinis Eremitarum Sancti Augustini (Matriti: Apud Joachimum Ibarra C. R. M. Typographum, MDCCLXXVI), p. 78; y *Dictionarium Aelii Antonii Nebrissensis, grammatici, chronographi regii; imo quadruplex eiusdem antiqui dictionarii supplementum...* Primum a R. P. M. Fr. Eugenio Zeballos, Ordinis Eremitarum Sancti Augustini, accuratius revisum atque locupletatum. Postea plurimis mendis, ac vocibus purae Latinitati suspectis expurgatum à D. Enrico Cruz Herrera, in Ovetensi Archigymnasio Philosophiae, ac Sacrae Theologiae olim Auditore, et nunc Humaniorum litterarum Professore (Matriti, Apud viduam et filium Petri Marin Typographum, MDCCXCII), p. 78.

¹¹⁰ Cf. *ibid.* (Matriti: 1776), p. 682; e *ibid.* (Matriti: 1792), p. 681.

¹¹¹ Cf. *Sobrino aumentado, o Nuevo Diccionario de las lenguas española, francesa y latina...* Por Francisco Cormon, Maestro de Artes en la Universidad de Paris, y de Lengua Castellana (En Amberes: A costa de los Hermanos de Tournes, MDCCLXXVI), p. 262.

Podemos concluir que la lectura *codex exceptorius* ganó la batalla frente a *codex excerptorius*. Es más, los diccionarios nos hacen ver que el primero de estos dos nombres no sólo ha tomado el significado que le es propio por la etimología del adjetivo (es decir, el de servir de ‘cuaderno de apuntes’¹¹²), sino el que le corresponde al segundo por la misma razón (es decir, el de cuaderno ‘donde se escribe lo que se saca de los libros’, para decirlo con la mismas palabras que utilizó Ramírez en el s. XVI¹¹³).

Codex exceptorius se impuso, en definitiva, adquiriendo el mismo doble significado que, paradójicamente, se trató de dar también, cuando comenzaba el proceso del trueque léxico, a *codex excerptorius*, según hace ver la siguiente entrada del *Dittionario volgare et latino* de Oratio Toscanella, publicado en Venecia en 1568:¹¹⁴

Libro da copie, di raccolte di studij. Codex excerptorius. Vedi l’esserc. della ling. lat. del Vi. c. 78. rig. 28.

VII. La victoria de *codex exceptorius* fue de tal naturaleza que basta consultar los manuales de predicación de las órdenes religiosas para percatarnos del alcance de su triunfo. El sintagma aparece, por ejemplo, en el *Monotessaron euangelicum* del padre Severino Lubomlio Roxolano, de la Orden de los Predicadores, que apareció en Cracovia en 1607;¹¹⁵ en los *Commentaria... de statu monachorum* del padre Tomás de Jesús, de la Orden de los Carmelitas Descalzos, que vieron la luz en Amberes en 1617;¹¹⁶ y en el *Enchyridion chronologicum Carmelitarum Discalceatorum Congregationis Italiae* del padre Eusebio de Todos los Santos, miembro también de los Carmelitas Descalzos, que apareció en Roma en 1737.¹¹⁷

Pero, para percatarnos de la usurpación de funciones del *codex excerptorius* por parte del *codex exceptorius* nada mejor que sacar a la palestra

¹¹² Utilizamos el sintagma ‘cuaderno de apuntes’, aprovechando la errónea traducción que le dio en 1948 Riber a *codex excerptorius* (cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 210).

¹¹³ Cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 63.

¹¹⁴ Cf. *Dittionario volgare et latino... Fatica di Oratio Toscanella* (In Venetia, MDLXVIII), p. 191.

¹¹⁵ Cf. *Monotessaron euangelicum seu catena aurea ex quattuor Euangelistis totidemque pene millibus distinctionum connexa*, auctore R. P. F. Severino, Lubomlio, Roxolano (Cracoviae: In officina Typographica Bazilii Scalscii, MDCVII), I, 660.

¹¹⁶ Cf. *Commentaria in cap. Non dicatis XII. Q. I. C. Monachi, et c. Cum ad Monasterium. De statu Monachorum* (Antuerpiae: Apud Gerardum Wolsschatium, MDCXVII), p. 94 (mal numerada como 92).

¹¹⁷ Cf. *Enchyridion chronologicum Carmelitarum Discalceatorum Congregationis Italiae, sub titulo S. P. Eliae Prophetæ digestum a P. Eusebio ab Omnibus Sanctis* (Romae: Typis Rochi Bernabo, MDCCXXXVII), p. 307.

el *Thesauri concionatorum tomus primus* del padre Tomás de Trujillo, de la Orden de los Predicadores, cuya primera edición apareció en Barcelona en 1579, pero que nosotros consultamos a través de la impresión de Lyon de 1584. Leamos, en efecto, el *Liber secundus in quo multi studendi modi versandique praedictos et alios quoscunque libros, aperte traduntur vt fructuosè cedat impensui labor, et ex eisdem libris accommodata ad conciones componendas doctrina depromatur*, cuyos ocho primeros capítulos giran alrededor de los *codices exceptorii* que debían preparar los frailes. Los títulos hablan por sí mismos: *De primo studendi modo, et quomodo ex libris depromatur doctrina. Cap. I; Quod praeter eos codices exceptorios alius quoque confici debeat peculiaris et vt ita dicam extrauagans, aliis peculiaribus rebus describendis, concionandi, vel praelegendi instituto facientibus. Cap. II; Quod necesse sit praedictorum exceptoriorum codicum indices fieri. Cap. III; Quo pacto confici et ordinari Indices seu tabula debeant in praefatis exceptoriis codicibus, ac primum in extrauagantibus. Cap. IIII; Qua ratione confici debeant Indices in aliis sacrae scripturae Codicibus exceptoriis. Cap. V; Quònam modo conficiendus sit scripturae sacrae Index in ipsis exceptoriis codicibus. Cap. VI; Cuinam usui dextra margo in quaternionibus deseruiat cap. VII.*¹¹⁸ Y, si alguna duda nos queda aún, veamos, en primer lugar, lo que sobre la forma de preparar los *codices exceptorii* ‘bíblicos’ se dispone en el primero de los citados ocho capítulos:¹¹⁹

[...] Primus igitur ex his modis talis est: Conficies tot codices exceptorios in quarta portione phylurae quot continet libros Biblia sacra, qui sunt septuaginta quinque, tertio etiam et quarto Esdrae connumeratis, licet hactenus nondum sint in librorum Canonorum Canonem admissi. Habebit verò quilibet codex exceptorius tot folia quot capita liber correspondens complectitur, ita vt codex respondens Genesi quinquaginta foliis absoluitur, et Exodo destinatus, quadraginta, et sic de aliis vsque ad Apocalypsim, cui capitibus duobus et viginti, totidem folia respondere debent. Atque praeterea singuli codices exceptorii habeant margines vtrinque, nimirum dextra, et sinistra, duobus digitis latas: eo verò in loco vbi Christianorum laudabili more crux imprimi solet, titulus libri respondentis imprimatur, et describatur in prima singulorum pagina ac folio: in reliquis enim numerus duntaxat capitum ipsius libri inscribi debet. [...]

¹¹⁸ Cf. *Thesauri concionatorum tomus primus...*, Autore R. P. praesentato fratre Thoma de Trugillo ordinis Praedicatorum, ex prouincia Aragoniae (Lugduni: Apud Carolum Pesnot, MDLXXXIII), pp. 12-16.

¹¹⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 12, col. 1ª, lín. 61-col 2ª, lín. 32.

Y leamos, de otra parte, lo que allí mismo se dispone sobre su finalidad:¹²⁰

[...] His ita confectis et dispositis, incipies graues quosque doctores ac primum antiquiores euoluere, excitatáque ac perattenta mente percurrere. Quemcunque verò auctorem legeris, inuenta scripturae sacrae auctoritate aliqua optimè explicata, depromes statim exceptorium codicem inuentae auctoritatis libro respondentem, et in folio ipsius capitis quo meliori licebit modo ac methodo illam describes, et quanta poteris breuitate perstringes, ita tamen vt cum ea tibi vtendum sit, nil necesse habeat, ad librum vnde exprompta est, denuò recurrere. [...]

Resulta obvio que los frailes, tras adquirir tantos cuadernos de hojas en blanco cuantos libros tenía la Biblia, debían proceder a una minuciosa división de los mismos tomando como referente los capítulos de cada uno de los libros de la Sagrada Escritura. Y, es más, nuestro dominico nos describe la finalidad de los *codices exceptorii* 'bíblicos': los frailes habían de leer a los padres y doctores de la iglesia y apuntar en los respectivos cuadernos brevemente, pero recogiendo siempre toda la información necesaria, cuanto fuera de interés sobre los libros sagrados.

En definitiva, fray Tomás de Trujillo, asignando al *codex exceptorius* las funciones propias de *codex excerptorius* creado por Vives, lo sacó del ámbito del aprendizaje de la lengua latina y, fundamentalmente, de su léxico, y lo llevó al campo de la retórica religiosa dentro de un proceso que se había fraguado primero en el ámbito de la filología universitaria, como nos demuestra el pasaje estudiado de García Matamoros.¹²¹ La descripción de estas funciones, mucho más minuciosas que las del humanista andaluz, nos permite afirmar que el nombre del cuaderno de Vives llegó a asumir también unas funciones similares a las del cuaderno *per locos communes* de Erasmo¹²², con el que tanta afinidad tuvo en su origen, como bien señaló Moss.¹²³

Nos encontramos, pues, *mutatis mutandis*, con un trasvase de las funciones del *codex excerptorius* al *codex exceptorius* en el campo de la retórica religiosa. A la misma conclusión nos lleva, por último, el tratado *Paulus Ecclesiastes* del predicador capuchino Amadeo Bajocense que fue publicada en Venecia en 1720. Dentro de la *Sectio IV. De exercitatione in legendo* leemos:¹²⁴

¹²⁰ Cf. *ibid.* p. 12, col. 2^a, líns. 55-66.

¹²¹ Cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 100, así como la nota 102.

¹²² Cf. nota 5.

¹²³ Cf. notas 5 y 7.

¹²⁴ Cf. *Paulus Ecclesiastes seu Eloquentia Christiana qua orator evangelicus ad Ideam et Doctrinam Diui Pauli formatur... Authore Patre Amadeo Bajocensi Praedicatore Capuccino* (Venetiis: Typis Jo. Baptistae Albritii, MDCCXX), pp. 28-29.

[...] 2. Nec illa omnia observare tantum sufficit, sed opus est Codice Exceptorio, in quem seponantur quae notatu digna visa fuerint, et quae deinde solerti usu nostra faciamus; Apes imitari debemus (ait Seneca Ep. 84)¹²⁵ et quaecumque ex diuersa Lectione conguessimus separare melius distincta servantur; deinde adhibita Ingenii cura et facultate in unum saponem varia illa libamenta confundere: ut etiamsi apparuerit unde sumptum sit, aliud tamen esse quàm unde sumptum est appareat, etc. [...]

El texto habla por sí mismo: como García Matamoros y como los frailes de las demás ordenes, fray Amadeo Bajocense confirió a *codex exceptorius* unas funciones que, de acuerdo con las primeras ediciones de la *Linguae Latinae exercitatio*, correspondían al *codex excerptorius* de Vives. Y al igual que sus predecesores nuestro autor aplicó el cuaderno del humanista valenciano al campo de la retórica religiosa. Notemos, además, a este último respecto la presencia de una metáfora sobre el trabajo de las abejas, cuya importancia comprenderemos más adelante.¹²⁶

Pero es hora de concluir la historia de tan interesante embrollo léxico. Lo queremos hacer poniendo de relieve que, como era de esperar, la confusión entre *codex excerptorius* y *codex exceptorius* también ha llegado a nuestros días. En efecto, aunque hay estudiosos que utilizan el primero de estos sintagmas, como es el caso de S. López Poza¹²⁷ y de Luis Gil¹²⁸, no faltan quienes utilizan el segundo, como es el caso de M. D. N. Fortun Sanz¹²⁹ o de J. Aragüés Aldaz.¹³⁰ Es más, la vacilación ha llegado al punto de que incluso se han utilizado los dos sintagmas al mismo tiempo, dándoles un sentido nuevo que no se corresponde con la

¹²⁵ Aclaremos que la cita de Sen., ep., 84, 5 comienza en *Apes* y termina en *appareat*. Sobre el pasaje, cf. nota 186.

¹²⁶ Cf. los textos a los que se refieren las notas 184 a 195 y, en especial, las citas de Moss que hacemos en las notas 188 y 192. Al hilo de lo expuesto por la citada investigadora, nos podremos percatar de que la metáfora de las abejas sacada a relucir por fray Amadeo Bajocense apunta a su trabajo de 'producción' de la miel y no al de su 'recolección' del néctar de las flores, que se mencionan a de pasada, o al de su 'organización'. Desde esta perspectiva el autor se alinea más con Erasmo que con Vives produciendo una distorsión que comprendemos mejor, si tenemos en cuenta, de un lado, el trasvase del nombre del cuaderno desde el ámbito del aprendizaje de la lengua latina al de la retórica religiosa y, de otro, el error de llamarlo *codex exceptorius* y no *codex excerptorius*.

¹²⁷ Cf. S. L. Poza, 'Florilegios, poliantes, repertorios de sentencias y lugares comunes. Aproximación bibliográfica', *Criticón*, 49 (1990), 62-63 y 75-76.

¹²⁸ Cf. L. Gil, *Formas y tendencias del humanismo valenciano quinientista* (Alcañiz – Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Humanísticos – Ediciones Laberinto – Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2003), p. 102.

¹²⁹ Cf. M. D. N. Fortun Sanz, 'De la vida y costumbres de los estudiantes en la Universidad española hasta el siglo XVIII', *Tavira. Revista de ciencias de la educación*, 1 (1984), p. 128.

¹³⁰ Cf. J. Aragüés Aldaz, 'Camino de la ejemplaridad: los consejos sobre el acopio de *exempla*, de Erasmo al Padre Isla', *Criticón*, 110 (2010), 9-17, 19-20 y 24-25.

realidad descrita. Es el caso de M^a. P. Cuartero, quien escribe lo siguiente en el apartado 'Forma probable de trabajo por parte de Gracián: formación de un *codex exceptorius-excerptorius*' de su artículo sobre la pervivencia de los autores clásicos en el mencionado autor:¹³¹

La forma de trabajo que utilizó Gracián (al igual que otros muchos escritores del Siglo de Oro, herederos de los humanistas), para la recepción de los clásicos, fue, con toda probabilidad, la de la paulatina confección de un *codex exceptorius* de lecturas de ellos, ya directas, ya a través de esas colecciones que los albergaban. Luego el *codex exceptorius* pasaría a ser *codex excerptorius* del que Gracián iría sacando los textos allí anotados. [...]

VIII. Acabamos de presentar, pues, la historia del galimatías al que ha dado lugar el nombre del cuaderno recomendado por Vives.¹³² Pero nuestro estudio no puede quedar ahí: llegado ha el momento, en definitiva, de que indagemos con la acribía necesaria si, a la luz de todos estos datos, el nombre correcto del cuaderno era el que ya daban las diez primeras ediciones de la *Linguae Latinae exercitatio* del humanista valenciano o, por el contrario, el correcto era el que después apareció en el ámbito filológico universitario y cobró vida en el mundo eclesiástico. Debemos formularnos, en definitiva, si Vives escribió *codex excerptorius* o *codex exceptorius*.

El primer paso de nuestra investigación en este sentido será el de descubrir si la lectura *codex exceptorius* es una simple errata transmitida de unos editores a otros o, por el contrario, tiene alguna razón de ser.

La posibilidad de que nos encontremos ante una simple errata tendría a su favor el hecho de que en algunos índices de los *Colloquia*, como es el caso ya del *Rerum et uerborum memorabilium index* de la edición de Lyon de 1543¹³³ la referencia a nuestro cuaderno aparece como *excerptorius codex* a renglón seguido del sustantivo *exceptor* que remite al *puerum exceptorem* que encontramos en el pasaje ya citado del diálogo

¹³¹ Cf., por lo demás un excelente artículo, de M^a. P. Cuartero Sancho, 'La pervivencia de los autores clásicos en Gracián', *Alazet*, 14 (2002), p. 80.

¹³² Por razones de espacio dejamos a un lado otros datos de nuestro galimatías. Entre ellos apuntamos aquí, aunque brevemente, que el enredo formado llega incluso al error de atribuir a Plinio el Viejo la creación del neologismo *codex excerptorius* (cf. G. Gherardini, *Supplimento a' vocabularj italiani proposto da...* [Milano: Dalla Stamperia di Paolo Andréa Molina, 1854], III [F-K], 129, s.v. 'fiutare'), error que obviamente tiene su origen en el hecho de que Plinio es el nombre del personaje a través del cual Vives da nombre a su cuaderno en el diálogo XIV de sus *Colloquia*, como ya señalamos en el apartado III y explicaremos mejor a continuación.

¹³³ Cf. *Ioannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini Linguae Latinae exercitatio...*, f. k 3^r.

XIV.¹³⁴ Queremos decir, en definitiva, que la forma *exceptor* pudo engendrar la errata de *exceptorius*.

Pero un análisis detenido del texto de la *Linguae Latinae exercitatio* nos hace ver que el trueque no fue fruto de un mero *lapsus* irreflexivo, sino que nos encontramos ante una corrección originada probablemente por los siguientes argumentos:

a) Es muy posible que quienes abrazaron la lectura *codex exceptorius* partieran del citado término *exceptor*, pero no por la razón que acabamos de señalar. Un análisis del pasaje, que resultaba obligado hacer a la luz de la relación de la aparición conjunta de los citados términos en los índices, podía hacer pensar que, si Plinio, el personaje central del diálogo de Vives, hace llamar a su joven amanuense (*puerum exceptorem*) y a continuación señala que quería ‘dictarle algo’ (*aliquid dictare*), el cuaderno debería llamarse *codex exceptorius*.

El lector entenderá más fácilmente este razonamiento si recordamos, por ejemplo,¹³⁵ la nota que Pedro de la Mota hizo sobre ese *puerum exceptorem*, anotación que, dada la generalizada consulta de tales *annotationes*, no descartamos que también estuviera bien presente a la hora de hacer el raciocinio anterior:¹³⁶

7 Puerum exceptorem) Id est, qui scribat quod ego protulerim. Qui profert, dictare, qui scribit, excipere dicitur.

El pasaje no puede ser más elocuente: de quien ‘expone’ decimos que ‘dicta’ (*dictare*) y de quien ‘escribe’ que ‘toma apuntes’ (*excipere*).¹³⁷

Es muy posible, pues, que los términos *exceptorem* y *dictare* del propio pasaje de Vives — términos estos que aunque en el diálogo no se utilizan en el contexto escolar, sin embargo, eran de uso cotidiano en el

¹³⁴ Cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 34.

¹³⁵ El significado que, como derivado del verbo *excipere*, tiene el adjetivo *exceptorius*, se intuye fácilmente, entre otros posibles pasajes humanísticos (cf. el texto que citamos en la nota 138), por el siguiente párrafo del anexo al *De conscribendis epistolis* de Vives intitulado *Miscellanea de ueterum consuetudine epistolari, tum agendo, tum loquendo, ex Cicerone potissimum. Addita sunt etiam nonnulla nostri usus* (cf. *Ioannis Ludouici Viui Valentini...*, II, 302):

[...] et ab excipiendo quae alius dictaret, *exceptor*; [...]

¹³⁶ Cf. *Ioannis Lodovici Valentini, Linguae Latinae exercitatio. Accessit...*, p. [a 5°], edición por la que citamos el texto, y *Ioannis Ludouici Viui Valentini Opera omnia*, I, 340, nota 1.

¹³⁷ Respecto al sentido del verbo latino en este caso, que bien nos pone de relieve Suet., *Nero*, 52: ‘dictante aliquo exceptos [uersus]’, cf. *ThLL*, V, 1253, 10-36, s.v. ‘excipio’.

mismo¹³⁸ — hicieran pensar que había que corregir en *codicem exceptorium* en la posterior frase del citado diálogo de Vives que la mayoría de las ediciones sacaban a la luz como ‘Profer mihi ex armario Ciceronem et Demosthenem, tum ex pluteo codicem excerptorium’.¹³⁹

b) De otro lado, quienes abrazaron la lectura *codicem exceptorium* podrían haber considerado a favor de su interpretación que en el cap. III del *De disciplinis liber III* Vives comienza por señalar que el alumno debe tener un cuaderno ‘básico’, más pequeño, para introducir la información dictada por sus profesores.¹⁴⁰

[...] ad ea accipienda, quae ex ore praeceptoris cadent, utique non uiliora quàm gemmae [...]

y que allí mismo, poco después, prescribe la confección de uno ‘avanzado’ mayor diciendo:

[...] eodem referet tum quae a praeceptore acceperit copiosius dicta ac fusius, tum quae ipse sua opera apud magnos scriptores legerit uel ex aliis dicta obseruarit [...]

Es evidente que el término ‘accipere’, que podríamos traducir por ‘recibir’ o ‘recoger’ en el primer pasaje y por ‘oír’ en el segundo podría avalar la corrección de *excerptorius* en *exceptorius*.¹⁴¹

c) Finalmente, debemos considerar que quienes optaron por corregir el texto hubieran podido pensar, además, que el término *exceptorius* tenía en el mundo antiguo, como bien nos demuestra el *ThLL*¹⁴², un mayor refrendo que *excerptorius*:¹⁴³ recordemos, en efecto, que, mientras que este último término no aparece en los diccionarios del propio s. XVI anteriores a 1539¹⁴⁴, aquél, aunque está ausente del *Calepino*¹⁴⁵, figura

¹³⁸ Cf., por ejemplo, para el caso del verbo *excipere*, el pasaje de Poliziano, *ep.*, 6, 1, p. 162 ‘[adnotaciones] quas me praelegente studiosi exceperunt’ que nos da Rizzo, *Il lessico filologico*, p. 95.

¹³⁹ La frase pertenece al pasaje que citamos completo en el texto al que se refiere la nota 34.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. el texto al que se refiere nuestra nota 21.

¹⁴¹ Tengamos presente, por otra parte, la existencia de otro pasaje de Vives donde habla también, aunque no expresamente, de la información filológica que había de introducir el alumno en el cuaderno al dictado del profesor (cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 16).

¹⁴² Cf. *ThLL*, V, 1226, 37-42, s.v. ‘exceptorius, -a, -um’.

¹⁴³ Como ya dijimos, el adjetivo *excerptorius* no aparece en el *ThLL* (cf. nota 42).

¹⁴⁴ Cf. nota 41.

¹⁴⁵ Recordemos que tampoco aparece en el diccionario de Calepino el adjetivo *excerptorius*-a-um (cf. nota 41).

en el *Lexicon* de Nebrija de 1492¹⁴⁶ y en el *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* de R. Estienne aparecido por primera vez en 1532.¹⁴⁷

IX. Pero una cosa es que no faltasen argumentos para pensar que el *hápx legómenon* creado realmente por Vives en la *Linguae Latinae exercitatio* fue *codex excerptorius* y otra muy distinta es que esos argumentos, aunque lógicos, fueran los que realmente pasaron por la mente del humanista valenciano a la hora de crear su neologismo.

Demostremos, en definitiva, como ya habrá adivinado el avisado lector, que Vives escribió realmente *codex excerptorius*. Tres son los argumentos que nos llevan a esa conclusión:

a) Nuestra defensa de la citada lectura tiene su principal refrendo en la ya citada anotación que hizo al pasaje Mota¹⁴⁸, aunque desde dos perspectivas muy distintas a la que de por sí ya ofrece su inteligente razonamiento de relacionar el adjetivo de *codex excerptorius* con la frase de Plinio el Joven sobre el método de trabajo de Plinio el Viejo. Pasamos a abrir, en definitiva, una nueva puerta a la investigación que, sin embargo, no aprovechó el comentarista del Renacimiento.

1) Descubramos, en primer lugar, que el propio Vives sacó a la luz la frase 'Nec librum ullum legas quin eadem excerptas quae...' al comienzo del apartado 'Lectio' de la *Epistola II. De ratione studii puerilis*:¹⁴⁹

Nec librum ullum legas quin eadem excerptas quae de sermone praeceptoris dixi. [...] Adsit semper penna et charta: quae miraberis, quae te delectabunt, insignias aliqua notula; itidem et quae te remorabuntur ut a magistro vel etiam condiscipulo sciscitere.

En esa frase, que a todas luces redactó él con la mente puesta en el 'Nil enim legit quod non exciperet' que Plinio el Joven escribió respecto a Plinio el Viejo¹⁵⁰, el humanista valenciano aconsejó a Carlos Mountjoy

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Elio Antonio de Nebrija, *Diccionario latino- español* (Salamanca, 1492). *Estudio preliminar* por G. Colón y M. J. Soberanas (Barcelona: Puvill- Editor, 1979), s.v. *Exceptorius* -a -um, 'por cosa de excepción' y *Exceptorium*, 'por recogedero'.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Roberti Stephani lexicographorum principis *Thesaurus linguae Latinae in IV tomos diuisus* (Basileae: Typis et Impensis E. et J. Thurnisiorum Fratr., MDCCXL), II, 267, s.v.: *Exceptorius*, 'Adj. Ulp. in l. Instr. D. De instructo uel instrumento leg. Quali vindemiatorii, exceptoriique' (= Ulp., *dig.*, 33, 7, 8).

¹⁴⁸ Cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 58.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Ioannis Ludouici Vivis Valentini *Opera omnia*, I, 273.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. nota 60.

que ‘seleccionara’ y ‘extrajera’ de los libros y apuntara en una *charta* que había de tener a mano la misma información (*uerba, formulae dicendi, sententiae*, etc) que, un poco más arriba y, más concretamente, al final del apartado ‘Praeceptor’ de la misma epístola¹⁵¹, le había dicho que debía anotar al escuchar las pláticas de su maestro:

[...] *Attentus illum audi: verba ejus, formulas dicendi, sententias annota et imitatione te similem ipsius, quoad facere poteris, effinge; quod praeceptor, quum videbit, dabit vicissim opera ne tu aliquid ex se possis accipere quod imitatione sit indignum.*

Nada de extraño tiene a partir de ahí, sino todo lo contrario, que Vives utilizara un derivado del verbo *excerpere* para dar el nombre de *codex excerptorius* a su famoso cuaderno.

2) En segundo lugar, debemos evidenciar que, al relacionar *codex excerptorius* con la frase de Plinio el Joven respecto al método de trabajo de Plinio el Viejo, Mota no hizo un razonamiento fuera de lugar, sino que lo hizo a partir de un contexto que él no explicitó, pero que le daba totalmente la razón. Pasemos a evidenciarlo.

Como ya dijimos, el cap. XIV de la *Linguae Latinae exercitatio*, titulado *Cubiculum et lucubratio*, es un diálogo sobre el aposento y el estudio nocturno entre cuatro personajes que reciben los nombres de Plinio, Epicteto, Celso y Dídimo. A todas luces esos personajes hacen referencia a cuatro conocidos autores de la Antigüedad: Plinio el Viejo¹⁵², Epicteto de Hierópolis de Frigia, Aulo Cornelio Celso y Dídimo de Alejandría.¹⁵³ Un mero repaso a las obras de estos autores nos hace ver que Vives se pensó mucho los nombres de los cuatro personajes: el primero fue el autor de la gran enciclopedia del Medievo y del Renacimiento¹⁵⁴, los

¹⁵¹ Cf. *Ioannis Ludouici Vivis Valentini Opera omnia*, I, 271.

¹⁵² No todos los estudiosos de la *Linguae Latinae exercitatio* identifican el personaje de Plinio con Plinio el Viejo. Así lo hacen en efecto, F. Calero y M^a. J. Echarte, *Juan Luis Vives, valenciano. Linguae Latinae exercitatio. ‘Ejercicios de lengua latina. Traducción y notas por...’* (Valencia: Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 1994), p. 164, nota 214, y García Ruiz, *Luis Vives. Los diálogos*, p. 469, comentario a XIV,2. Pero no Alcina quien escribe ‘Plinio, nombre de dos escritores importantes latinos’ (cf. J. F. Alcina, *Juan Luis Vives. Diálogos y otros escritos. Introducción, traducción y notas de...* [Barcelona, Planeta, 1988], p. 69, nota 1).

¹⁵³ La relación entre los cuatro personajes del capítulo de Vives con los cuatro estudiosos de la Antigüedad ya fue evidenciada por García Ruiz (ed.), *Luis Vives. Los diálogos*, p. 469, aunque la autora no conecta dicha vinculación con el problema que nos ocupa.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. M. Chibnall, ‘Pliny’s *Natural History* and the Middle Ages’, en T. A. Dorey (ed.), *Empire and the Aftermath, Silver Latin II* (London – Boston: Routledge and Kegan

célebres *Naturalis historiae libri XXXVII*; el segundo escribió un *Enchiridion*, que contiene máximas morales; el tercero sacó a la luz una enciclopedia llamada *Artes*, de la que conservamos ocho libros de medicina; y del cuarto, que ha pasado a la historia por la anécdota de que había escrito tantos libros que a veces no se acordaba después de haberlos redactado, debemos recordar ahora que gran parte de esos libros eran compilaciones poéticas épicas, líricas o dramáticas. Nos encontramos, en suma, con cuatro personajes dedicados a un trabajo intelectual que venía como anillo al dedo para recomendar el uso del *codex excerptorius*: queremos decir que la labor enciclopédica o de recopilación de los cuatro personajes cuadra perfectamente con la recomendación de Vives a sus alumnos de que pasaran muchas horas leyendo a los autores importantes y anotando en sus cuadernos toda la información filológica interesante que les saliera al paso. No olvidemos, además, que el humanista valenciano recomendó a Catalina de Aragón en 1523 que su hija María Tudor preparase un *libellus ex vacua charta* en el que debía anotar pequeñas sentencias, convirtiéndolo así en un *enchiridion*.¹⁵⁵

Si por formular esta hipótesis considera el lector que estamos llevando las cosas demasiado lejos, tenga en cuenta, de un lado, que el personaje de Vives se entrega al trabajo intelectual ‘robando horas al sueño’, como vino a decir Plinio el Viejo al emperador Vespasiano en el prefacio-dedicatoria de su *Naturalis historia*¹⁵⁶, y, de otro, que el nuevo Plinio, da muestras de un abrumador saber enciclopédico utilizando con precisión los nombres de los tipos de aposentos y sus partes (*cubiculum*, *coenatio*, *angulus*, etc.)¹⁵⁷, de los utensilios para alumbrar (*candela*, *sepaceus*, *cereus*, *lychnuchum*, etc.)¹⁵⁸, de los muebles y objetos para estudiar (*mensa*, *tibicen*, *pluteolus*, etc.)¹⁵⁹, de instrumentos relacionados con la

Paul, 1975), pp. 57-78; G. Serbat, ‘Pline l’Ancien. État présent des études sur sa vie, son oeuvre et son influence’, *ANRW*, II/32/4 (1986), 2069-2200; A. M^a. Moure Casas, ‘Plinio en España: panorama general’, *Revista de Estudios Latinos*, 8 (2008), 203-237; S. I. Ramos Maldonado, ‘¿Escribió Plinio el Viejo una enciclopedia?: A propósito de una lectura de L. Flaminio Sículo’, en A. Alvar Ezquerro – F. García Jurado (eds.), *Actas del X Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos (21-25 de septiembre de 1999)* (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Estudios Clásicos, 2001), II, 605-613; ‘La *Naturalis Historia* de Plinio el Viejo: lectura en clave humanística de un clásico’, *Ágora. Estudios Clásicos em Debate*, 15 (2013), 51-94.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 10

¹⁵⁶ Cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 164.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. García Ruiz (ed.), *Luis Vives. Los diálogos*, pp. 248, lín. 40, y 250, líns. 77-78.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 246, líns. 5-7.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 248, líns. 39-40 y 42.

escritura (*calamus, penna, theca pulueraria*, y el propio *codex excerptorius*)¹⁶⁰, de los muebles y ropas del dormitorio (*lectus, anacliterium, culcitra plumea, ceruical, puluinus*, etc.)¹⁶¹, de los insectos que pueden molestarnos en las habitaciones (*culex y cimex*)¹⁶², lo que aprovecha, como buen naturalista, para dictaminar en su última intervención del diálogo que la plaga de chinches que asolaba París y Lovaina se debía al tipo de madera, para el caso de la primera de estas dos ciudades, y de la arcilla, para el caso de la segunda.¹⁶³

Y, si aún así el lector alberga alguna duda, considere, de un lado, que el propio adjetivo *subsiciuus- a- um* que utiliza Plinio el Viejo al aclararle al emperador Vespasiano en el prefacio-dedicatoria de la *Historia Natural* que la redacción de su obra no le había quitado horas a sus trabajos administrativos, sino horas al sueño:¹⁶⁴

[...] homines enim sumus et occupatis subsiciuisque temporibus ista curamus, id est nocturnis, ne quis uestrum putet his cessatum horis. dies vobis inpendimus, cum somno valetudinem computamus, vel hoc solo praemio contenti, quod, dum ista, ut ait M. Varro, musinamur, pluribus horis vivimus. profecto enim vita vigilia est. [...]

también aparece en boca del personaje de Vives:¹⁶⁵

PLIN. Aliquando repetemus succissius horis, ut spero; nam lubet multum leuamenti a studiis grauioribus. Defessus sum iam studendo, meditando, scribendo. Sterne mihi lectum.

Y tenga presente, de otro, que el propio segundo término latino del título del diálogo *Cubiculum et lucubratio* encuentra su razón de ser no sólo en el paralelo ya comentado con los estudios nocturnos de Plinio el Viejo, sino también que en la información que nos da este en el mismo prefacio de su *Historia Natural* de que los más serios de los autores romanos habían dado títulos como *Antiquitates*, *Exempla* o *Artes*, en tanto que los más ingeniosos habían abrazado el de *Lucubrationes*:¹⁶⁶

[...] nostri graviores Antiquitatum, Exemplorum Artiumque, facetissimi Lucubrationum, puto quia Bibaculus erat et vocabatur. [...]

¹⁶⁰ Cf. el texto el texto al que se refiere la nota 34.

¹⁶¹ Cf. García Ruiz (ed.), *Luis Vives. Los diálogos*, pp. 250, líns. 76-78, y 252, lín. 82.

¹⁶² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 252, líns. 88 y 94.

¹⁶³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 252, líns. 96-97.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Plin., *H.N. praef.*, 18.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. García Ruiz (ed.), *Luis Vives. Los diálogos*, p. 250, líns. 74-76.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Plin., *H.N. praef.*, 24.

Cabe concluir, por tanto, que el razonamiento que hizo Mota relacionando *codex excerptorius* con la anotación de Plinio el Joven sobre el método de trabajo de Plinio el Viejo, lejos de estar fuera de lugar, dio totalmente en el blanco.

b) De otra parte, nuestra defensa de la lectura *codex excerptorius* encuentra otro importante argumento en el análisis de un pasaje del mismo diálogo XIV de los *Colloquia* que, como veremos, guarda relación con el ya citado¹⁶⁷, donde Vives dio nombre a su cuaderno.

En este nuevo pasaje, al hilo de la petición que Plinio hace a Dídimo en el referido texto de que le alargara del armario un libro de Cicerón y otro de Demóstenes, el ayo le entrega un tomo del primero de estos dos escritores con una frase ('Hoc habes Ciceronis') sacada de Mart., 2, 89, 4, frase esta que, por pertenecer a un epigrama soez del vate bilbilitano (e impropio, por tanto, de un libro escolar) contra el orador arpinate¹⁶⁸, nuestro personaje principal corta de inmediato pidiendo tranquilidad a sus contertulios. Y a continuación le pide a Dídimo que le desate el libro y que le localice el pasaje de Cic., *Tusc.*, 4, 58-68,¹⁶⁹ donde se habla de la mansedumbre¹⁷⁰ y de la alegría.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁷ Cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 34.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. García Ruiz (ed.), *Luis Vives. Los diálogos*, pp. 472-474, comentario a XIV, 64-65. Debemos señalar, no obstante, que, a nuestro juicio, no es correcta la traducción 'En esto te asemejas a Cicerón' que la citada investigadora da a 'Hoc habes Ciceronis', siguiendo a Calero y Echarte, *Juan Luis Vives, valenciano*, p. 70, que traducen 'En esto te pareces a Cicerón' y relacionan el texto con la anterior respuesta que da Plinio aclarando que le da igual el tipo de pluma: nosotros pensamos que el hemistiquio de Marcial ha de traducirse por 'Esto tienes de Cicerón', como hace Coret y Peris, *Dialogos de el docto valenciano Luis Vives*, p. 205, e, inspirado por este, L. Riber, *Juan Luis Vives. Obras completas* (Madrid, M. Aguilar Editor, 1948), p. 924, o por 'Esto es lo que tienes de Cicerón', como hace Alcina (*Juan Luis Vives. Diálogos*, p. 71), y ponerse en relación con el libro de Cicerón que ha pedido Plinio.

¹⁶⁹ A nuestro juicio, este es el pasaje que ordena buscar Plinio y no el de Cic., *Tusc.*, 3, 71, como defiende García Ruiz (ed.), *Luis Vives. Los diálogos*, p. 473, nota a XIV, 65-67, partiendo de que, a renglón seguido del texto que ahora citamos, Epicteto encuentra unos versos en latín que Dídimo aclara que son una traducción de unos versos de Sófocles (= Soph., Fr. 576 [666] ed. Radt, *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta IV*) realizada por el escritor romano. Entendemos que Epicteto, que está al lado de Dídimo, llama la atención sobre esos versos, cuando el ayo de Plinio hojeaba el libro buscando el pasaje de Cic., *Tusc.*, 4, 58-68, pero esos versos no guardan relación alguna con la *mansuetudo* ni con la *laetitia*, pues, como bien escribe la citada investigadora (cf. *ibid.*, p. 473, nota a XIV, 67-69) 'tratan en realidad sobre el consuelo que se es capaz de ofrecer ante las desgracias ajenas y la inevitable pesadumbre de las propias'.

¹⁷⁰ Cicerón no utiliza aquí el término *mansuetudo*, pero entendemos que Vives se refería a la forma de calmar el espíritu que se explican en Cic., *Tusc.* 4, 58-64.

¹⁷¹ Cf. García Ruiz (ed.), *Luis Vives. Los diálogos*, p. 250, lín. 65-67.

PLIN. Conquiescite, reclude mihi Ciceronem; aperi, euolue adhuc tria aut quatuor folia ad quartum *Tusculanarum quaestionum*, quaere ibi de mansuetudine et laetitia.

Vives hace que sus ficticios personajes no aclaren después lo que se iba hacer exactamente con el pasaje localizado, pues Plinio alega que está cansado y que quiere irse a la cama.¹⁷² Pero es evidente que, a la luz de que el personaje principal había hecho venir a Dídimos, su joven amanuense, para ‘dictarle algo’ (*aliquid dictare*) y que le había pedido a este que le alargara el *codex excerptorius*, los *regesta majuscula* o ‘cuaderno grande de registro’¹⁷³ y sus *schedia* o ‘apuntes’ para hacer él mismo unos retoques (*nonnulla expolire*), el contexto lleva a pensar que, cuando después pide que se le busque el pasaje de Cic. *Tusc.* 4,58-68, su intención no era simplemente la de ‘dictar’ la totalidad o una parte del citado texto para que lo ‘copiara’, lo que no tendría sentido al tenerlo impreso en el libro, sino la de ‘seleccionar’ y ‘extraer’ información filológica relativa a la *mansuetudo* y a la *laetitia*, bien para que Dídimos la introdujera a su dictado en el apartado correspondiente del *codex excerptorius* o en los *regesta majuscula*, o bien para retocar él mismo sus *schedia*.

c) Por último, nuestra defensa de la lectura *codex excerptorius* encuentra un importante refrendo en algo que, aunque obvio, conviene explicitar: no debemos pasar por alto, en efecto, que las explicaciones teóricas del propio Vives de cómo debían preparar los estudiantes — niños y niñas¹⁷⁴ — el cuaderno y la propia finalidad del mismo nos hacen ver que el citado nombre latino cuadra mejor en su conjunto con esas exposiciones que con *codex exceptorius*. Queremos decir, en definitiva, que la división temática de los cuadernos¹⁷⁵ y la labor de lectura de los grandes autores por parte de los propios alumnos¹⁷⁶ nos lleva conceptualmente al verbo *excerpere*, es decir, al proceso de ‘seleccionar’ y el de ‘extraer’¹⁷⁷ la información filológica que después habrían de introducir ellos de

¹⁷² Recordemos que Plinio decide irse a la cama por cansancio (cf. García Ruiz (ed.), *Luis Vives. Los diálogos*, p. 250, líns. 73-76).

¹⁷³ Cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 59, así como el contenido de la misma.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. nota 23.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. los textos a los que se refieren las notas 16 (‘quem in certos locos ac velut nidos partieris’) y 21 (‘in partes aliquot divisum’).

¹⁷⁶ Cf. los textos a los que se refieren las notas 14 (‘inter legendum graves auctores’) y 21 (‘apud magnos scriptores legerit’).

¹⁷⁷ Cf. nota 43.

forma ordenada en los correspondientes apartados de los *codices excerptorii*.

Nuestros tres argumentos nos hacen ver que Mota dio en el blanco al relacionar tan agudamente *codex excerptorius* con la frase de Plinio el Joven sobre el método de trabajo de Plinio el Viejo 'Nil enim legit quod non excerperet'¹⁷⁸, método de trabajo este que tanto impactó al hermenéuta alcalaíno, como bien nos reflejan los verbos *excerpi* y *excerptos* del siguiente párrafo de la carta a los lectores que abre su comentario:¹⁷⁹

[...] Non uacat huiusce rei causas rationesque persequi, longiorem enim epistolam quam pro libelli modo proponere non decet. Sed una illa interim satis esto. Ex aliorum librorum lectione, uelut Terentiana atque Plautina, excerpti quidem elegantiae fructum quis negat? Sed in eis tamen uitiorum incitamenta et morum offencicula inesse quis non uidet? At in autore nostro quid quam elegantiae Latinae flosculos quos ex clarissimis quibusque autoribus excerptos in hunc librum libellum congeffit, inuenies? Tum nihil est quod uel Christum ipsum uel certe optimos mores et probam educationem non sapiat.

y método de trabajo este que nos obliga a tildar de auténticos disparates las decisiones que, sin respetar lo escrito por Mota en su *annotatio* al hilo de la lectura *codicem excerptorium* de la *Linguae Latinae exercitatio*, tomaron determinados editores: recordemos que algunos estamparon *exceptorium* tanto en la entrada y en el cuerpo de la anotación¹⁸⁰ como incluso en el *Index uocum quas interpretatus est Petrus Motta*¹⁸¹, otros colocaron en la entrada de la misma nota *exceptorium*, cuando en el cuerpo introdujeron *excerptorium*.¹⁸² En fin, estos dislates y otros similares¹⁸³ parten del mismo error: de no reparar que Mota estaba uniendo *codex excerptorius* con el verbo de la oración de relativo de la mencionada frase de Plinio el Joven sobre Plinio el Viejo. Queremos decir, en definitiva, que la obvia vinculación etimológica imposibilita los cambios señalados.

A la luz de lo expuesto resulta absolutamente claro que Vives escribió *codex excerptorius* para dar nombre al cuaderno donde los estudiantes

¹⁷⁸ Cf. nota 60.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. *Ioannis Lodovici Valentini Linguae Latinae exercitatio. Accessit...*, p. [a 1°].

¹⁸⁰ Cf. los textos a los que se refieren las notas 73, 84 y 90,

¹⁸¹ Cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 74.

¹⁸² Cf. el texto al que se refieren las notas 79 y 80.

¹⁸³ No olvidemos que hay quienes mantuvieron incólume el texto de Mota, pero efectuaron el trueque de *codex excerptorius* en *codex exceptorius* en el texto de los *Colloquia* de Vives y en el *Index* de Ramírez (cf. el texto al que se refieren las notas 75 a 77).

habían de plasmar la información filológica ‘seleccionada’ y ‘extraída’ directa o indirectamente de los grandes autores. Podemos decir que, al decidir acuñar esta *noua iunctura*¹⁸⁴ con un adjetivo derivado del verbo *excerpere*, el humanista valenciano tuvo presente el propio principio de la *imitatio* renacentista, ese principio que dibuja mejor que nada la imagen aristofanesca de la abeja que, libando en flores mil, fabrica después su propia miel¹⁸⁵, como nos recuerda, evocando un pasaje de Séneca, uno de los textos citados en nuestro trabajo¹⁸⁶, y ese principio que el propio Vives utilizó, por ejemplo, en el cap. II del *De tradendis disciplinis liber IV* de la *Secunda pars* de los *De disciplinis libri XX*:¹⁸⁷

[...] magister, velut diligens apicula per omnia disciplinarum viridia circumvolitans, undique decerpit discipulo suo, et colliget observationis hujus exempla [...]

Debemos precisar, no obstante, que al dar el nombre de *codex excerptorius* a su cuaderno, nuestro compatriota tuvo *in mente* la metáfora de las abejas, pero no en su trabajo de ‘producción’, que constatamos en el *Ciceronianus* de Erasmo, como tan sutilmente observó Moss¹⁸⁸, sino en el de ‘selección’, sentido que nos ilustra bien el texto que acabamos de citar y, en especial, el verbo *decerpet*, emperajado también etimológicamente con *excerpere*, y en el de ‘organización’¹⁸⁹, que no sólo vertebraba

¹⁸⁴ Cf. nota 40.

¹⁸⁵ La imagen, repetida insistentemente por los autores latinos clásicos, como Lucrecio, Horacio o Séneca (cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 125), fue utilizada después en muchas ocasiones por los humanistas, como ya señaló F. Lázaro Carreter, ‘Imitación y originalidad en la poética renacentista’, en F. Rico – F. López Estrada (ed.), *Historia y crítica de la literatura española. II (Siglos de Oro: Renacimiento)* (Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, 1980), pp. 91-92.

¹⁸⁶ Nos referimos al pasaje de Sen., *ep.*, 84, 5 que se cita en el texto al que se refiere la nota 125 y comentamos en la nota 126. Debemos recordar, además, que el escritor romano escribió el siguiente pasaje en un contexto muy cercano al anterior y, más concretamente, en *ep.*, 84, 3 ‘Apes, ut aiunt, debemus imitari, quae vagantur et flores ad mel faciendum idoneos carpunt’, donde podemos ver utiliza el verbo *carpere* con el que obviamente está relacionado *excerpere* y, por ende, el adjetivo *excerptorius -a -um*.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. *Ioannis Ludouici Vivis Valentini Opera omnia*, VI, 356.

¹⁸⁸ La autora traduce al inglés y comenta (cf. Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, p. 105) el siguiente párrafo del *Ciceronianus* (cf. *ibid.*, p. 298, nota 106) ‘Apes num ex uno frutice colligunt mellificii materiam? An potius ad omnes florum, herbarum, fruticum species mira sedulitate circumvolant, frequenter e longinquo petentes quod condant in alvearia? Nec statim mel est quod adferunt, fingunt ore visceribusque suis liquorem, ac in ipsas transformatum rursus ex sese gignunt, in quo non agnoscas, nec floris, nec fruticis delibati saporem, odoremve, sed apiculae foetum ex omnibus illis temperatum’, que toma de la edición de P. Mesnard, en *Opera Omnia* (Amsterdam, 1971), I, 2, 652.

¹⁸⁹ Recordemos que, aunque en el mundo clásico se elogiaba ya el trabajo de ‘organización’ de las abejas, como nos evidencian la bella descripción de Verg., *georg.*, 4, 149-221

de forma explícita la meticulosa preparación del *codex excerptorius*, sino que también — y esto es lo que más nos interesa a nosotros ahora — forma parte implícitamente del proceso de ‘seleccionar’ los textos de los grandes autores y ‘extraer’ de ellos la información filológica.¹⁹⁰

Esta perspectiva nos obliga, en fin, a insistir en la idea de la citada investigadora de que la principal finalidad del cuaderno de los alumnos de Vives es la construcción bien organizada de un léxico latino.¹⁹¹ Apuntemos ahora ese mismo aserto al hilo del siguiente pasaje en el que ella¹⁹² hilvana con brillantez la metáfora de las abejas con los *De disciplinis libri XX* del humanista valenciano y las cartas que escribió él para la educación de María Tudor¹⁹³ y de Carlos Mountjoy.¹⁹⁴

Noticeably missing from Vives's string of metaphors at this point, as from his two letters, are the ordering and transforming bees. Vives's students do not gather for the honey-producing hive or for any system of digestion and reproduction, but for that complete lexicon of the Latin language yet to be constructed, whose absence he bewails at frequent intervals. They collect words and idioms, and they also observe how authors arrange their material sequentially and how they apply dialectical procedures of argumentation to develop it and to manage the reader's response. Not least among these procedures is the use of quotation. Vives asks his student to pay attention to “where, how, and what quotations an authors uses to lend authoritative support to his own ideas, and which authors he draws on” [...]¹⁹⁵

y como nos recuerda la frase ‘rem publicam habent, consilia priuatim quoque, at duces gregatim’ de Plin., *H.N.*, 11, 11, sin embargo, sería en el Renacimiento cuando esa misma labor de equipo llegaría a vertebrar incluso una obra completa, como es el caso del tratado *De apibus siue de republica libri quinque* que escribió Bernardino Gómez Miedes, pero cuyo manuscrito se perdió desgraciadamente en el mar a causa del terrible temporal que afrontó el humanista alcañizano en su viaje de vuelta de Italia el 19 de abril de 1576 (cf. Maestre Maestre, ‘El humanismo alcañizano’, p. 241).

¹⁹⁰ Respecto a las minuciosas y explícitas instrucciones de Vives para la conformación y ‘organización’ del cuaderno, cf. nuestro apartado II y, en especial, los textos a los que se refieren las notas 10, 14, 16, 20 y 21. Y, en cuanto a los dos citados significados del verbo *excerpere*, con los que también guarda una relación implícita, como decimos, el obligado principio ‘organizador’, cf. nota 43.

¹⁹¹ Cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 7, así como el contenido de la misma.

¹⁹² Cf. Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, p. 118.

¹⁹³ Forman parte de la carta para la educación de María Tudor los textos a los que se refieren las notas 10 y 14.

¹⁹⁴ Pertenece a la epístola para la educación de Carlos Mountjoy el texto al que se refiere la nota 16.

¹⁹⁵ La importancia de que los estudiantes anotasen bien las referencias bibliográficas de los textos consultados – añadimos nosotros – se deja ver en la existencia del *registum* o ‘registro’ (cf. el texto de Pedro de la Mota al que se refiere la nota 59, así como el contenido de la misma).

X. Ahora bien, a la luz de todos estos datos, ¿cuál es la mejor forma de traducir al castellano el nombre latino del cuaderno de Vives? Dar respuesta a esta pregunta – cuestión con la que cerramos nuestro trabajo – no es baladí, pues el error cometido con el nombre latino hace ver la importancia de no equivocarnos también con las posibles traducciones del mismo al vernáculo.

Recordemos que hacia 1545 Ramírez optó por la perífrasis ‘cartapacio donde se escribe lo que saca de los libros’.¹⁹⁶ A partir de ahí tanto los editores¹⁹⁷ y estudiosos¹⁹⁸ como los diccionarios¹⁹⁹ se sirvieron del simple término ‘cartapacio’, que ya había utilizado en 1540 Cristóbal de Villalón en *El Scholastico*²⁰⁰, para verter al castellano o a otras lenguas vernáculas *codex excerptorius*.²⁰¹ Pero el vocablo era incorrecto, puesto que el significado de este sustantivo es sólo el de ‘un cuaderno para escribir o tomar apuntes’, como nos aseguran los diccionarios renacentistas²⁰² y los

¹⁹⁶ Cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 63.

¹⁹⁷ Así lo hacen los responsables de las ediciones de los *Colloquia* de 1597, 1644, 1774, 1780 y 1782 (cf. notas 76, 80, 85, 88 y 91), recogiendo todos ellos la explicación realizada por Ramírez.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. notas 95, 96 y 97.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. notas 103, 104, 106, 107, 109, 110 y 111.

²⁰⁰ Cf. J. M. Martínez Torrejón (ed.), *Cristóbal de Villalón. El Scholastico* (Barcelona: Crítica, 1987), p. 143.

²⁰¹ Recordemos, por ejemplo, que *chartapáci* es el término en catalán que aparece en el artículo XIII de la *Constitución del Studi General* de Valencia de 1561: como bien ha señalado A. Gallego Barnés (*Los ‘Refraneros’ de Juan Lorenzo Palmireno. Estudio de sus fuentes paremiológicas* (Alcañiz – Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Humanísticos – Editorial Laberinto – CSIC, 2004), p. 97), fue Palmireno quien hizo que los estatutos de la Universidad valenciana dispusieran que todos los estudiantes habrían de ir a clase con él.

²⁰² Recordemos, por ejemplo, que en el *Lexicon* de Nebrija de 1492 el humanista andaluz escribe ‘Albiolus.i. por cartapacio en blanco’ (cf. *Elio Antonio de Nebrija, Diccionario latino-español* (Salamanca, 1492), s.v.). Y, a la inversa, en el *Vocabulario de romance en latín* que consultamos a través de G. J. Macdonald (ed.), *Antonio de Nebrija. Vocabulario de romance en latín. Transcripción crítica de la edición revisada por su autor* (Sevilla, 1516) con una introducción de... (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1981), p. 46, leemos ‘cartapacio de papel blanco albiolus.i’. Como es obvio, el sustantivo *albiolus* guarda relación etimológica con *albus*: por ende, debemos entender que ‘cartapacio’, cuya etimología no está clara (cf. J. Corominas – J. A. Pascual, *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico* (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1980), p. 900, s.v., pp. 900-901), era en un principio sólo un ‘cuaderno de hojas en blanco’, lo que cuadra perfectamente también con los términos latinos *libellus ex vacua charta*, *liber vacuus*, *liber chartae purae*, *liber chartae vacuus* empleados por Vives (cf. los textos a los que se refieren las notas 10, 14, 16 y 21): fue cuando se le identificó erróneamente con el *codex excerptorius* (cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 67) y con el *codex exceptorius* (cf. los textos a los que se refieren las notas 103, 104, 106, 107, 109, 110 y 111), cuando comienza a tener un significado que no le era propio.

actuales.²⁰³ Desde esta óptica podemos decir que la simplificación de la perifrasis de Ramírez en ‘cartapacio’ hizo que se incurriera en un error conceptualmente muy parecido al que se cometió al trocar el *codex excerptorius* vivesiano en *codex exceptorius*.

En 1568 Palmireno se debatió, como nos deja ver el título de su opúsculo *El prouerbiador o cartapacio*²⁰⁴, entre estos dos sustantivos: pero, pese a que el primero era mucho mejor, puesto que su significado es el de ‘Libro o cuaderno donde se anotaban algunas sentencias especiales y otras cosas dignas de recordar’²⁰⁵, sin embargo, optó por utilizar más el segundo en consonancia con la lectura *codex exceptorius* por él abrazada tanto en esa obra como en otras suyas, según apuntamos ya en otro trabajo.²⁰⁶

En 1723 Coret y Peris vertió el neologismo por ‘cartapacio de apuntamientos’²⁰⁷, lo que es harto significativo desde la perspectiva histórica, pero en 1743 lo cambió por ‘libro de apuntamientos’.²⁰⁸ Como es obvio, ninguna de las dos versiones cuadra con la lectura *codex excerptorius* por él editada, sino con la de *codex exceptorius*.

En 1948 L. Riber, inspirado por las traducciones de Coret y Peris²⁰⁹, optó por ‘cuaderno de apuntes’,²¹⁰ lo que obviamente tiene el mismo problema que ya hemos comentado respecto a ‘cartapacio de apuntamientos’ y a ‘libro de apuntamientos’.

Neutra resulta igualmente la versión que publicó Alcina en 1988 de ‘libro de notas’²¹¹, pues la misma no aclara el origen y la forma de hacer esas anotaciones.

²⁰³ Cf. *Real Academia Española. Diccionario de la lengua española* (Madrid: 2001), p. 316, s.v.

²⁰⁴ Cf. notas 95 a 97.

²⁰⁵ Cf. *Real Academia Española. Diccionario de la lengua española...* (Madrid: 2001), p. 1256, s.v. Como podemos comprobar, el significado de ‘proverbiador’ de la vigésima primera edición del diccionario de la RAE es similar al de la primera edición de 1737 (cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 217), que permaneció vigente, con unas diferencias no significativas, hasta la vigésima edición de 1984 (cf. nota 219).

²⁰⁶ Cf. nota 98.

²⁰⁷ Cf. Coret y Peris (ed.), *Dialogos de el docto valenciano Luis Vives*, p. 203. Para la cita del texto latino de esta misma edición, cf. nuestra nota 54.

²⁰⁸ El autor mejoró su traducción en 1749, año en el que salió la segunda edición, cuyo texto consultamos nosotros a través de Ch. Coret y Peris (ed.), *Dialogos de Juan Luis Vives. Traducidos en lengua castellana por...*, Tercera edición. Corregido el texto, y mejorada la Traducción por el mismo Traductor. Añadidas también algunas Notas, para mejor inteligencia de ambas lenguas (Valencia: Por Benito Monfort, 1759), p. 219.

²⁰⁹ Esta misma relación de dependencia se deja ver en las traducciones de Coret y Peris y Riber que constatamos en la nota 168.

²¹⁰ Cf. Riber, *Juan Luis Vives*, II, 924.

²¹¹ Cf. Alcina, *Juan Luis Vives. Diálogos*, p. 71.

Calero y Echarte optaron en 1994 por traducir la *noua iunctura* por 'cuaderno de escribir'²¹², sintagma que resulta también neutro y no recoge el espíritu de Vives.

En 2005 García Ruiz imprimió en el cuerpo de su versión 'cuaderno de citas'²¹³, pero después en el *Glosario de términos* lo cambió por el de 'cuaderno de apuntes':²¹⁴ de estas dos iniciativas la primera es, a todas luces, mucho mejor, pero tampoco es exacta, puesto que 'cita' es una 'Nota de ley, doctrina, autoridad u otro cualquier instrumento que se alega para prueba de lo que se dice o se refiere';²¹⁵ la segunda, por otra parte, incurre en el mismo error que la traducción de Riber, de donde está tomada.²¹⁶

Como es fácil deducir, de las traducciones que hemos sacado a la palestra las dos mejores son la perífrasis de Ramírez, es decir, 'cartapacio donde se escribe lo que se saca de los libros' y la de 'proverbiador' de Palmireno. Y de estas dos la más atinada es la segunda, según pasamos a evidenciar

Es cierto que la perífrasis de Ramírez recoge el tipo de material didáctico ('cartapacio'), forma de utilizarlo ('donde se escribe') y su finalidad ('lo que se saca de los libros') y que incluso es la única que salva el escollo de traducir el adjetivo derivado del verbo *excerpere*. Pero, como tal perífrasis, resulta demasiado larga para traducir un nombre latino de dos palabras.

Mucho mejor es la propuesta por Palmireno. Veamos, en efecto, el significado de 'proverbiador' a través del quinto tomo de la primera edición del *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* de la Real Academia Española, aparecido en Madrid en 1737:²¹⁷

PROVERBIADOR. s. m. Libro ò quaderno donde se anotan algunas sentencias especiales, ò otras cosas dignas de traerlas à la memoria. Lat. *Liber*

²¹² Cf. Calero – Echarte, *Juan Luis Vives, valenciano*, p. 69.

²¹³ Cf. García Ruiz (ed.), *Luis Vives. Los diálogos*, p. 249. El nombre compuesto 'cuaderno de citas' nos recuerda al de 'quotation-notebook' que utiliza Moss, *Printed commonplace-Books*, p. 112, al hablar de la *Ratio colligendi exempla* de la *Copia rerum erasmiana* (cf. nota 5).

²¹⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 568.

²¹⁵ Cf. *Real Academia Española. Diccionario de la lengua española...* (Madrid, 2001), p.380.

²¹⁶ Cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 210.

²¹⁷ Cf. *Diccionario de la lengua castellana, en que se explica el verdadero sentido de las voces...* (En Madrid: En la Imprenta de Francisco de Hierro, Impressor de la Real Academia Española, 1737), V, 415.

proverbiorum, vel codex. PALMYR. Estud. de la Aldea, pl. 132.²¹⁸ Por perezoso que sea el estudiante, suele tener un libro, donde escribe lo que mas le agrada: à este llaman... proverbador ò cartapacio,

Como vemos, de acuerdo con este significado, que, excepción hecha de determinadas grafías, se corresponde exactamente con el que aparecía hasta la vigésima edición del diccionario²¹⁹ y es muy parecido al que encontramos a partir de la vigésimo primera²²⁰, el vocablo ‘proverbador’ alude al tipo de material didáctico (‘libro’ o ‘cuaderno’), forma de utilizarlo (‘donde se anotan’) y finalidad (‘algunas sentencias especiales, ù otras cosas dignas de traerlas à la memoria’). Pese a que este término no recoge explícitamente el proceso de *excerpere*, pensamos, sin embargo, que es mucho más certero como traducción de *codex excerptorius* que la perífrasis de Ramírez: tengamos presente, de un lado, que etimológicamente se relaciona con ‘proverbiar’²²¹ y, por ende, con los ‘proverbios’, que formaban parte de la información que había de introducir el estudiante en el cuaderno²²², y, de otro, que, en su definición se utiliza el verbo ‘anotar’²²³ frente al de ‘escribir’, se precisa más la información filológica que ha de introducirse²²⁴ y se alude, por último, a la necesidad

²¹⁸ El número de página nos hace ver que los académicos utilizaron la edición de *El estudioso de la aldea* publicada en Valencia en 1568 y no la de 1571, como podemos comprobar en la nota 232.

²¹⁹ Cf. *Real Academia Española. Diccionario de la lengua española...* (Madrid, 1984), II, 115: ‘Libro o cuaderno donde se anotaban algunas sentencias especiales y otras cosas dignas de traerlas a la memoria’.

²²⁰ Cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 205.

²²¹ Así lo indica, por ejemplo, la propia Real Academia Española en la vigésima edición del diccionario del año 2001 (cf. nota 205) con la frase parentética inicial ‘(Del coloq. *proverbiar*, usar mucho proverbios)’.

²²² Cf. los textos a los que se refieren las notas 16 y 21. Recordemos, por otra parte, que, en el caso de Palmireno, el que se llamara ‘prouerbiador’ al cuaderno lo vería tanto mejor cuanto que él, siguiendo los pasos de los *Adagia* de Erasmo, fue un gran recopilador de ‘refranes’ (cf. Barnés, *Los ‘Refraneros’ de Juan Lorenzo Palmireno*), que, obviamente, hacía que sus alumnos aprendiesen tanto en castellano como en latín, para enseñarles, además de buenas costumbres, que no habían de traducir literalmente los textos (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 36-40).

²²³ Recordemos a este efecto que dos de los cinco textos de teoría de Vives sobre el cuaderno se encontraban en el apartado de *Annotationes* de las *Epistolae duae de ratione studii puerilis* (cf. los textos a los que se refieren las notas 14 y 16).

²²⁴ Tengamos presente que la Real Academia Española señala en la definición que ha de introducirse ‘algunas sentencias especiales y otras cosas dignas’ (cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 205).

de conservar esa información en la memoria.²²⁵ Y añádase a esto que la simplificación de la *noua iunctura*²²⁶ vivesiana en un solo vocablo, lejos de verla con malos ojos, hemos de aceptarla con el criterio de los humanistas — y, entre ellos, el del propio Palmireno²²⁷ — que no querían que la traducción se hiciese palabra por palabra.²²⁸

Palmireno, en suma, sacó a la palestra el vocablo más acertado para poner nombre en castellano al cuaderno descrito por Vives en unos textos que él divulgó en su opúsculo *El prouerbiador o cartapacio*.²²⁹ Pero el humanista alcañizano no fue consciente de su hallazgo, puesto que, como ya anticipamos²³⁰, él no hizo otra cosa que alinearse con quienes llamaban al cuaderno del pedagogo valenciano *codex exceptorius*, sin percatarse de que Vives había vertebrado su neologismo a través del verbo *excerpere*. Palmireno, en fin, tomó de sus contemporáneos el nombre latino, como también el de ‘prouerbiador’ y ‘cartapacio’²³¹, sin reflexionar con la debida profundidad.

Ese fue su error y ese fue, a la postre, el de los miembros de la Real Academia Española del s. XVIII, como nos hace ver la comparación del texto de *El prouerbiador o cartapacio* que ellos citan en el pasaje que acabamos de traer a colación nosotros con el que realmente escribió Palmireno:²³²

²²⁵ Consideremos que también este extremo es fundamental, como nos deja ver el texto de Vives al que se refieren las notas 10 y 16 (cf. et nota 2).

²²⁶ Cf. nota 40.

²²⁷ Así nos lo hace ver el humanista alcañizano al traducir, por ejemplo, *conglobato agmine* por ‘apiñados’ y *custodiarum munia obire* por ‘estar en centinela’ en el apartado titulado ‘Orden y método para saber traduzir de Latin en Romance, puesto al propósito de proveer phrases y formulas loquendi de la guerra’ que encontramos dentro del *Commento del tercer punto de El estudioso de la aldea* (Valencia, 1571), p. 156 [cf. et nota 222].

²²⁸ Es el caso también, por ejemplo, del Brocense, como podemos comprobar en E. Sánchez Salor – C. Chaparro Gómez (eds.), *Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas. Minerua o De causis linguae Latinae libri I, III, IV (Introducción y edición E. Sánchez Salor), Liber II (edición de C. Chaparro Gómez)* (Cáceres: Institución Cultural el Brocense — Excma. Diputación Provincial de Cáceres — Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Extremadura, 1995), pp. 412, 29-414, 6.

²²⁹ Remitimos al lector al trabajo nuestro que citamos en la nota 98.

²³⁰ Cf. el texto al que se refieren las notas 94 a 98.

²³¹ Tenga presente el lector a estos efectos el elocuente ‘a este llaman’ que encontramos en el pasaje inicial de *El prouerbiador o cartapacio* citado parcialmente por los miembros de la Real Academia Española en 1737 (cf. el texto al que se refieren las notas 217 y 218) y, de forma completa, por nosotros en el texto al que se refiere la nota siguiente.

²³² Cf. *El estudioso de la aldea*... (Valencia: 1568), p. 132, y (Valencia: 1571), p. 131, y *El estudioso cortesano*... (Alcalá de Henares, 1587), f. 139^o.

Por perezoso que sea el estudiante, suele tener vn libro, donde escriue lo que mas le agrada: a este llaman *Codex exceptorius*, Prouerbiador o Cartapacio. [...]

Como es claro, los académicos sustituyeron el nombre latino del cuaderno por puntos suspensivos. Pero la sustitución no es tan inocente como cabría imaginar a primera vista: caigamos en la cuenta, en primer lugar, de que ellos habían identificado ya en el segundo tomo de su flamante diccionario, aparecido en 1729, *codex exceptorius* con ‘cartapacio’²³³, sumándose así a esa saga de estudiosos que dieron tanta vida al doble error cometido en el s. XVI, que al final se creó incluso la expresión ‘latín de cartapacio’;²³⁴ y caigamos en la cuenta, de otra parte, que, en esa tesitura, ellos se vieron obligados a asignar, dentro ahora del quinto tomo, publicado en 1737, el nombre latino de *liber proverbiorum*, *vel codex* al término ‘proverbiador’.²³⁵

Pero, ironías de la vida, ‘proverbiador’ era lo que mejor cuadraba antes, como ahora, con *codex excerptorius*.

Conclusiones

Nuestro artículo demuestra que, como aseguran las diez ediciones de la *Linguae Latinae exercitatio* realizadas en vida y la mayoría de las posteriores, fue *codex excerptorius* y no *codex exceptorius* el neologismo latino que el humanista valenciano acuñó como *noua iunctura* en el diálogo XIV de esta obra, titulado *Cubiculum et lucubratio*, para dar nombre al cuaderno de recogida de diferentes datos filológicos (fundamentalmente, léxicos) sobre el que había tratado teóricamente en las *Annotaciones* de la *Epistola I* y de la *Epistola II de ratione studii puerilis*, escritas en 1523, en la *Introductio ad sapientiam*, que fue redactada un año después, y el cap. III del *De tradendis disciplinis liber III* de la *Secunda pars* de los *De disciplinis libri XX*, aparecidos por primera vez en 1531.

En nuestra investigación hemos partido de la anotación que hizo Pedro de la Mota al citado pasaje de los *Colloquia*, relacionando con *codex excerptorius* el método de trabajo de Plinio el Viejo que conocemos a

²³³ Cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 107.

²³⁴ Cf., por ejemplo, M. Larranendi, *Diccionario trilingue castellano, bascuence y latin* (San Sebastián: Por Bartolomé Riesgo y Montero, 1745), I, xli.

²³⁵ Cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 217.

través de la frase 'Nil enim legit quod non excerperet'. Tras descubrir, además, que el propio Vives reutilizó también la propia frase plinianana, hemos reforzado tan magistral anotación con tres argumentos: hemos demostrado, en primer lugar, que el nombre de Plinio que el humanista valenciano dio al personaje central del diálogo XIV que creó el nombre latino del cuaderno se llamó así en recuerdo de Plinio el Viejo; hemos hecho ver, en segundo lugar, que el método de trabajo del *codex excerptorius* se refleja en el propio diálogo XIV; y hemos puesto de relieve, en tercer y último lugar, que el adjetivo del nombre latino del cuaderno, derivado obviamente del verbo *excerpere*, cuadra perfectamente con las exposiciones teóricas de Vives, según las cuales los alumnos habían de introducir de forma ordenada la información filológica que, realizando un trabajo similar al que hacen las abejas recolectando el néctar de las flores y organizando su colmena, hubieran 'seleccionado' y 'extraído', fundamentalmente, durante su paciente lectura de los grandes autores.

Hemos postulado, por otra parte, que fue en último extremo la presencia de los sintagmas *puerum exceptorem* y *dictare aliquid* de ese mismo pasaje del diálogo XIV los que dieron lugar a que los humanistas ya en el s. XVI cometieran el error de trocar el nombre de *codex excerptorius* por el de *codex exceptorius*: de esta suerte el adjetivo del cuaderno de Vives se ponía en relación con el verbo *excipere* y se reducía la finalidad del *codex* a 'tomar apuntes'.

Hemos evidenciado, además, que esta errónea interpretación hizo que el nombre *codex excerptorius* que durante un breve tiempo había sido acogido por los estudiosos y había entrado en el *Dictionarium Latinohispanicum* de Nebrija, fuera desterrado del mismo y sustituido por el de *codex exceptorius* en ese y otros diccionarios, en el ámbito universitario de los filólogos y en el de las órdenes religiosas. Es más, hemos hecho ver que en el mundo religioso el erróneo nombre del cuaderno dejó el campo del aprendizaje de la lengua latina y, fundamentalmente, del léxico y pasó al de la retórica asumiendo unas funciones similares a las del cuaderno *per locos comunes* creado por Erasmo.

En nuestra investigación hemos examinado, por último, las distintas y titubeantes traducciones al castellano desde el Renacimiento hasta nuestros días. Hemos demostrado, en primer lugar, que el término más utilizado fue el de 'cartapacio', que se tomó de la perífrasis castellana de *codex excerptorius* realizada por Ramírez hacia 1545 'cartapacio donde se escribe lo que saca de los libros'. Y hemos evidenciado que la simplificación de esta perífrasis en 'cartapacio', que resulta válida como

versión del erróneo *codex exceptorius*, pero desacertada como traducción de *codex excerptorius*, cobró tal vida en los diccionarios y entre los estudiosos, que dio lugar al llamado ‘latín de cartapacio’.

Hemos puesto de relieve, por último, que frente a ese yerro y a otras traducciones poco afortunadas posteriores, hay dos (una, la citada perífrasis de Ramírez y, otra, la publicada por Palmireno en 1568, ‘proverbiador’) que, sin embargo, recogen bastante bien lo que quiso decir Vives al crear el neologismo de *codex excerptorius* y que de esas dos la mejor es la del humanista alcañizano, aunque no lo vislumbraran así los miembros de la Real Academia Española al sacar a la luz en el s. XVIII la primera edición del *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*.

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PLINIO Y ERASMO:
A PROPÓSITO DE LA CARTA-PRÓLOGO DE LA EDICIÓN
FROBENIANA DE LA *NATURALIS HISTORIA* (BASILEAE, 1525)

Uno de los principales protagonistas de la bien conocida página de nuestra historia sobre la polémica lingüística, retórica e incluso religiosa que los humanistas sostuvieron en torno a Cicerón fue Erasmo de Róterdam. El verdadero punto de inflexión de dicha polémica fue la publicación en 1528 del *Dialogus cui titulus Ciceronianus siue de optimo genere dicendi*, donde el roterodamo defiende su posición ‘eclectica’ y refuta las doctrinas de los ciceronianos, representados en la obra por el personaje de Nosópono, en quien todo el mundo creyó ver caricaturizado a su más eximio representante Christophe de Longueil. La declaración de los principios de la ‘imitación compuesta’ será defendida abiertamente por Erasmo en este diálogo y de forma más o menos velada por diversas partes de su obra anterior, entre otras, como a continuación mostraremos, en la carta-prólogo a la edición frobeniana de la *Historia mundi* pliniana de 1525, editada asimismo nueve años después de la edición conjunta beroldiana de la *Naturalis Historia* en la que participaron, entre otros, Longueil, como impulsor, y el propio Erasmo, según parece, como reclamo publicitario. Esta epístola dedicatoria, como veremos en el presente estudio, contiene uno de los elogios más encendidos de quien era considerado en el Renacimiento la antítesis por antonomasia del estilo de Cicerón.

El objetivo, pues, del presente trabajo es editar, traducir y realizar un estudio de dicha carta-prólogo¹, pues consideramos que las razones que hay

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¹ En el V Congreso Internacional de humanismo y pervivencia del mundo clásico. Homenaje al Prof. Juan Gil, celebrado en Alcañiz (Teruel, España) del 22 al 28 de octubre de 2010, presenté un avance de este estudio. En las actas de dicho Congreso analizo la consideración que merecía Plinio y su obra por parte de los ‘ciceronianos’, así como el

detrás de la edición del texto de Plinio por parte de Erasmo en 1525 fueron más que las estrictamente filológicas, razones que hay que rastrear siguiendo la estela de las llamadas ‘controversias ciceronianas’:² calificar en efecto la obra de Plinio el Viejo como ‘divina’ en esta época y consagrarse a su estudio y edición significaba automáticamente tomar partido por el extremo opuesto de los defensores de la imitación simple del estilo de Cicerón.

I. Ediciones y traducciones de la carta-prólogo

1.1. *La editio princeps (Basileae, 1525): la portada en forma epistolar de J. Froben*

La epístola dedicatoria de Erasmo al obispo Estanislao Turzo que precede a la edición de la *Naturalis Historia* de Plinio el Viejo fue publicada por primera vez en Basilea, en 1525 [= B₁], en el taller del afamado J. Froben, que es, por lo demás, quien encabeza, presenta y firma a su vez con una breve carta al lector la portada de esta edición, texto que editamos a continuación y traducimos en nota:³

IOANNES FROBENIVS LECTORI S[ALVTEM] D[ICIT]
EN DAMVS / C[AII] PLINII SECVNDI DI/VINVM OPVS CVI /
TITVLVS, HISTORIA MVNDI, / multo quam antehac unquam prodijt /
emaculatus: idq[ue] primum ex annota/tionibus eruditorum hominum,

tratamiento y juicio crítico que recibe el naturalista de Como en el diálogo erasmiano *Ciceronianus* (S.I. Ramos Maldonado, ‘De usu Pliniano in Erasmo’, en *Humanismo y Pervivencia del Mundo Clásico V. Homenaje al Prof. Juan Gil*, ed. J. M^a. Maestre e.a. (Alcañiz – Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Humanísticos - C.S.I.C., en prensa). Para la consideración de Plinio entre los humanistas, cf. nuestro trabajo ‘La *Naturalis Historia* de Plinio el Viejo: lectura en clave humanística de un clásico’, *Agora. Estudios Clásicos en Debate*, 15 (2013), 51-94.

² Sobre la polémica del ciceronianismo en el Renacimiento y las llamadas ‘controversias ciceronianas’ la bibliografía es abundante. Cf., entre otras, *Ciceronian Controversies*, ed. by J. DellaNeva, English transl. by Brian Duvick, The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 26 (Cambridge – London: Harvard University Press, 2007). Una buena y reciente introducción a la cuestión puede hallarla el lector en el trabajo de M. Mañas Núñez, *El ciceroniano. Erasmo de Róterdam*, Clásicos Latinos Medievales y Renacentistas, 25 (Madrid: Akal, 2009).

³ La traducción es nuestra: ‘Juan Froben saluda al lector. Te ofrecemos de C. Plinio Segundo una obra divina titulada *Historia del mundo*, mucho más corregida que nunca antes gracias, en primer lugar, a las anotaciones de hombres eruditos, principalmente de Hermolao Barbaro; gracias, después, a la colación de ejemplares, obras de doctos que hasta el día de hoy nos han sido impresas lo más corregidas posible; gracias, finalmente, a la autoridad de antiquísimos manuscritos, a partir de los cuales hemos hecho no pocas correcciones, que, por lo demás, nadie, ni erudito siquiera, o bien advirtió o bien podía advertir. Séanos por ello permitido decir esto: Hemos superado a todos los que nos han precedido. Si alguien esta palma nos la quiere arrebatar, ciertamente no le miraremos mal, sino que le felicitaremos con cumplidos públicos. Cuídate bien, lector, y disfruta. Buena fortuna. Se ha añadido un índice, en el que nada echés de menos En Basilea, en el taller de J. Froben, mes de marzo, año 1525’.

praesertim Hermolai Barbari: deinde / ex collatione exemplariorum. quae hactenus opera doctorum no/bis quam fieri potuit emendatissime sunt excusa: postremo ex / fide uetustissimorum codicum, ex quibus non pauca restitui/mus, quae alioqui nemo, quamlibet eruditus uel depre/hendit, uel deprehendere poterat. Absit inuidia di/cto. Vicimus superiores omneis. Si quis hanc pal/mam nobis eripuerit, non illi quide[m] inuide/ bimus, sed studijs publicis gratulabi/mur. Bene uale lector, & fruire / Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. / Additus est index, in quo nihil desideres.// Basileae apud Io[annem] Frobenium, Mense / Martio. An[no] M.D.XXV.

Allen⁴, en la breve introducción de su edición de la carta-prologo erasmiana, considera que la edición de la magna obra pliniana fue 'probably' realizada a petición de Froben, quien en noviembre de 1524 encargó a un amigo (quizá a Hilaire Bertholf)⁵ que preguntara a Cornelio Agripa si había encontrado algún manuscrito de Plinio en la biblioteca de la Catedral Saint-Jean de Lyon.⁶ Sea como fuere, el nombre de Erasmo no aparece citado expresamente en parte alguna de la epístola que hace las veces de portada; sólo se menciona el nombre de Hermolao Barbaro.

Esta circunstancia, unida al hecho de que el propio roterodamo parece haber usado, además de un manuscrito muy antiguo, las *castigationes* de Barbaro, el libro *De asse* de Budé, la edición coloniense de Caesarius y la parisina de Bérault, hace dudar a Mayhoff de la verdadera procedencia de las nuevas lecturas halladas y por ello decide citar esta edición no con el nombre de Erasmo:⁷

Praeterea antiquos scriptores et Graecos et Latinos accurate contulit et Barbari castigationibus sollertius quam priores usus est et Budaei de asse librum editionesque Coloniensem Caesarii et Parisinam Nicolai Beraldi (a. 1513) adhibuit. Quare cum dubium esset an ex lectionibus quas apud

⁴ Cf. P. S. Allen, *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami, denuo recognitum et auctum*..., 12 vols., VI (Oxonii: in Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1926), 16-21.

⁵ Bertholf fue durante un tiempo *famulus* de Erasmo (entre 1522-24), amigo de Cornelio Agripa e interlocutor en algunos *Colloquia* del roterodamo (*Diuersoria*, *Conuiuium poeticum*, *Synodus grammaticorum* y *Concio siue Menardus*). Fue también compañero de estudios de Vives en París. Cf. A. Roersch, *L'Humanisme belge à l'époque de la Renaissance* (Bruxelles: Librairie Nationale d'Art et d'Histoire, 1910), pp. 69-80; 'Nouvelles indications concernant Hilarius Bertholfus', in *Mélanges Paul Thomas: recueil de mémoires concernant la philologie classique dédié à Paul Thomas* (Bruges: Imprimerie Sainte Catherine, 1930), pp. 605-614.

⁶ Cf. *Henrici Cornelii Agrippae... operum pars posterior* (Lugduni: per Beringos fratres, ca. 1620), *Epist.* III 64, pp. 820-821: 'Caeterum qui has tibi reddidit, sororius est Domini Joannis Frobenii calcographorum omnium facile Principis. Is per me te rogat, imo ego te nomine publico rogo, ut omni cura seposita, Bibliothecam D. Joannis Lugdunensis, aut, si quam habes vetustiore[m], excutias videasque an ibi sint aliquot Plinianae historiae, praesertim posteriorum librorum [...]. Basileae, crastina Martini, anno 1524'.

⁷ Cf. *C. Plini Secundi Naturalis Historiae Libri XXXVII*..., edidit Carolus Mayhoff (Lipsiae: in aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1870) I, xxvii (cf. *et infra*, nota 85). Sobre Barbaro, Budé, Caesarius y Bérault véanse los textos a los que se refieren las notas 69-75 del presente trabajo.

Erasmum primum inveni, nonnullae rectius Caesario aliisve tribuerentur, non Erasmi, sed 'editionis Basileensis' nomine eas significavi.

Nosotros también denominaremos esta *editio Basileensis* y el consenso de sus reediciones con la abreviatura *B* de *Basilea*, que no ofrece en su portada, como decíamos, un simple título, sino una breve epístola al lector escrita por Froben en primera persona del plural, quien a su vez sólo menciona al único autor (Hermolao Barbaro) casualmente preterido en la portada de la edición beraldiana de 1516 frente a los destacados de Sabellico, Maffei, Beroaldo, Erasmo, Budé y Longueil.⁸

La redacción de la portada de la edición pliniana de 1525 por Froben en tales términos bien podría haber sido sugerida por Erasmo — muy en su línea⁹ —, en respuesta al insolente uso publicitario de su nombre en la portada de una edición anterior, aparentemente conjunta, cuyo verdadero protagonista, al menos de la primera parte, fue su gran enemigo Longueil.

Esta portada sólo se mantendrá con variantes (cf. nota 11), en la edición siguiente de 1530, firmada por el hijo de Johann Froben (quien falleció en 1527).

1.2. Ediciones posteriores: sigla

La carta-prólogo erasmiana que precede a la edición de la *Naturalis Historia* de Plinio de 1525 publicada bajo el nombre de *Historia mundi*¹⁰, se mantuvo en las ediciones posteriores que a continuación detallamos:

⁸ Mayhoff (cf. el texto al que hace referencia la nota 7) ofrece el año 1513 como fecha de la edición parisina de Bérault, pero debe tratarse de un error por 1516. Dada la importancia para nuestro estudio de los datos contenidos en las portadas y colofones de las ediciones plinianas, no siempre recogidos, ni siquiera correctamente, en los catálogos bibliográficos u otras obras de referencia, transcribimos, en esta y otras notas, el texto íntegro: Caii Plynii Secundi *Naturalis Historię Libri xxxvij* nuper studiose recogniti / atque impressi, Adiectis uarijs Antonij Sabellici, /Raphaelis Volaterrani, /Beroaldi, Erasmi, /Budei, Longolij adnotationi-/bus, quibus Mundi hi/storia locis plę/risq[ue] vel re/stituatur, /vel il/lustratur. /- Cum gratia et priuilegio, - Veneunt Lutecię in via Iacobęa sub signo ensis, / Et in aedibus Reginaldi Chalderij sub signo syl/uestris hominis. // Finis / Impressa est Lutetiae hęc Mundi historia ex / diligentissima recognitione, impen/sis Beraldi et Reginaldi Chal/derii, in quorum aedibus vae/nales sunt libri. Anno a partu Christi/parę virgi/nis. M./ D. XVI/ XVI. (sic) Calen/das Decemb[re]s].

⁹ Buena parte de la vida y el carácter de Erasmo los conocemos al detalle gracias a la abundantísima producción epistolar que, aún vivo, dejó publicada. Para la biografía son generales, entre otros, los trabajos de J. J. Mangan, *Life, Character and Influence of Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam derived from a study of his work and Correspondence*, 2 vols. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927); L.-E. Halkin, *Erasmo entre nosotros*, trad. de I. Medrano (Barcelona: Herder, 1995); J. Huizinga, *Erasmo*, trad. de C. Horányi, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Salvat Editores, 1987); y C. Augustijn, *Erasmo de Rotterdam. Vida y obra*, trad. de O. Pellisa (Barcelona: Crítica, 1990). Cf. et '*Compendium uitae Erasmi*' (ca. 02-04-1524), en Allen, *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, I, 46-52 (sobre la discutida autenticidad de dicho *Compendium* véase *ibid.*, Appendix I, pp. 575-578).

¹⁰ El título *Naturalis Historia* está bien garantizado no sólo por el propio Plinio, sino también por las frecuentes citas de Gelio y aún por la posibilidad de algún modelo griego,

$B_{2,7}$ = en todas las reediciones frobenianas de Basilea, años 1530¹¹ [=B₂], 1535¹² [=B₃], 1539¹³ [=B₄], 1545¹⁴ [=B₅], 1549¹⁵ [=B₆] y 1554¹⁶ [=B₇]. Utilizaremos de forma general la abreviatura *B* para el *consensus* de todas estas ediciones, incluida la *editio princeps* [=B₁].

P = en la de París¹⁷ de 1543¹⁸ (basada a su vez en la de Basilea de 1535 [=B₃]). Esta edición fue compartida por miembros de tres familias de libre-

sin embargo, su sobrino se refiere a la obra como *Naturae historiae* (Plin., *epist.*, 3, 5). Ésta y otras pequeñas variaciones formales, por lo demás muy frecuentes (cf. X. Ballester, *Los mejores títulos y los peores versos de la literatura latina* (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 1998), respecto al título original no exigidas por la sintaxis del contexto, se repetirán, por ejemplo, a lo largo de las diferentes ediciones del siglo XVI: *Historia Mundi*, *Historiae Mundi*, *Historia mundi naturalis*.

¹¹ Hieronymus Frobenivs amico lectori S[alutem] D[icit] / C[aii] Plinii Secvndi / Historia mundi, denuo sic emendata, vt in svperiore / æditione, qvæ tamen fuit accuratissima, præ hac dormitatum videri possit. In illa / longo interuallo uiceramus cæteros, in hac longiore uicimus nos ipsos, potissimum / adiuti tribus optimæ fidei peruetustis exemplaribus, tum opera cuiusdam eruditi, qui sibi sumpserat hanc prouinciam, nonnihil etiam Beati Rhenani doctissimis / annotationibus, quas utinam absoluisset. Confer lector & comperies non paucas / centurias locorum feliciter restitutorum. Nos nec impendij, nec laboris unquam / poenitebit, si uester candor nostrae responderit industriae. Χεῖρ χεῖρα νίπτει. Vale & / fruiere. Ἀγαθὴ τύχη / Adiunctus est index copiosissimus. / Basileæ, in officina Frobeniana, anno M.D.XXX. Mense Martio (en letras mayúsculas, además del encabezamiento del hijo de J. Froben y las dos primeras líneas con el nombre de Plinio y de la obra, aparece destacado el nombre de Beatus Rhenanus, frente al resto de la epístola en letra minúscula). Entre esta portada y la carta-prólogo de Erasmo se incluye una nueva epístola de Hieronymus Froben al lector, cuyo estudio aplazamos para otro momento (cf. infra, nota 84).

¹² C[aii] Plinii Secvndi / Historia Mvndi, denuo emendata, / non paucis locis ex diligenti ad peruetvsta et / optimæ fidei exemplaria collatione nunc primu[m] animaduersis castigatisq[ue], quemadmo[dum] euidenter in Sigismundi Gelenij Annotationibus operi adnexis apparet. / Adiunctus est Index copiosissimus. / Apvd inclytam Basileam, Anno M.D.XXXV. Mense Martio.

¹³ C[aii] Plinii Secvndi / Historiae Mvndi libri XXXVII / ex postrema ad vetvstos codices collatione cvm annotationibvs et indice. / Froben / Basileae / In officina Frobeniana / M. D. XXXIX.

¹⁴ C[aii] Plinii Secvndi / Historiæ Mundi Libri XXXVII /denuo ad vetustos codices collati, et /plurimis locis emendati, ut patet ex adiunctis Annotationibus. /In calce operis copiosus Index est additus. /Basileæ. /In officina Frobeniana /M.D.XLV. Cf. H. de Sousa Leitão – L. de Azevedo Martins (coords.), *O livro científico dos séculos XV e XVI: ciências físico-matemáticas na Biblioteca Nacional* (Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional, 2004), p. 353.

¹⁵ Plinij Secundi Historiæ mundi libri / XXXVII. Denuo ad vetvstos codices collati et plvrimis locis emendati, ut patet ex adiunctis iterumque auctis /Sigismundi Gelenij Annotationibus. /In calce operis copiosus Index additus. /... Froben /Basileae M. D. XLIX. Entre la portada y la carta-prologo de Erasmo se incluye un brevísimo prefacio al lector de Gelenius ('Sigismundus Gelenius lectori s.') de once líneas.

¹⁶ C[aii] Plinii Secvndi Hi-/storiæ mvndi libri xxxvii. Denuo / ad vetvstos codices collati, et plvrimis lo-/ cis iam iterum post cunctorum editiones emendati, adiunctis / Sigismundi Gelenij Annotationibus. / In calce operis nouus Index est additus, non minore diligentia ac la-/bore, quam opus ipsum repurgatus /Fro[Imago]ben / Basileae M. D. LIIII. Cf. Sousa Leitão – Azevedo Martins, *O livro científico dos séculos*, p. 353.

¹⁷ Queremos anotar aquí, aunque preparamos un estudio sobre el particular en profundidad, que existe una edición parisina realizada por Jean Petit en 1532, en el mismo taller, al parecer, del que salió la edición de 1543 realizada por su hijo, Oudin Petit (cf. Philippe Renouard, *Imprimeurs parisiens, libraires, fondateurs de caractères et correcteurs*

ros-impresores diferentes (André Berthelin, Oudin Petit y Pierre Regnault), según se desprende de las portadas:

P_1 = Parisiis: Apud Andream Berthelin, in via Diui Iacobi è regione Mathurinorum sub signo coronae & apud Guiliermum Roland in vico longobardorum, 1543.

P_2 = Parisiis: Apud Audooenum Paruum, in via ad diuum Iacobum, sub flore Lilii aurei, 1543.¹⁹

P_3 = Parisiis: apud Petrum Regnault, in uico Iacobaeo, sub tribus coloniae coronis, 1543.

L = en la de Lyon de 1548²⁰ (Lvgdvni: ex Officina Godefridi et Marcelli Beringorvm Fratrvm).

También la carta-prólogo erasmiana a la NH de Plinio ha sido editada independientemente en:

d'imprimerie: depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie à Paris (1470) jusqu'à la fin du XVIe siècle (Paris: Librairie A. Claudin, 1898), pp. 291-295; 'Quelques documents sur les Petit, libraires parisiens, et leur famille', en *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île de France*, t. 23, (Paris: Chez H. Champion, 1896). Esta edición de 1532 menciona explícitamente en la portada haber utilizado la edición 'Frobeniana, quae tamen omnium optima sine ulla dubitatione fuit'). Resulta por ello cuanto menos sorprendente no tanto la supresión de la epístola erasmiana, sino el silencio del nombre del roterodamo por parte del autor de la epístola dedicatoria al lector, firmada por Petrus Bellocirius, pseudónimo de Petrus Danesius (Pierre Danès), quien destaca, junto a Hermolao Barbaro y Budé, la aportación y correcciones de Longueil, Bérault, Renano y Caesarius. Se conserva además una carta dirigida por Erasmo en 1528 a Pierre Danès (cf. *Des. Erasmi Rot. operum tertius tomus epistolae complectens universas quotquot ipse autor unquam euulgauit*, ... (Basileae: ex officina Frobeniana, 1540), pp. 749-750), que demuestra documentalmente que ambos se conocían.

¹⁸ C[aii] Plinii Secvn-/di historiae mundi libri xxxvij / ex postrema ad vetvstos codices collatione cvm annotatio- /nibus, Et Indice. Parisiis Apud Audooenum Paruum in uia ad Diuum Iacobum sub /signo Lilii Aurei./ 1543 // [Colofón] Excudebat Michaël Fezandat, Mense Augusto, Anno M.XL.III. (sic) Cf. *Imprimeurs & libraires parisiens*, pp. 289-290.

¹⁹ Para el presente trabajo hemos podido consultar y cotejar un ejemplar de la edición de Oudin Petit que se encuentra en la Biblioteca General Histórica de la Universidad de Salamanca (BG 135436).

²⁰ C[aii] Plinii / Secvndi Hi-/storiae Mvn-/di Libri Tri-/ginta Se-/ptem. / [ornamentum] / Post omnes omnium editiones cum vetustissimis aliquot, ijsq[ue] manu scri-/ptis exemplaribus diligentissimè collati. Qua quidem in re ea & fide usi / sumus & religione, ut neq[ue] quippiam, quod è re studiosorum fore iudica-/bamus, uisum fuerit prætèrmittè, neq[ue] ex ueteri receptaq[ue] scriptura / uel apicem immutare. Mediam itaq[ue] rationem, eamq[ue] tutissimam secu-/ti, lectionum uarietates, quæ aut caeteris præstare, aut certè ex æquo / cum illis certare uidebantur, consueta lectione incolumi, ad margi-/nem curauimus adijciendas. / Annexae sunt prætèrea in calce operis Castigationes Sigismundi Gelenij. / Has sequitur Index longe quàm locupletissimus. / [ornamentum] / Lvgdvni, / Ex Officina Godefridi / Et Marcelli Berin-/gorvm Fratrvm, / M. D. XLVIII. Cf. Sousa Leitão – Azevedo Martins, *O livro científico*, p. 353.

Fr = *Erasmi Operum tomus tertius complectens epistulas uniuersas* (Basileae: in officina Frobeniana, per Hieronymum Frobenium et Nicolaum Episcopium, 1538), pp. 1194-1196.

*Fr*₁ = Idem. Fol. Ibid. Portada: 1540 / Colofón: 1538.

*Fr*₂ = Idem. Fol. Ibid. 1541.

*Fr*₃ = Idem. Fol. Ibid. 1558.

Lond = *Epistolarvm D. Erasmi Roterodami libri xxxi...* (Londini: M. Flesher & R. Young, 1642), pp. 1682-1684.²¹

LB = *Opera omnia. Tomus tertius* (Lugduni Bataurum: P. Vander Aa, 1706), pp. 849C-851D (nº 730).

Allen = P. S. Allen, *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami...* (1525-1527), vol. 6 (Oxonii: In Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1926), pp. 16-21 (nº 1544).

Rothkegel = Martin Rothkegel, *Der lateinische Briefwechsel des Olmützer Bischofs Stanislaus Thurzó. Eine ostmitteleuropäische Humanistenkorrespondenz der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, *Hamburger Beiträge zur neulateinischen Philologie*, 5 (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2007), pp. 201-205.

Existen, finalmente, dos traducciones modernas de la epístola, sin edición del texto latino:

- a) inglesa, publicada en *Collected Works of Erasmus, 11. The Correspondence of Erasmus: Letters 1535 to 1657. January-December 1525*, translated by A. Dalzell, annotated by Ch. G. Nauert jr. (Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press, 1994), pp. 26-31 (nº 1544),
- b) francesa, publicada en *Le correspondance d'Erasme*, 12 vols. (1967-1984), ed. de A. Gerlo, VI (Bruxelles: University Press, 1977), 24-29 (nº 1544).

Ambas traducciones siguen el texto latino editado por Allen y recogen brevemente en notas a pie de página las referencias a hechos y personajes de la antigüedad y contemporáneos citados.

Presentamos, pues, en este trabajo la primera traducción en español de la carta-prólogo, junto con la edición crítica del texto latino, y un estudio pormenorizado de su contenido en relación, por un lado, con la restante producción erasmiana, por otro lado, con las llamadas *controuersiae Ciceronianae* y con el *usus Plinianus* en Erasmo.

²¹ *Epistolarvm / D[esideri] Erasmi / Roterodami / Libri XXXI. / et / P[hilippi] Melancthonis (sic) / Libri IV, / Quibus adjiciuntur / Th[omae] Mori & Lvd[ovici] Vivis / Epistolar. / Vnà cum Indicibvs locupletissimis. / Londini / Excudebant M. Flesher & R. Young. M. DC. XLII. / Sumptibus Adriani Vlacq., pp. 1682-1684. Es la Epístola 14 'In Plinium' del Des[ideri] Erasmi Ro[terodami] Epistolarum liber uigesimus octauus in quo praefationes.*

II. Erasmiana epistula nuncupatoria ad Stanislaum Turzo in Frobeniana editione Plinii *Historiae Mundi* (Basileae, 1525)

II.1. Criterios de edición y traducción

Tomando como texto base el de la *editio princeps* de 1525 (B_1) y siguiendo de cerca las ediciones frobenianas de Basilea editadas en vida de Erasmo (es decir, B_2 y B_3), una vez consultadas y colacionadas las ediciones posteriores, hemos seguido los siguientes criterios de edición.

Hemos respetado el texto de forma general e introducido pequeñas modificaciones que faciliten la lectura y comprensión al lector actual, pero que no lo aparten de su forma genuina, tal como la concibió y elaboró el propio autor.

Las ediciones utilizadas presentan por lo común textos bien cuidados, salpicados en ocasiones por algún evidente fallo tipográfico que se ha corregido, como se detallará en su momento. Únicamente me he apartado de las ediciones cotejadas en el corte de los renglones: siguiendo, pues, a Allen, y con el fin de facilitar la lectura de la obra y la colación entre el texto latino y la traducción, he dividido la carta-prólogo, toda a renglón seguido (como era, por lo demás, habitual en la época), en párrafos de contenido más o menos breves, coincidentes con la estructura de la misma que se describe en el apartado II.2.

He omitido diéresis y ápicos diacríticos, desarrollado marcas de nasalización, y en cuanto a la puntuación, sigo la tendencia filológica moderna en la edición de textos latinos de aliviar el texto de las profusas comas que llenan los impresos originales y a las que en general acostumbra la escritura de la época; las abreviaturas han sido desarrolladas entre corchetes cuadrangulares ([...]). He respetado la inclusión por parte de editores posteriores de los signos de admiración o interrogación cuando lo reclamaban el tono de la frase (*e.g.*: *Rothkegel* 24 ...obscurum esse!; *Allen* 98 ...absolutum!).

He utilizado la letra en cursiva para los pasajes del texto de Plinio citados por Erasmo como ejemplos de su labor de corrección crítica, pasajes que aparecían en letra redonda, como el resto del texto, en los originales latinos. No he consignado estos ajustes ortográficos en el aparato crítico a fin de no sobrecargarlo inoportunamente. Tampoco he consignado los casos en los que he corregido las puntuaciones leves o fuertes, pues es sabido que los impresos renacentistas abundan en comas superfluas, sobre todo ante conjunciones, o no las consignan, por ejemplo, ante

un nombre en vocativo, y que es habitual puntuación fuerte separando oraciones subordinadas de las principales.

En el campo de las grafías he respetado el *usus scribendi* del autor y, por extensión, de la *officina typographica* y de la época.²² En este sentido he seguido el patrón clásico usado sistemáticamente por Erasmo en la edición frobeniana para el caso de las grafías ‘i’ y ‘u’, minúsculas, e ‘I’ y ‘V’, mayúsculas, tanto en su realización de vocales plenas como en su posición de semiconsonantes. En el caso de otras discrepancias gráficas entre las ediciones, he respetado preferentemente las lecturas recogidas en las ediciones de Basilea. A este respecto he preferido también regularizar el uso de minúsculas siguiendo preferentemente el *usus scribendi* del autor:

4 praesul: Praesul *Lond Allen LB*; 18 pyramidum: Pyramidum *Lond LB Allen*; 19 labyrinthis: Labyrinth *omn. edit. except. Rothkegel*; 19 colossis: Colossis *Lond LB Allen*; 42 mathematices: Mathematices *omn. edit. except. Allen Rothkegel*; 78 respublica: Respublica *omn. edit. praeter B₁ Allen Rothkegel*; 80 monarchas: Monarchas *B P L LB*; 128 praesul (cf. 4 praesul; 119 praesuli): Praesul *omn. edit. except. Rothkegel*; 128 dominus: Dominus *Lond LB Allen*

Un caso especial lo constituye la transcripción de nombres griegos, y muy en concreto del nombre del escultor *Bryaxis* (Βρύαξις), que aparece sistemáticamente en todas las ediciones de la carta-prólogo escrito como *Bryacem* (salvo en *B₇* que ofrece *Bryaxem*), no documentado en ningún autor ni clásico ni posterior. Hemos decidido corregir en *Bryaxim* y en consecuencia también en *Pythim* (frente al original *Pithim*), por ser estas formas con ‘xi’ e ‘ypsilon’ las que se leen en el texto pliniano editado por Erasmo y Froben (*B₁*)²³, cuyos pasajes parecen ser seguidos de cerca en esta parte de la composición de la carta:

²² Sigo la metodología expuesta por J. M^a. Maestre Maestre en ‘La edición crítica de textos latinos humanísticos. I’, en *Humanismo y pervivencia del Mundo Clásico II. Homenaje al Prof. Luis Gil*, ed. J. M^a. Maestre – J. Pascual – L. Charlo, 3 vols. (Cádiz: Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Alcañiz – Gobierno de Aragón. Delegación de Cultura, Instituto de Estudios Turolenses (C.S.I.C.) – Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 1997), 2, 1088-1094.

²³ Para el uso de los nombres griegos por parte de Plinio cf. G. Enrico Manzoni ‘Arcaismi e grecismi nella lingua della *Naturalis Historia*’, en *Studi sulla lingua di Plinio il Vecchio*, ed. P. V. Cova e.a. (Milà: Pubblicazioni della Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 1986), pp. 171-200.

-Bryaxin 36 (c. V) 30 (p. 635, l. 47-48); Bryaxis 36 (c. V) 31 (p. 636, l. 2);
 Bryaxidis 36 (c. V) 22 (p. 635, l. 10); Bryaxis 34 (c. V) 42 (p. 599, l. 47);
 Bryaxis 34 (c. VIII) 73 (p. 602, l. 38)
 -Pythii 33 (c. X) 137 (p. 592, l. 45)

He mantenido, sin embargo, el uso de la -m final por ser sistemático en la carta su empleo para el caso acusativo de vocablos de origen griego (e.g.: 7 Scopam ... Timotheum ... Leocharem ... Pithim *B*; 38 catalogum: catalogon *B*₄₋₇).

Debajo, finalmente, del aparato crítico, aparece un aparato de fuentes, donde recogemos las fuentes localizadas y citas explícitas del texto, fundamentalmente de Plinio (entre paréntesis indicamos, en caso necesario, la página en la que se localiza la cita pliniana en el texto de *B*₁).

II.2. Edición y traducción

II.2.1. *Texto latino*

REVERENDISSIMO PRAESVLI ET ILLVSTRIS[IMO] PRINCIPI
 STANISLAO TVRZO, OLMVTZENSI EPISCOPO, D[ESIDERIVS]
 ERASMVS ROTEROD[AMVS] S[ALVTEM] D[ICIT]

- I. Habent hoc egregia magnorum artificum opera, praesul ornatissime, ut non solum nobilitent autores suos, quorum auspiciis impendiisue nata sunt aut quibus dicata fuerant, uerum etiam omnes quicumque uel in absoluendo uel in sarciendo portionem aliquam industriae suae contulerunt.
- 5 Quorundam etiam aemulatio quamuis parum felix, tamen illustris fuit. Quis enim hodie nosset Mausolum Cariae regulum aut huius coniugem Artemisiam, quis Scopam, Bryaxim, Timotheum, Leocharem aut Pythim, nisi Mausoleum,²⁴ opus longe celebratissimum, his omnibus famam dedisset immortalem, quum ipsum sese ab iniuria temporis exedentis

Ante TIT. add. In Plinium *Fr* : In PLINIVM *LB* / *TIT.* REVERENDISSIMO... PRINCIPI *om. Fr LB* / *D. ante* ERASMVS *om. Fr LB* / *ROT. Fr* : ROTERODAMVS *LB* / 7 Bryaxim *correx*: Bryacem *omn. edit. praeter B*₇ Briaxem [*cf. lib. XXXVI cap. V Bryaxin B*₁ (lin. 46-47, p. 635)] / 7 Pythim *correx*: Pithim *omn. cet.* [*cf. lib. XXXVI cap. V Phytis B*₁ (p. 636)] / 9 quum: cum *Fr LB*

²⁴ Plin. *nat.* 36, 30-31: 'Scopas habuit aemulos eadem aetate, Bryaxim et Timotheum et Leocharem... quoniam pariter caelavere Mausoleum. sepulchrum hoc est ab uxore Artemisia factum Mausolo, Cariae regulo, [...] in summo est quadriga marmorea, quam fecit Pythis'.

10 omnia uindicare non potuerit? Nullum hodie uestigium extat operosi
tabernaculi quod condidit Moses aut celeberrimi quondam templi quod
Hierosolymis extruxit Solomon, Esdras restituit; et tamen semper uictu-
rum est in hominum memoria nomen laudati Beselehelis²⁵, et Hyram,
Tyrionum regis. Quin et ipse Solomon, quamlibet aliis quoque nominibus
15 inclytus, bonam magnamque gloriae suae partem nobili debet aedificio.

II. Solidior autem ueriorque gloria contingit ex his monumentis quae
uitae mortalium insignem aliquam adferunt utilitatem, quam ex Aegyp-
tiarum pyramidum molibus, quae praeter opulentiae barbaricae stultam
et ociosam ostentationem nihil habent, aut ex labyrinthis, colossis, nodis²⁶
20 inexplicabilibus, muscis tegentibus quadrigam²⁷, Dodonaeis²⁸ lebetibus,
heptaphonis porticibus²⁹ aliisque id genus argumentis, quae delectant qui-
dem artis et ingenii miraculo, sed praeterea nullo iuuant usu. Huiusmodi
famam pariunt autoribus suis uerius quam gloriam. Nobilitatus est suo
tauro aeneo Perillus³⁰, sed ut praestiterit obscurum esse! Plus itaque
25 uerae laudis promeruerunt, qui extructis portubus, thermis et aquae duc-
tibus, utilitatem cum operum magnificentia coniunxerunt. E quibus omni-
bus, si quod est praestantissimum eligas, quid ad hoc opus, quod nobis
uiuum ac spirans ingenii sui monumentum reliquit Plinius? Imo non opus
est, sed thesaurus, sed uere mundus rerum omnium cognitu dignarum.
30 Proinde non mirum si unum tot uiros nobilitauit hodieque nobilitat. Nemo
fuit tam obscurus, quin illustris esse coeperit, posteaquam huic operi
manum admouit.

13 Belesehelis *Fr₁ LB*

²⁵ Vulg. *Exod.* 31, 2: 'ecce vocavi ex nomine Beselehel filium Uri filii Hur de tribu Iuda'.

²⁶ Plin. *nat.* 36, 85-7: 'hinc utique sumpsisse Daedalum exemplar eius labyrinthi, quem fecit in Creta, non est dubium, sed centesimam tantum portionem eius imitatum, quae itinerum ambages occursumque ac recursus inexplicabiles continet'.

²⁷ Plin. *nat.* 36, 43: 'Sunt et in parvolis marmoreis famam consecuti Myrmecides, cuius quadrigam cum agitatore operuit alis musca, ...' Cf. *et nat.* 7, 85; 34, 83.

²⁸ Plin. *nat.* 36, 92: 'ut in summo orbis aeneus et petasus unus omnibus sit inpositus, ex quo pendeant exapta catenis tintinnabula, quae vento agitata longe sonitus referant, ut Dodonae olim factum'.

²⁹ Plin. *nat.* 36, 100: 'ibi casu accidit, Olympiae autem arte, mirabili modo, in porticu, quam ob id heptaphonon appellant, quoniam septiens eadem vox redditur'.

³⁰ Plin. *nat.* 34, 89: 'Perillum nemo laudet sauiorem Phalaride tyranno, cui taurum fecit mugitus inclusi hominis pollicitus igni subdito et primus expertus cruciatum eum iustiore saevitia'.

III. Perierat nobis hoc diuinum munus, ni certatim a summis ingeniis aduigilatum esset, ut ex ruinis pene deploratis orbi renascetur. Inter
 35 hos prima citra controuersiam laus debetur Hermolao Barbaro, non tantum ob id quod primus omnium facinus longe pulcherrimum ausus sit aggredi, uerum etiam quod caeterorum nemo unus plura restituerit. Ac ne longum texam catalogum, inter plurimos qui Barbari exemplum sunt aemulati, non instrennuam operam hic nobis nauauit Guilhelmus
 40 Budaeus, uir praeter absolutam eruditionem, exquisitae diligentiae. Post hunc Nicolaus Beraldus, homo supra peritiam humanarum literarum mathematices etiam pulchre callens, quodque hic uel praecipuum erat, sani iudicii, non minore studio quam religione uersatus est in hoc labore. Nuper omnium postremus Ioannes Caesareus, in omni genere literarum
 45 exercitissimus, non infelicem operam praestitit. Atque horum omnium quidem industriae debemus quod Plinium habemus multo quam antehac emendatiorem.

IV. Caeterum ut in picturis quibusdam artis exquisitae semper oculis contemplantium offert sese noui quippiam quod admirentur, ita in emaculando Plinio uersantibus nunquam defuturum est quod sarciendum sit. Festiuit quidem dictum est a Plauto:³¹ ‘Negocii sibi qui uolet uim comparare, nauim et mulierem, haec duo comparato. Nam nullae res magis duae plus negotii habent’. Idem serio uereque dici potest, nunquam ei defuturum negotium qui in Plinio restituendo uelit operam sumere. Vt
 50 enim nihil aliud, certe typographorum incuria facit, ut in probatissimis quibusque scriptoribus semper eruditis uiris retexenda sit, ut ita dicam, tela Penelopes³²; quandoquidem illi quotidie plus deprauant sua socordia, quam eruditorum diligentia possit reponi. Nonnullorum operum ea diuinitas fuit, ut omnium artificum manus inimitabili quadam artis eminentia
 55 deterrerent uel a supplendo quod erat inchoatum, uel a sarciendo quod erat deprauatum. Inter Apellis opera duae potissimum Veneres celebrantur a scriptoribus, altera emergens e mari, unde et ἀναδυομένη dicta, altera quam Cois inchoauit, illam etiam superaturus, nisi mors inuidisset operi nascenti. Prioris inferiorem partem corruptam nullus inuentus est

38 catalogon $B_{4.7}LP$

³¹ Plaut. *Poen.* 210-13: ‘Negoti sibi qui uolet uim parare, / nauem et mulierem, haec duo comparato. / nam nullae magis res duae negoti / habent’.

³² Cic. *Acad.* 2, 29, 95, ed. O. Plasberg (Lipsiae: Teubner, 1922): ‘quasi Penelopae telam retexens’.

65 qui posset reficere; posteriorem imperfectam nemo potuit ad praescripta lineamenta perficere.³³

V. Quo magis probata est artificum modestia, hoc magis detestanda est quorundam temeritas, ne dicam impietas, qui Plinianum opus, omnibus omnium sculptorum ac pictorum operibus anteponendum, sic uel descri-
70 bendo uel excudendo corruerunt, ut deuotis animis in tam eximii scriptoris exitium conspirasse uideri queant. Atqui id ne fieret, oportuit regum esse curam, quum nullus sit liber dignior qui regum manibus teratur, quod non ex alio citius hauriatur rerum omnium cognitio. Quid autem magis decet orbis monarchas quam caeteris antecellere prudentia? Pru-
75 dentia uero quae rebus periclitandis colligitur non solum misera est, quemadmodum uere scripsit ille³⁴, propterea quod magno multorum malo paratur, uerum etiam dispendiosa, ut plerumque sero contingat. At istas moras nihilo magis fert respublica, quam nauis in mari periclitans nauclerum imperitum donec proficiat. Praesens enim periculum artificem
80 iam promptum requirit. Itaque monarchas non uacat ullam uitae portionem amittere, nec pueros esse licet; etiam si sint imberbes, animi canicies adsit oportet. Ea non aliunde rectius colligitur quam ex hoc opere, quod tanto compendio rerum docet uniuersitatem. Mundum docet Plinius. Quid autem absurdius quam imperare mundo et nescire quid sit mundus? Nec
85 est quod excusent publica negocia. Talibus negociis districtus haec ex tot librorum milibus scripsit Plinius. Certe par erat aliquam horarum partem quae pereunt in alea, in tam frugiferam nec minus iucundam lectionem decidere.

VI. Verum ut quo coepi pergam, quo detestabilior est deprauatorum
90 temeritas, hoc eruditos omnes pro sua quemque uirili maiore religione

66 liniamenta *Fr, Lond*

³³ Plin. *nat.* 35, 91-2 [pp. 621-622 *B_I*]: 'Venerem exeuntem e mari diuus Augustus dicauit in delubro patris Caesaris, quae Anadyomene uocatur uersibus Graecis *tantopere* [tali opere *B_I*] dum *laudatur, aeuis uicta, sed inlustrata* [laudatur, uicto, sed illustrato *B_I*]. *Cuius* [Huius *B_I*] inferiorem partem corruptam qui reficeret non *potuit reperiri* [poterat inueniri *B_I*], ... Consenuit haec tabula carie, aliamque pro ea *substituit Nero in principatu* [Nero principatu substituit *B_I*] suo Dorothei manu. Apelles inchoauerat et aliam Venerem *Coi* [Cois *B_I*], superaturus etiam *illam suam* [suam illa *B_I*] priorem. Inuidit mors peracta parte, nec qui succederet operi ad praescripta liniamenta [lineamenta *B_I*] inuentus est'.

³⁴ Plin. *Paneg.* 66, 4: 'terror, et metus, et misera illa ex periculis facta prudentia monebat, ut a republica (erat autem omnino nulla respublica) oculos, aures, animos auerteremus'.

admouere manum oportet operi restituendo. Superstitio quidem est nihil hic audere, quum tam multis hic ausus felicissime cesserit. Temeritas est ex quamlibet leui coniectura expuncta uetere scriptura nouam inducere. Religio est seorsum annotare, si quid probabilibus argumentis deprehen-
 95 sum est, et eruditis ad ulteriora peruestiganda ueluti gradum iacere. Atque utinam in hoc pulcherrimum negotium conspirarent omnes rei literariae proceres, ut quisque quod deprehendit in medium conferat, donec Plinium haberemus absolutum! Non leue praemium ostenditur, uel unus locus restitutus promerebatur honestam apud studiosos nominis memo-
 100 riam. Is est Pliniani nominis splendor, ea est operis tum gratia, tum utilitas. Benemerebatur de publicis studiis, si tua autoritas Velium tuum, aut si qui sunt Velii similes, ad hanc prouinciam extimularit.

VII. Nos ex uetustissimo quodam codice sed, ut fere sunt, deprauatissime scripto, non pauca restituimus, quae citra subsidium exemplaris
 105 corrigi non poterant, quaeque hactenus a nemine fuerant animaduersa. Hoc dictum ne fide careat, praestabit hic locus libri XII, cap. III:³⁵ *Aethiopiae forma, ut diximus, nuper allata*, etc. Item libro XIII, cap. XXIII:³⁶ *Apes quoque nunquam defore*, etc. Rursum libro XVIII, cap. VI:³⁷ *Verumque confitentibus latifundi*, etc.; et cap. XXV:³⁸ *Omnesque eae differentiae*
 110 *fiunt in octauis partibus signorum*, etc. Sed ineptum sit recensere quicquid correctum est; haec in hoc indicaui, quo lector collatis his locis cum omnium aeditionibus perspiciat ad hunc modum plurima feliciter restituta ex fide uetustissimi codicis, quae nullis coniecturis potuissent restitui. In caeteris item ita uigilatum est, ut meo periculo non dubitem polliceri nun-
 115 quam hactenus exisse Plinium felicius tractatum. Accessit officinae Frobenianae maiestas nitorque, qui uir mihi literis illustrandis natus uidetur.

VIII. Iam quo commendatior etiam Plinius exiret in manus hominum, hoc operae tuo nomini dedicare uisum est. Scio quantum debeam incomparabili uiro fratri tuo Turzoni, quondam praesuli Vratislauensi, qui me
 120 tam procul semotum et splendidis xeniis et amantissimis literis ad amicitiam prouocauit. Ab hoc aere alieno non liberat mors creditoris. Memoriae persoluendum quod ipsi persoluere non licuit. Successisti in germani

109 XXV correxit Allen: XXI omn. edit. anteriores

³⁵ Plin. nat. 12, 18-19 (p. 218 B₁).

³⁶ Plin. nat. 13, 131 (pp. 230-40 B₁).

³⁷ Plin. nat. 18, 35 (p. 317 B₁).

³⁸ Plin. nat. 18, 221 (p. 333 B₁).

- locum, iam semel atque iterum lacesens ad amicitiam. Est tibi res, amplissime praesul, cum homuncione plane uitreo. Subinde periclitor.
- 125 Proinde si Deus dederit uitam longiorem, hanc arram esse putato, quae adeo non liberat, ut obstrictiorem etiam reddat debitorem; sin minus, hoc erit argumentum mihi facultatem defuisse, non animum hominis grati memorisque. Amplitudinem tuam seruet dominus Iesus.
- Basileae. An[no] ab orbe redempto M.D.XXV, sexto Id[us] Februar[ii].

II.2.2. Traducción

DESIDERIO ERASMO DE RÓTERDAM SALUDA AL MUY REVERENDO PRELADO E ILUSTRÍSIMO PRÍNCIPE ESTANISLAO TURZO, OBISPO DE OLOMOUC³⁹

I. Tienen en común las egregias obras de los grandes artistas, mi muy honorable prelado, hacer famosos no sólo a sus autores, a cuyas expensas y bajo cuyos auspicios nacieron, o bien a quienes fueron dedicadas, sino también a todos aquellos que consagraron algo de su energía en su finalización o su restauración. También la emulación de algunas obras, aunque poco afortunada, les otorgó, sin embargo, un lugar en la historia. ¿Quién, pues, hubiera conocido al reyezuelo de Caria Mausolo o a su esposa Artemisa, quién a Escopa, Briaxis, Timoteo, Leócares o Piteo, si el Mausoleo, obra celebradísima sin discusión, que ni siquiera pudo librarse ella misma de la injuria del tiempo que todo lo consume, no

129 *post* Basileae *scripsit* 8 Februarii, Anno ab orbe redempto 1525 *LB*: Millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo quinto, sexto Id. Februarii *Lond*: Idus Februar. *B₄Fr*: Idus Feb. *B₆B₇L*

³⁹ Al igual que su hermano, el príncipe obispo de Breslau Johann Turzo (cf. *infra*, nota 59), Estanislao fue un gran mecenas de humanistas. Pertenecía a una familia que debía su preeminencia a sus habilidades políticas, así como a la riqueza derivada de la minería entre otros negocios. Fue obispo de Olomouc en Moravia desde 1497 hasta su muerte en 1540, y su administración de la diócesis mereció la alabanza Erasmo (cf. Allen Ep. 1242, espec. la introd.). Junto con su hermano fallecido, conoció la obra de Erasmo de la mano de Jacobus Piso (Ep. 216), cuando los dos hermanos estaban en Cracovia (Ep. 1662), pero mientras Johann inició con el humanista una estrecha correspondencia epistolar, Estanislao no hizo ningún intento de conocer al erudito hasta julio de 1521, cuando le envió por medio de Ursino Velius una carta en respuesta (Ep. 1242) y un regalo. Cf. *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, ed. P.G. Bietenholz and Thomas B. Deutscher (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003 [=1985-1987]), III, 333-324; Rothkegel, *Der lateinische Briefwechsel des Olmützer Bischofs Stanislaus Thurzó*, pp. 201-205.

hubiese dado a todos estos fama inmortal?⁴⁰ Hoy por hoy no queda ninguna huella del costoso tabernáculo que construyó Moisés⁴¹ o del templo otrora celeberrimo que Salomón levantó en Jerusalén y Esdras restauró; sin embargo, siempre habrá de permanecer en la memoria de los hombres el nombre del elogiado Bezaleel, y el de Hiram, rey de los Tirios.⁴² Incluso el propio Salomón, por mucho que su fama se deba también a otras razones, buena y gran parte de su gloria la debe al noble edificio.

II. Esos monumentos, en cambio, que aportan a la vida de los mortales alguna insigne utilidad, procuran una gloria más sólida y más verdadera que las moles de las pirámides de Egipto — que salvo una necia y ociosa ostentación de opulencia barbárica nada ofrecen —, o bien que los laberintos, los colosos, los nudos intrincados,⁴³ las moscas que cubren la cuadriga⁴⁴, las calderas de Dodona⁴⁵, los pórticos ‘heptáfonos’⁴⁶ y otros ingenios de esta clase, que deleitan ciertamente por el maravilloso talento

⁴⁰ El monumento funerario conocido como Mausoleo fue construido en el centro de Halicarnaso en honor del sátrapa de Caria Mausolo. Piteo y el también arquitecto y escultor Sátiro de Paros (no mencionado por Plinio y, por tanto, tampoco por Erasmo en la epístola) fueron los co-diseñadores del gran mausoleo. Los escultores griegos Escopas, Briaxis, Timoteo y Leócáres, que vivieron también en torno al año 350 a.C., participaron en mayor o menor medida en la construcción y embellecimiento del monumento.

⁴¹ El tabernáculo fue el santuario móvil construido por los Israelitas en el desierto, durante el éxodo de Egipto, como lugar de adoración a Dios Yaveh y en el que se resguardaban las Tablas de la Ley de Dios, la vara de Aarón y un pan de maná dentro del Arca de la Alianza (Vulg. *Exod.* 25, 8), función que cumplió hasta que fue construido el Templo de Jerusalén por el rey Salomón.

⁴² Según lo escrito en la Biblia, la construcción del Templo de Salomón se realizó en el siglo X a.C. para sustituir el Tabernáculo que durante siglos se venía utilizando como lugar de reunión y de culto a Dios. Contó para esta empresa con la ayuda del rey de Tiro, Hiram, para el templo, y con la maestría de Bezaleel (Vulg. *Exod.* 31, 1-6), para la construcción del tabernáculo.

⁴³ Aunque Plinio en *nat.* 36, 85-7 menciona los ‘recursus inexplicabiles’ del laberinto que Dédalo construyó en Creta, aquí Erasmo parece aludir más bien a los ‘nodi inexplicabiles’ como los del carro de Midas, que dio lugar al proverbio *Nodum soluere*. Cf. *Adag.*, 6 (LB II 28A): ‘Natum hinc aiunt, quod tradunt Midam curru nodis quibusdam inexplicabilibus e corni libro connexo vectari solitum. De hoc in templo reposito proditus erat apud Phrygas rumor, ut qui vinculum illius soluisset, eum Asiae imperio potiturum. Alexander Magnus explicuit exempto clavo, qui jugum temoni connectebat; quidam aiunt gladio dissecuisse’.

⁴⁴ Según Plinio (*nat.* 7, 85; 34, 83; 36, 5) se trata de la ‘Cuadriga con Auriga’, miniatura en mármol de Mirmécides, que cabía bajo las alas de una mosca.

⁴⁵ Plinio menciona brevemente esta obra prodigiosa (*nat.* 36, 92), pero es realmente Estrabón (7, Fr 3) quien escribe que había en Dodona un bol de bronce coronado con una figura que sujetaba un látigo en la mano, el cual, cuando soplaba el viento, golpeaba el bol haciéndolo sonar como una campanilla.

⁴⁶ Además del pasaje pliniano citado en aparato de fuentes, cf. *et* Plut. *De placitis Philos.* IV 20 y *De garrulit.* 1 *et* Pausan. 5, 21, 7.

de su artista creador, pero más allá de esto no sirven para nada. Obras así dan más notoriedad que verdadera fama a sus autores. Se hizo famoso Perilo por su toro de bronce⁴⁷, pero ¡cuánto mejor habría sido para él permanecer desconocido! Así pues, un mayor elogio merecieron quienes, tras levantar puertos, termas y acueductos, conjugaron en sus obras utilidad con magnificencia. Y si de entre todos estos trabajos tuvieras que elegir el más destacable, ¿qué dirías de esa obra que Plinio nos dejó como monumento vivo y manifiesto de tu talento? Que no es una simple obra, sino un tesoro, un mundo de cosas verdaderamente dignas de conocer. De ahí que no sea asombroso que esta obra por sí sola haya hecho famosos a tantos hombres y aun hoy los haga. Nadie hubo tan desconocido que no empezara a sobresalir de alguna forma, después de haber aplicado su mano a esta obra.

III. Habría perecido este regalo de los dioses, si hombres de notable talento no se hubiesen preocupado afanosamente de recuperarlo para el mundo de su ruina casi deplorable. Entre estos el primer elogio lo merece sin discusión Hermolao Barbaro⁴⁸, no sólo porque fue el primero de todos que se atrevió a acometer una actividad cuyo resultado fue con diferencia el más hermoso, sino también porque nadie ha restablecido más pasajes corruptos que él. Y para no elaborar un extenso catálogo de nombres, entre los muchísimos que siguieron el ejemplo de Barbaro, nos dejó celosamente realizado un trabajo muy cuidado Guillaume Budé⁴⁹, varón de erudición absoluta y de exquisita diligencia. Después de él Nicolas Bérault⁵⁰, un hombre de amplios conocimientos en literatura y también experto matemático, y lo que en este campo es más importante, de juicio cabal, se aplicó a esta obra con tanto entusiasmo como escurpulosidad. El más reciente y último de todos fue Johann Caesarius⁵¹, gran experto en todo tipo de géneros literarios, que realizó un trabajo no desafortunado. Y ciertamente debemos al esfuerzo de todos estos hombres el hecho de tener a Plinio mucho más libre de errores que antes.

⁴⁷ Se trata del instrumento de tortura conocido como 'el toro de Falaris' (cf. *supra* nota 30): las víctimas del tirano eran encerradas y, mediante una hoguera encendida debajo, cocinadas vivas mientras que sus gritos representaban el bramido del toro. La leyenda cuenta que el mismo Perilo fue la primera víctima.

⁴⁸ Se trata del célebre humanista veneciano Hermolao Barbaro (1454-1493) que sacó a la luz en Roma en 1492-3 las *Castigationes Plinianae* (cf. el texto a que hace referencia la nota 69).

⁴⁹ Véase el texto al que hacen referencia las notas 71 y 72.

⁵⁰ Véase el texto al que hacen referencia las notas 72, 73 y 74.

⁵¹ Véase lo que a propósito de Caesarius decimos en el texto al que hace referencia la nota 75.

IV. Por otro lado, así como en ciertas pinturas de exquisita ejecución siempre se ofrece a los ojos de los espectadores algo nuevo que admirar, así a quienes se aplican a limpiar de errores a Plinio nunca les habrá de faltar algo que restaurar. En tono jocoso Plauto dijo: ‘Si alguien desea realmente procurarse algo que lo tenga ocupado, hará bien en conseguir un barco o una mujer, ya que es imposible encontrar dos cosas que den más problemas’.⁵² Lo mismo puede decirse completamente en serio de quien quiera asumir el trabajo de restablecer el texto de Plinio, que nunca habrá de faltarle algo que hacer. Pues, como ninguna otra cosa, el descuido de los impresores provoca que, en los más destacados escritores, hombres eruditos siempre han de destejer, por así decirlo, la tela de Penélope⁵³, puesto que con su negligencia introducen diariamente más errores que los que podrían corregir la diligencia de los eruditos. Algunas obras han inspirando tanto respeto divino que, por cierta inimitable cualidad que caracteriza al arte, han conseguido apartar las manos de todos los artistas o bien de completar lo empezado o bien de restaurar lo estropeado. Entre las obras de Apeles, hay sobre todo dos Venus celebradas por los escritores, una ‘saliendo del mar’ — de donde el epíteto de ‘anadiómena’ —, otra empezada en Cois, que habría superado a aquella si la muerte no hubiese asistido con envidia al nacimiento de esta obra. Esta segunda, inacabada, nadie ha podido finalizarla de acuerdo con los trazos ya esbozados.⁵⁴

⁵² Erasmo parece citar de memoria (si no es que consultó una obra que contuviera la cita plautina tal como la leemos), pues el original contiene ‘parare’ y ‘magis res duae’ en lugar de ‘comparare’ y ‘res magis duae’. Esta referencia plautina de Erasmo para aludir a la dificultad del texto de Plinio tuvo un eco destacado en algunos prefacios de ediciones o estudios posteriores de la *Naturalis Historia*, como en la edición de Hardouin (Parisiis: apud Franciscum Muguet, 1685), f. é iij, quien transcribiendo correctamente los versos del comediógrafo romano, sin embargo, silencia el nombre del roterodamo, y en las *Disquisitiones Plinianae* de Antonio G. di Rezzonico (Parmae: excudebant Borsii fratres, 1763), p. vii, quien transcribe los versos tal como leemos en este prefacio.

⁵³ Diferentes ediciones consultadas de las *Académicas* de Cicerón, de donde Erasmo toma la frase hecha, presentan el nombre de Penélope unas en nominativo (*Penelope*), otras en genitivo (*Penelopae*; *Penelopes*). Cf. *M. T. Ciceronis pars tertia siue opera philosophica ad optimos codices et editionem J. Vict. Leclerc recensita cum selectis ueterum ac recentiorum notis curante et emendante M. N. Bouillet...* (Parisiis: colligebat Nicolaus Eligius Lemaire, 1828), p. 370, n. 26: ‘*Quasi Penelope telam retexens*: Nec nostrorum ullus *Penelopae*, ut Lambin[us] et Grut[erus], neque sic accurate scriptum foret. Tum enim *Penelopae* more vel tale quid poni debuerit quum ad comparatum satis sit ‘quasi telam retexens’. G[oerenz]’. Remitimos en última instancia al *Adag.* 42 (LB II 168B) erasmiano: ‘*Penelopes telam retexere*’.

⁵⁴ La referencia está tomada, como no podía ser de otra manera, de Plinio. Obsérvese cómo Erasmo realiza la adaptación del pasaje pliniano para su prefacio en el apartado d.2.

V. Y cuanto más aprobada es la modestia de los artistas, tanto más detestable es la temeridad, por no decir impiedad, de ciertos copistas e impresores que han corrompido de tal forma la obra pliniana — la cual debe anteponerse a todas las obras de todos los escultores y pintores —, que podría parecer que han conspirado devotamente por aniquilar a tan eximio escritor. Pero a fin de evitarle este destino, los reyes debieron haber intervenido con su cuidado al no existir ningún libro más digno de estar en las manos de los reyes, porque de ningún otro podrían extraer un conocimiento del mundo entero de manera más rápida. Pues, ¿qué conviene más a los monarcas del mundo que aventajar a los demás en prudencia? Pero la prudencia que se adquiere arrojando peligros no sólo es mísera, como un tal con toda razón escribió,⁵⁵ porque es fruto de la desgracia de muchos, sino también perjudicial, al llegar generalmente tarde. Pero estos retrasos no afectan al Estado menos que a la nave en peligro en el mar un piloto inexperto que está aprendiendo su oficio. En efecto, cuando un peligro es inminente, se requiere la asistencia rápida de un experto. Los monarcas, así pues, no pueden permitirse perder ningún minuto de sus vidas, ni les está permitido actuar como niños; incluso si son jóvenes imberbes, esa disposición anímica que dan las canas debe hacer acto de presencia. Tal cualidad no se adquiere de otra parte que de esta obra, que de forma tan concisa lo enseña todo. El mundo es lo que enseña Plinio. ¿Qué es, pues, más absurdo que gobernar el mundo y desconocer qué es el mundo?⁵⁶ Y no hay por qué utilizar como excusa las ocupaciones públicas. Inmerso en tales ocupaciones Plinio escribió su obra a partir de tantos miles de libros. Lo cierto es que parte del tiempo que se malgasta en los juegos de azar, convendría destinarlo a la lectura de una obra tan provechosa como amena.

VI. Mas para continuar por donde empecé, cuanto más detestable es la temeridad de quienes han corrompido un texto, con tanto mayor respeto religioso conviene que todos los eruditos se apliquen, en la medida de sus posibilidades, a restablecer la obra. Conservadurismo ciego es, ciertamente, rechazar toda conjetura audaz cuando sabemos que la audacia a

⁵⁵ Sobre esta cita innominada, que en última instancia remite a Plinio el Joven, véase el texto al que hacen referencia las notas 80-82.

⁵⁶ Todo este pasaje (líns. 61-69), es decir, desde 'Quid autem magis decet...' hasta '... quid sit mundus?' aparece seleccionado, con el título 'Monarcharum officium', en la obra *Desid[erij] Erasmi Roter[odami] Flores, una cum septem centuriis sapient[um] dictor[um], collecti opera D. Simeoni Partlicij de Spitsberg...* (Amsterdam: Apud Ioannem Ianssonium, 1630), p. 166.

menudo ha producido excelentes resultados. Temeridad es sustituir una vieja lectura por una nueva apoyada en alguna débil conjetura. Respeto religioso es realizar anotaciones apartes, si de argumentos probables se extrae alguna observación, y ayudar a otros estudiosos a sentar, por así decirlo, las bases para futuras investigaciones. ¡Ojalá todos los próceres de los estudios literarios unieran sus esfuerzos para tan noble causa, aportando cada cual ante toda la comunidad sus descubrimientos, hasta que tengamos un Plinio perfecto! El premio que se nos pone ante los ojos no es insignificante: quien restituya incluso un solo pasaje será merecedor de un puesto de honor entre los eruditos. Tal es el esplendor del nombre de Plinio, tal es el atractivo y la utilidad de su obra. Con tu autoridad prestarás un buen servicio al mundo de los estudios, si consigues animar a tu protegido Velio⁵⁷, o a quienes tengan habilidades parecidas a las de Velio, a trabajar en este campo.

VII. En cuanto a nosotros, a partir de cierto códice muy antiguo, pero de escritura muy dañada, como lo están la mayoría, hemos restablecido no pocos pasajes, que no hubiesen podido corregirse sin la ayuda de ejemplar alguno y que hasta ahora nadie había advertido. Para que no carezca de credibilidad esto que he dicho, te señalaré este pasaje del libro XII, cap. IV: *Aethiopiae forma, ut diximus, nuper allata*, etc. Asimismo en el libro XIII, cap. XXIII: *Apes quoque nunquam defore*, etc. De nuevo en el libro XVIII, cap. VI: *Verumque confitentibus latifundia*, etc.; y en el cap. XXV: *Omnesque eae differentiae fiunt in octauis partibus signorum*, etc. Pero sería una tontería hacer una lista de mis correcciones. Estas las he mencionado aquí para que el lector, comparando estos pasajes con las ediciones de todos los demás, advierta de este modo que, sobre la autoridad de ese códice muy antiguo, se han podido restablecer felizmente muchísimas lecturas que no hubiesen podido restablecerse sin conjetura alguna. Por otra parte, en todo lo demás me he aplicado con tal desvelo, que estoy dispuesto a apostar mi reputación afirmando que nunca hasta hoy ha aparecido ningún Plinio mejor trabajado. Vino a añadirse el excelente y espléndido trabajo de impresión del

⁵⁷ Caspar Ursinus Velius (c.1493–1539) fue un humanista silesiano, poeta e historiador, protegido del obispo Turzo, amigo de Erasmo, como se transluce de su correspondencia del año 1517 a Ricardus Bartholinus (cf. Allen, II, 548, 549, 1557). Cf. et Gustav Bauch, *Caspar Ursinus Velius: Der Hofhistoriograph Ferdinands I und Erzieher Maximilians II* (Budapest: Friedrich Kilian, 1886); Hans Rupprich, *Das ausgehende Mittelalter, Humanismus und Renaissance: 1370-1520* (München: Beck, 1994).

taller de Froben⁵⁸, un hombre que me parece que ha nacido para embellecer el mundo de las letras.

VIII. Y para que Plinio pudiera ser recibido ya bajo los auspicios más favorables en las manos de los hombres, decidí dedicar esta obra a tu persona. Sé bien cuán grande es mi deuda para con tu hermano Turzo⁵⁹, otrora prelado de Breslavia, quien, aun viviendo yo tan lejos, me enviaba espléndidos regalos y amabilísimas cartas para que aceptara su amistad. De esta deuda no se libra la muerte del acreedor. A su memoria hay que pagar lo que a él no fue posible. Has sustituido a tu hermano en su lugar, invitándome una y otra vez a ser amigos. Estás tratando, magnífico prelado, con un hombrecillo de vidrio.⁶⁰ Vivo bajo constante peligro. Por ello, si Dios me diera una vida más larga, considera que esta es una fianza que, lejos de liberar mi deuda, me pone bajo una obligación más estricta; pero si no es así, esta será la prueba de que lo que me faltó fue la ocasión, no agradecimiento y buena memoria. Que el señor Jesús guarde a tu Excelencia.

En Basilea. A 8 de febrero, en el año 1525 de nuestra redención.

II.3. Estructura, contenido y comentario

Como es sabido, los prólogos y las dedicatorias en general de las obras del Renacimiento adoptan de forma parcial el aparato externo de una carta. Aunque no son auténticas epístolas, sino proemios con una dramatización formal en las dedicatorias, esta característica formal los hace

⁵⁸ En 1515 Erasmo escribe al pontífice León X sobre la 'officina Frobeniana' en estos términos (cf. Allen Ep. 335, 297-299) a propósito de la obra de San Jerónimo: 'idque in officina Frobeniana, qua non est alia vel accuratior vel unde plus bonorum exeat codicum, praesertim qui ad sacras pertineant litteras'.

⁵⁹ Cf. Allen Ep. 850, en la que Johann Turzo (1466-1520) se dirige a Erasmo, mencionando también a Caspar Ursinus Velius (c. 20 de junio de 1518): 'Desiderio Erasmo Rodorodamo (*sic*) oratori et theologo summo S.D. Summa et incredibilis virtus tua, eruditio singularis, ingenii celsitudo et eloquentiae maiestas, perfectissime Erasme, quae partim lectione tuorum operum partim tam egregia quam uera doctorum hominum commendatione mihi innotuerunt, in causa sunt ut ad te in presentia scribere non dubitarim [...]; habes enim complures vel in his locis eximii ingenii tui miratores nominisque tui clarissimi precones egregios. Inter quos Iohannes Piso extat olim tibi Rome cognitus, Regis Ludouici Hungariae in litteris preceptor, tum Caspar Vrsinus Velius, phalecii illius autor qui in natalem tuum est editus'. Cf. *et supra* nota 39.

⁶⁰ Para la expresión *homuncio uitreus* cf. nuestro comentario en el apartado e) *Conclusio* y el texto al que hacen referencia las notas 86-94.

susceptibles de ser analizados estructuralmente siguiendo la preceptiva del género, como a continuación intentaré mostrar:⁶¹

a) *Salutatio*: Erasmo principia la epístola nuncupatoria con la fórmula *salutatoria* ‘nombre del destinatario’ (en dativo) más nombre del remitente (en nominativo), seguido de la fórmula S.D. (abreviada en este caso), fórmula no admitida por los ciceronianos⁶², que provocará la protesta de Erasmo en su diálogo *Ciceronianus*:⁶³ ‘Idem [sc. Ciceroniani] non ferunt, si quis honoris gratia⁶⁴, nomen eius ad quem scribat, suo praeferat, quod genus sit: ‘Carolo Caesari Codrus Urceus salutem’, esquema a su vez ridiculizado por E. Dolet, en *De imitatione Ciceroniana aduersus Desiderium Erasmum Roterodamum pro Christophoro Longolio* (Lugduni, 1535), que muestra dos concepciones y comportamientos diferentes del latín. A falta de un estudio estadístico sobre el particular y habiendo observado que Erasmo usa en los encabezamientos de sus epístolas ambas fórmulas, apuntamos esta posibilidad elegida por el humanista de Róterdam para saludar al remitente en su carta-prólogo a la obra pliniana precisamente como un deseo deliberado de establecer de entrada su posicionamiento en la polémica con los ciceronianos.

b) *Exordium*: La epístola inicia su exordio con una alocución directa (‘*praesul ornatissime*’) al distinguido destinatario (un motivo para la *captatio beneuolentiae*)⁶⁵, y la presentación del tema: las obras egregias de

⁶¹ Para un análisis detallado de la aplicación de la teoría epistolar a los prólogos renacentistas, cf. nuestros trabajos ‘Los prólogos de Bernardino Gómez Miedes. I: naturaleza del prólogo renacentista’, *Excerpta Philologica*, 7-8 (1997-1998), 223-239; ‘Los prólogos de Bernardino Gómez Miedes. II: contenido y estructura’, *Excerpta Philologica*, 9 (1999), 285-309.

⁶² Cf. J. M^a. Núñez González, ‘Ciceronianismo y latín renacentista’, *Minerva*, 5 (1991), 229-258 (p. 247).

⁶³ Cf. LB I 986F-987A.

⁶⁴ Es sabido que Frontón invierte este orden (*destinatario-remitente*), en su correspondencia con los emperadores, probablemente *honoris causa* (cf. Núñez González, ‘Ciceronianismo’, p. 247).

⁶⁵ Había un patrón del exordio, con cuatro *tópoi* principales: 1) la afectación de modestia, adecuado para el *tópos* de la *captatio beneuolentiae*; 2) el uso de máximas, proverbiales y sentencias; 3) la declaración de la *causa scribendi*, de la que a su vez dependía un grupo de *tópoi*: la dedicatoria, el elogio del destinatario de la obra, la mención de los méritos y deméritos propios, la invocación a la divinidad, etc.; 4) la fórmula de la *breuitas*, en relación con lugares como *ex pluribus pauca* o *pauca e multis*. El fundador de la topología literaria moderna Curtius (cf. E. R. Curtius, *Literatura europea y Edad Media latina* (Madrid: Fondo de cultura económica, 1976), ha desarrollado este tema. Cf. et L. Arbussow, *Colores rethorici. Eine Auswahl rhetorischer Figuren und Gemeinplätze ... für akademische Übungen an mittelalterlichen Texten* (Göttingen: Slatkine, 1963²), pp. 91-121;

los grandes artistas se caracterizan por encumbrar no sólo a sus autores o a sus dedicatarios, sino a cualquiera que haya realizado alguna labor de mejora o restauración. Entre los ejemplos destacados hallamos la mención al Mausoleo, entre los de la Antigüedad clásica, y el templo de Salomón o el tabernáculo de Moisés, entre las obras de la tradición judeo-cristiana, cuya fama se extendió a la de sus autores, escultores o arquitectos. Como era de esperar, el pasaje que describe el monumento clásico está inspirado y tomado del texto pliniano, quien menciona a todos los personajes destacados por Erasmo. Llama por ello la atención, como ya apuntamos, que el roterodamo se aparte del propio texto que edita en la transcripción de alguno de los nombres griegos, como el de Piteo y especialmente el de Briaxis.

Y junto al Mausoleo se destacan dos monumentos de tradición bíblica: el tabernáculo y el templo de Salomón. Al lector, pues, no le puede pasar desapercibido el deseo de Erasmo de conciliar en el exordio de su epístola paganismo y cristianismo. Como es sabido, uno de los ataques más duros de Erasmo en su *Ciceronianus* es la acusación de paganismo: más daño supuso, en efecto, que acusaran de paganos a los hombres de Iglesia que profesaban el ciceronianismo, que el simple hecho de refutar una a una sus teorías sobre la imitación simple e intentar convencer de la conveniencia de practicar una imitación compuesta.⁶⁶

c) *Narratio*: Entre las obras egregias se llevan la palma las que unen utilidad y magnificencia (acueductos, puertos, termas, ...) frente a aquellas que sólo son muestra de una necia ostentación (pirámides, laberintos, colosos, ...). En esta parte de la carta-prólogo Erasmo establece una comparación entre estas obras y la magna pliniana, sentenciando: *non opus est, sed thesaurus, sed uere mundus rerum omnium cognitu dignarum*, que encumbra a quien le aplica su mano. Este deseo de valorar la utilidad de las obras por encima de las de belleza vana será recurrente en el programa anti-ciceroniano desarrollado por Erasmo, es decir, a la cuestión de que deben ser los mejores autores los que hay que leer para extraer de ellos lo mejor que ayude a conformar nuestra *elocutio* o *dictio*, añade el

A. Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

⁶⁶ Cf. R. Sabbadini, *Storia del Ciceronianismo e di altre questioni letterarie nell'età della Rinascenza* (Turín: Loescher, 1885), p. 66; A. García Galiano, *La imitación poética en el Renacimiento* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, Publicaciones de la Universidad de Deusto, 1992), pp. 149-150; Mañas, *El Ciceroniano*, p. 42.

tema de la *inuentio*, es decir, la necesidad no menos importante de leer a aquellos autores que ofrezcan el material o contenido de los discursos, como a Plinio, entre los romanos:⁶⁷

Nec ita censeo M. Tullium adamandum ut a ceteris omnibus abhorreas, sed optimos quosque primum legendos et ex optimis quod in quoque est optimum excerpendum; neque enim est necesse, ut quenquam totum imiteris. **Nec illos aspernandos censeo, qui dictionem quidem non multum iuuant, sed tamen rerum copiam suppeditant, uelut Aristoteles, Theophrastus et Plinius.**

También era de esperar que todos los ejemplos aducidos de monumentos estuvieran tomados o aparecieran con mayor o menor profusión de detalles en la *Naturalis Historia*. Entre las obras que Erasmo presenta por su inutilidad para el ser humano, que el roterodamo destaca aun más silenciando el nombre de su artista creador, cierra el listado la ‘invención’ de un autor, esta vez con apellido: el instrumento de tortura conocido como el toro de bronce de Perilo, un monumento a la barbarie e inhumanidad, cuya primera víctima fue su propio creador.⁶⁸

d) *Argumentatio*:

d.1. Continúa Erasmo exponiendo el estado lamentable en que se halla este *diuinum munus*, para pasar a continuación a realizar un catálogo de sus más importantes restauradores, ‘*quorum onmium quidem industriae debemus quod Plinium habemus multo quam antehac emendatiorem*’:

– *Hermolaus Barbarus*: El célebre humanista veneciano Hermolao Barbaro (1454-1493) sacó a la luz en Roma en 1492-3 sus *Castigationes Plinianae*⁶⁹, obra de referencia fundamental para todas las ediciones

⁶⁷ Cf. LB I 1024F.

⁶⁸ Sobre el instrumento de tortura conocido también como ‘el toro de Falaris’ y su presencia literaria en el Renacimiento, cf. John Kleiner, ‘Criminal Invention: Dante, Ovid, and the Bull of Phalaris’, *Dante Studies, with the Annual Report of the Dante Society*, 123 (2005), 71-81. Lo hallamos mencionado también en diversos *Adagia* de Erasmo, como en el 86 (LB II 392E), donde se considera como el más grande ejemplo de crueldad humana: ‘Inter multa autem crudelitatis exempla celebratur in primis aeneus ille taurus Perilli siue Perilai - nam sic appellat Lucianus - inuentum, in quo subiecto igni mortales uiui sic exurebantur, ut pro eiulatu humano mugitum aederent morientes’. También se cita en el *Adag.*, 51 (LB II 48D) como ejemplo de *Suo gladio suoue telo iugulari*.

⁶⁹ Cf. Ermolao Barbaro, *Castigationes Plinianae et in P. Mela*, ed. G. Pozzi, 4 vols (Padua: in aedibus Antenoreis, 1973-1979). Para más detalles sobre esta obra y su recepción en el Renacimiento véanse nuestros trabajos, ‘¿Escribió Plinio el Viejo una enciclopedia?: A propósito de una lectura de Lucio Flaminio Sículo’, en *Actas del XI Congreso Español de la Sociedad de Estudios Clásicos* (21-25 de septiembre de 1999). II: *Lingüística Latina. Literatura Latina. Filología clásica*, ed. A. Alvar Ezquerro - F. García Jurado (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Estudios Clásicos, 2001), pp. 605-613; Ramos, ‘La *Naturalis Historia* de Plinio’, pp. 62-94. Cf. et Vittore Branca, ‘Ermolao Barbaro and Late

posteriores de Plinio, cuyo nombre silenciado en la portada de la edición beroldiana de 1516 destacamos porque precisamente su nombre será el único mencionado por Froben en la portada de la edición erasmiana de 1525. A este respecto Barbaro dejó escrita una de las sentencias más categóricas sobre la importancia de la NH: ‘...Plinium, **sine quo vix potest latina res consistere**’.⁷⁰

– *Guilhelmus Budaeus*: El humanista francés Guillaume Budé no realizó propiamente una edición del texto de la NH, pero ya en sus *Annotationes in XXIV libros Pandectarum* (Parisiis, 1508), y sobre todo en sus *Libri V de Asse et partibus eius* (Parisiis, 1514), se había encontrado con las dificultades propias del texto pliniano. Tenía la suerte de poseer un manuscrito inédito y antiguo, que Delaruelle⁷¹ ha identificado como el *Parisinus Latinus* llamado *d* de la Bibliothèque Nationale (lat. 6797). La crítica pliniana venía a experimentar en este sentido una nueva actualización y Budé pasó a convertirse a partir de ese momento en una autoridad en la materia, de ahí su participación en la edición colectiva beraldiana de *la Historia Mundi* (Parisiis, 1516).⁷²

– *Nicolaus Beraldis*: El humanista francés Nicolas Bérault⁷³ realizó, como hemos apuntado, una edición conjunta del texto pliniano en 1516, de la que ya hemos dado cuenta en diversas partes del presente trabajo.⁷⁴

Quattrocento Venetian Humanism’ in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. J. Hale (London: Faber and Faber, 1973), pp. 218-243; José Perona, ‘Las *Castigationes Plinii* y el *ars medicamentaria* de Nebrija’, *Revista de Investigación Lingüística*, 11 (2008), 249-264.

⁷⁰ Cf. Pozzi, *Castigationes Plinianaes*, p. 3; Ramos, ‘La *Naturalis Historia* de Plinio’, pp. 79-80.

⁷¹ Cf. L. Delaruelle, *Guillaume Budé. Les origines, les débuts, les idées maîtresses* (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1907), App. 1, pp. 223-227.

⁷² Cf. M.-M. de La Garanderie, ‘Travaux italiens et français sur Pline l’Ancien: L’édition parisienne de Nicolas Bérault (1516)’, en *L’aube de la Renaissance*, ed. L. Sozzi e.a. (Genève: Slatkine, 1991), pp. 209-224.

⁷³ Sobre Bérault (sigo la ortografía más extendida frente a la forma con -d: Bérauld), entre la bibliografía publicada a partir del s. XX, cf. L. Delaruelle, ‘Etudes sur l’humanisme français: Nicole Bérault. Notes bibliographiques suivies d’un appendice sur plusieurs de ses publications’, *Le Musée belge*, 13 (1909), 253-312; L. Delaruelle, ‘Notes complémentaires sur deux humanistes (Nicolas Bérault et Janus Lascaris)’, *Revue du XVIe siècle*, 15 (1928), 311-323; M.-M. de la Garanderie, ‘Nicolas Bérault’, en *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, I, 126-128; P. Galand-Hallyn, ‘Nicolas Bérault lecteur de Politien’, en *Poliziano nel suo tempo*, ed. L. Secchi Tarugi (Firenze: Cesati, 1996), pp. 411-427; P. Galand-Hallyn, ‘La *Praelectio in Suetonium* de Nicolas Bérauld (1515)’, *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 46 (1997), 62-93; V. Pérez Custodio, ‘Plinio el Viejo y los *progymnasmata*: la edición complutense de la *Naturalis Historia* de 1569’, en *Humanismo y pervivencia del mundo clásico. Homenaje al profesor Antonio Prieto*, ed. J. M^a. Maestre – J. Pascual – L. Charlo (Alcañiz – Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Humanísticos – C.S.I.C., 2008), IV/2, 973-996.

⁷⁴ Cf. notas 8 y 17.

– *Iohannes Caesarius*: Aunque Erasmo le menciona en la carta-prólogo como ‘Caesareus’, se le conoce comúnmente bajo la forma ‘Caesarius’. Editó en 1524 el *C. Plinii Secundi Naturalis Historiae opus, ab innumeris mendis à D[omino] Iohan[ne] Caesario Iuliacen[si] uiro insigniter erudito, vindicatum: inuenta primum ab eo & à nullo quidem antea animaduersa, concinna r[ati]one quadam id opus in septem pemp-tadas siue quinaris dispartiendi: adiectisque in singulos argumentis, & breuiusculis simul in margine scholiis, ab eodem illustratum. [...] Sub edicto et priuilegio Caes[areae] M[aiestatis] ad quadriennium, cuius exemplum uersa pagella demonstrabit. //* [Colof.] Apud sanctam Vbiorum Coloniam Agrippinam, in aedibus Eucharii Ceruicorni, Anno à partu uirginis matris M.D.XXIII. En 1516 Erasmo dedicó a Caesarius su traducción del primer libro de la gramática griega de Gaza (Allen Ep. 428), que fue seguida de la dedicatoria del segundo libro en 1518 (Allen Ep 771).⁷⁵

d.2. A pesar de todo ello la labor de restauración pliniana no está ni mucho menos concluida, sino que se halla en continuo proceso (cita de Plauto, explícita, en tono jocoserio, y de Cicerón, implícita), causada por la incuria de los impresores. Erasmo destaca el carácter divino de algunas obras y realiza una comparación con obras de arte pictóricas y escultóricas, en especial las dos Venus de Apeles, pasaje a su vez inspirado en el texto de Plinio, como el lector puede constatar de la confrontación de los pasajes correspondientes:⁷⁶

–Erasm. *Epist. ad NH* 45: Inter Apellis opera duae potissimum **Veneres celebrantur a scriptoribus, altera emergens e mari**, unde et *ἀναδυομένη dicta*, ... Prioris **inferiorem partem corruptam nullus inuentus est qui posset reficere**;

–Plin. *nat.* 35, 91-2: **Venerem exeuntem e mari**... quae *Anadyomene* uocatur uersibus Graecis tali opere dum laudatur... Huius **inferiorem partem corruptam qui reficeret non poterat inuenire**;

–Erasm. *Epist. ad NH* 46: altera quam Cois inchoauit, **illam etiam superaturus, nisi mors inuidisset operi** nascenti *posteriorem* imperfectam nemo potuit **ad praescripta lineamenta** perficere;

–Plin. *nat.*, 35, 92: Apelles inchoauerat et *aliam* Venerem Cois, **superaturus etiam suam illam priorem. Inuidit mors** peracta parte, nec qui succederet **operi ad praescripta lineamenta** inuentus est.

⁷⁵ Sobre Iohannes Caesarius Iuliacensis (ca. 1468-1550) véanse entre otros: *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, pp. 238-239; Corien Bary, *De Dialectica van Iohannes Caesarius (ca. 1468-1550)* (Doctoraalscriptie, Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen, 2004).

⁷⁶ Los textos de Plinio pertenecen a *B_I* (pp. 621-622). En negrita marcamos los calcos textuales y en cursiva los contextuales.

d.3. Erasmo no oculta su desprecio por la temeridad e impiedad de quienes han corrompido la obra pliniana. Mas para juzgar, desde hoy, el método erasmiano habría que aplicar a nuestro humanista lo que Giovanni Pozzi escribió a propósito de Hermolao Barbaro y sus *Castigationes Plinianae*. Pensaban los humanistas que los errores de un texto se debían a la obra de correctores y copistas; y que ello se subsanaba en gran medida por el testimonio de los escritores, ya que estaban persuadidos de la perfecta ‘concordia’ entre los testimonios escritos en la antigüedad en materia de las ciencias naturales y de arqueología histórica.⁷⁷ Por ello los gobernantes deben tener la responsabilidad de velar por la integridad de una obra como la legada a la posteridad por el naturalista de Como, debido a su utilidad: con su lectura, como con ninguna otra, los monarcas adquieren un conocimiento completo del mundo necesario para gobernar con prudencia. Introduce Erasmo en esta parte de la epístola una sentencia sobre la ‘prudencia’ referenciada con el pronombre ‘ille’, con la que el humanista de Róterdam podría parecer estar aludiendo al propio Plinio. La localización, no obstante, de la fuente nos muestra que no se trata del Viejo, sino del Joven. En el tratamiento, pues, de las citas el roterodamo varía los procedimientos: desde la referencia explícita (*dictum est a Plauto*), con algún que otro error, por citar probablemente de memoria⁷⁸, hasta la adaptación personal (*ut ita dicam*) de un dicho con silenciamiento total de la fuente⁷⁹, Cicerón para más señas (¿guiño de Erasmo?), pasando por un uso del pronombre ‘ille’ o bien enfático (para destacar la idea del pensamiento de alguien suficientemente conocido como para silenciar su nombre) o bien indeterminado (‘un tal, un cualquiera, un fulano’). Una variante de la cita de Plinio el Joven, sin mención explícita del autor, la hallamos también expresada en el *Moriae encomium* erasmiano (1ª ed. Parisiis, 1511), cuya selección de los términos, no obstante, nos remite a lo que leemos en el prefacio objeto del presente estudio y edición:

- Erasm. LB IV 427C *Moriae encomium*: Principio si rerum usu constat **prudencia**, in utrum magis competet eius cognominis honos, in sapientem,

⁷⁷ Cf. M^a. Dolores de Asís, ‘Edición crítica de las *Castigationes in Pomponium*’, en *La edición de textos. Actas del I Congreso Internacional de Hispanistas del Siglo de Oro*, ed. P. Jauralde – D. Noguera – A. Rey (London: Tamesis Book Limited, 1990), p. 139.

⁷⁸ Cf. las notas 31 y 52 del texto latino y la traducción, respectivamente, de la carta-prólogo.

⁷⁹ Cf. las notas 32 y 53 del texto latino y la traducción, respectivamente, de la carta-prólogo.

qui partim ob pudorem, partim ob animi timiditatem nihil aggreditur, an in stultum, quem neque pudor quo uacat, neque periculum, quod non perpendit, ab ulla re deterret? Sapiens ad libros Veterum confugit, atque hinc meras uocum argutias ediscit. **Stultus** adeundis cominusque **periclitandis rebus, ueram**, ni fallor, **prudentiam colligit**.⁸⁰

- Erasm. *Epist. ad NH*. 54-56: **Prudentia** uero quae **rebus periclitandis colligitur** non solum **misera** est, quemadmodum **uere** scripsit ille, propterea quod magno multorum malo paratur, uerum etiam dispendiosa, ut plerumque sero contingat.

- Plin. *Panegy.* 66, 4: Iubes esse liberos; erimus. Iubes, quae sentimus, promere in medium: proferemus. Neque enim adhuc ignavia quadam et insito torpore cessauimus: terror, et metus, **et misera illa ex periculis facta prudentia** monebat, ut a republica (erat autem omnino nulla respublica) oculos, aures, animos auerteremus.⁸¹

Lo cierto es que ‘el tal’ que con toda razón escribió las palabras más semejantes a la locución de la carta-prólogo ‘Prudentia quae rebus periclitandis colligitur...misera est’, no fue otro que el propio autor del *Moriae encomium*, quien adaptó y puso en boca de la *Stultitia* unas palabras del *Panegyricus* pliniano con silenciamiento de la fuente.⁸²

d.4. A continuación Erasmo realiza una descripción de la labor filológica de restauración textual en general, y pliniana, en particular, cuyo léxico utilizado pertenece a la esfera religiosa (*superstitio, temeritas*,

⁸⁰ La traducción es nuestra: ‘En primer lugar, si la prudencia se acredita en el uso de las cosas, ¿a quién procede aplicar mejor el honor de tal denominación, al sabio que, en parte por pudor y en parte por poquedad de ánimo, no se atreve a emprender cosa alguna, o al necio que no retrocede ante nada ni por vergüenza, de que carece, ni por temor al peligro, que no se para a sopesar? El sabio se refugia en los libros de los antiguos, de donde no extrae sino meros artificios de palabras. El necio, arrojando de cerca los peligros, adquiere, si no me equivoco, la verdadera prudencia.’

⁸¹ La traducción es nuestra: ‘Nos mandas que seamos libres: lo seremos. Nos mandas que digamos claramente lo que sentimos: lo diremos. Pues todavía no hemos dejado de hacerlo por cierta pereza ni natural flojedad: el terror, el miedo, aquella mísera prudencia hecha de peligros nos aconsejaba que apartásemos los ojos, ánimos y oídos de la república (y no había ninguna república)’.

⁸² Tanto la traducción francesa como la inglesa de la carta-prólogo traducen el pronombre *ille* por ‘Pline’ y ‘Pliny himself’ respectivamente. El traductor inglés además anota (cf. Dalzell, *The Correspondence of Erasmus*, p. 29, n.13) que Erasmo parece confundir a los dos Plinios o atribuir el *Panegyricus* al Viejo, ‘as was often done in the Middle Ages’. Nosotros preferimos respetar el uso innominado del pronombre en nuestra traducción, pues, dado el conocimiento por parte del roterodamo no sólo de ambos autores (cf. la última nota del presente trabajo), sino de la propia cita, usada en una obra anterior, pensamos que las razones del silenciamiento pueden ser otras, pues el pronombre ‘ille’ a veces incluso adquiere un significado de absoluta indeterminación (cf. M. Bassols de Climent, *Sintaxis Latina* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1983), p. 202).

religio) en consonancia con la definición de la obra como *diuinum munus*. El humanista de Róterdam manifiesta de forma expresa su deseo de que los eruditos unan sus esfuerzos hasta conseguir un Plinio completamente restaurado.

d.5. Ejemplos de restitución erasmiana, gracias a la ayuda de un manuscrito antiquísimo, aunque muy dañado.⁸³ Según Allen (Ep. 1544, n. 113) podría tratarse del ms. Murbach, actualmente perdido, el mismo que usó Beatus Rhenanus para su edición de 1526 ('manuscriptum codicem bibliothecae Murbacensis adhuc apud Frobenium esse scirem')⁸⁴, aunque, según Carol Mayhoff, se trataría de dos mss. diferentes: 'Horum codicum alter, quem integerrimum dicit, fortasse Beati Murbacensis erat, alter idem quem Erasmus excussit et depravatissime scriptum dixit'.⁸⁵ Esta parte de la epístola nuncupatoria se cierra con una autovaloración positiva del trabajo de edición realizado y un elogio de la labor de impresión del taller de Froben.

e) *Conclusio*: Se cierra la carta-prólogo con la dedicatoria propiamente dicha al obispo Estanislao Turzo, con alocución directa de nuevo (*cap-tatio beneuolentiae*) al dedicatario ('amplissime praesul'), y la despedida.

⁸³ En la actualidad preparamos un trabajo acerca de la labor de edición crítica de Erasmo sobre el texto pliniano y su verdadera aportación (cf. *supra* el texto al que hace referencia la nota 11). Analizamos, entre otras cuestiones, cuáles exactamente han sido las correcciones realizadas en estos cuatro pasajes destacados en el prefacio.

⁸⁴ Cf. Beatus Rhenanus / Selezestadiensis, in / C. Plinivm. / Repurgatur hoc libro non solum Praefatio Pliniana a mul-/tis mendis et ipsi Naturalis Historiae libri infinitis locis castigantur, ac/ tamquam scholijs alicubi illustrantur, post omnium aeditiones annota-/tionesque quas ad hoc tempus, nempe Annum M.D.XXV. uide-/re contigit. Verumetiam modus ostenditur, quo tum ipse Plinivs tum autores alij praesidio manuscriptorum codicum restituí queant, et / adiuuatur diligentissima Frobenianae Officinae aeditio, quam / ubique sequimur, cum collationem quoque fieri uolumus a lecto-/re. Nam quae castigata sunt in illa ante, sunt autem innumera, nos consul-/to praeteruimus. Dices hoc laboris post Hermolaum Barbarum uirum / eruditissimum, non frustra a nobis susceptum, si modo legeris. Et pro-/babis consilium nostrum quo haec seorsim doctis cognoscenda nunc / exhibemus. De qua re fusius in proxima Epistola, quae nuncupatoria / est ad clarissimum Baronem Ioannem a Lasco Polonum. / Cvm gratia et privilegio / imperiali. // [In colof.] Basileae apud Ioannem Frobenium Mense Martio, Anno M.D.XXVI, p. 4. En esta edición salida de la 'officina Frobeniana' un año después de la erasmiana, Rhenanus, aunque cita a Erasmo ('qui Erasmo nostro perquam acceptus fueris', p. 6), no realiza alusión alguna a su labor de edición. Se menciona, no obstante, la realizada por Longueil ('sine quibus parum uideo profecturum fuisse Christophorum Longolium, quamlibet ingeniosum', p. 4). Sobre esta edición salida del taller de Froben en 1526, es decir, entre la *editio princeps* (1525) y la segunda edición (1530) de la NH salida del mismo taller de la mano de Erasmo, preparamos un estudio en profundidad (cf. *supra*, nota 11).

⁸⁵ Cf. Mayhoff, *Plini Secundi Naturalis Historiae Libri*, I, xxviii.

Destacamos de esta parte final de la epístola la expresión *homuncio uitreus* que Erasmo se aplica a sí mismo (que, por lo demás, parece no haber llamado la atención de ningún comentarista y editor posterior de la carta), por su doble significación y alcance, por un lado, médico, en la Europa de la Edad Moderna, y por otro, literario, especialmente en nuestro país.⁸⁶ En 1569 Alonso de Santa Cruz (1505-1567) escribió un pequeño tratado médico de contenido psiquiátrico titulado *Dignotio et cura affectuum melancholicorum*, que Peset Llorca⁸⁷ considera como el primer texto específico de casuística psiquiátrica escrito en España, y posiblemente también el primero dedicado al estudio de la melancolía. Sin embargo, esta obra no llegó a verla publicada su autor en vida y apareció, póstumamente, en 1622, como un apéndice a la obra de su hijo Antonio Ponce de Santa Cruz *In Avicennae*. En esta obra algunos autores entrevén las descripciones que Cervantes hace del ‘homo uitreus’ en su novela ejemplar *El licenciado Vidriera*. Por este motivo, algunos autores cervantistas creen que Alfonso de Santa Cruz pudo muy bien haber sido el inspirador de esta novela, que también pudo haberse diseñado, o incluso escrito, en la ciudad de Valladolid. Como es sabido, en 1621 Robert Burton publicó *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, donde menciona este trastorno conocido como ‘glass delusion’ (‘that they are all glass’).⁸⁸ Por otro lado, numerosos autores han puesto sobre el tapete la influencia del erasmismo en las novelas de Cervantes, y su defensa de la existencia de una ‘locura’ (μωρία, *stultitia*) positiva, benéfica y divina.⁸⁹ Más recientemente también F. Alonso-Fernández⁹⁰ comenta que Cervantes, en el caso de la ‘locura lúcida’ de Don Quijote, se debió basar, sin duda, en

⁸⁶ Cf. nuestro trabajo ‘*De hominibus uitreis*: de Erasmo a *El licenciado Vidriera* cervantino y el *Phantasiocratumenos siue homo uitreus* de Gaspar Ens’, que presentamos en el VII Congreso de la Sociedad de Estudios Latinos ‘Del latín a las lenguas romances: lengua entre lenguas, cultura entre culturas’ (Toledo, 13 a 16 junio de 2012), cuyas actas se hallan actualmente en prensa.

⁸⁷ Cf. P. Llorca, ‘Las maravillosas facultades de los melancólicos. Un tema de la psiquiatría renacentista’, *Archivos de Neurobiología*, 18 (1955), 980-1002.

⁸⁸ Cf. Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (Philadelphia: E. Claxton & Company, 1883), p. 234 (I 3).

⁸⁹ Cf. entre otros, A. Vilanova, *Erasmo y Cervantes* (Barcelona: CSIC, 1949); M. Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*. (México: FCE, 1966).

⁹⁰ Cf. F. Alonso-Fernández, ‘Dos especies psicopatológicas: Don Quijote y el licenciado Vidriera’, *Torre de los Lujanes*, 25 (2005), 45-64. Por otro lado, la idea del ‘ingenio’ asociada a la melancolía la hallamos ya en los clásicos (cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 80, 12: ‘Aristoteles quidem ait omnis ingeniosos melancholicos esse, ut ego me tardiores non moleste feram’).

el *Elogio de la locura* de Erasmo de Róterdam.⁹¹ En definitiva, es de sobras conocido que Erasmo fue un hombre de salud débil y quebradiza⁹², consiguiendo a pesar de ello alcanzar lo que parecía improbable, arrastrar durante setenta años el frágil vehículo que era su cuerpo: ‘Ego si annos numerem, diu vixi; si rationem ineam quantum temporis mihi lucta fuit cum febris, cum calculo, cum podagra non diu vixi’.⁹³ No debería descartarse, pues, que en ciertos momentos de su vida, incluso de joven, Erasmo, afligido por la melancolía y por una hipersensibilidad de los órganos, se sintiera abatido por esta afección hipocondríaca, por lo demás registrada en los textos médicos de la época, que le hacía sentirse ‘literalmente’ de vidrio y, en consecuencia, en constante peligro de muerte (*periclitator*).⁹⁴

III. Conclusiones

La carta-prólogo erasmiana que precede a la edición frobeniana de los XXXVII libros de la *Historia Mundi* escrita por Plinio debe leerse en el contexto de las llamadas ‘controversias ciceronianas’ y la polémica del ciceronianismo en el Renacimiento.

En el intervalo de apenas nueve años ven la luz dos ediciones de la magna obra pliniana en las que interviene Erasmo, la primera de ellas

⁹¹ Cf. F. López-Muñoz – C. Álamo – P. García-García, ‘Locos y dementes en la literatura cervantina: a propósito de las fuentes médicas de Cervantes en materia neuropsiquiátrica’, *Revista de Neurología*, 46/8 (2008), 489-501.

⁹² Recordemos finalmente que en 1631 Gaspar Ens publicó una versión latina de *El licenciado Vidriera* de Cervantes titulada *Phantasiocratumenos sive homo vitreus* (cf. et James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, ‘Phantasio-Cratuminos (sic) sive Homo vitreus’, *Revue Hispanique*, 4 (1897), 44-70; Gill Speak, ‘El licenciado Vidriera and the Glass Men of Early Modern Europe’, *The Modern Language Review*, 85 (1990), 850-865). Adelanto que habría que corregir en estos y otros trabajos la forma ‘Phantasio-Cratuminos’ por ‘Phantasiocratumenos’ (cf. nota 86), que es lo que verdaderamente se lee, no sin cierta dificultad, en el texto original, así como en otras fuentes.

⁹³ Cf. *LB Epist.* MCCLXXXVI (p. 1510) ‘Des. Erasmus Rot. Bartholomaeo Latomo s.d.’ (Basileae [24/08/1535]).

⁹⁴ Sobre las enfermedades y la salud de Erasmo, véanse entre otros, P. Noury, ‘La santé d’Erasmus’, *Chronique médicale*, 43 (1936), 177-183; H. N. Cole, ‘Erasmus and his diseases’, *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 148 (1952), 529-531; H. Brabant, *Erasmus, humaniste dolent* (Quebec: Presses de l’Université Laval, 1971); Id., ‘Erasmus, ses maladies et ses médecins’, in *Colloquia Erasmiana Turonensia*, I, ed. Jean Claude Margolin (Paris: Librairie Philosophique, 1972), pp. 539-568. Sobre el uso del verbo *periclitator* por parte de Erasmo en la misma carta-prologo, véanse los textos a los que hacen referencia las notas 80 y 81.

‘conjunta’, salida del taller parisino de Bérault, con las aportaciones diversas de Beroaldo, Barbaro, Sabellico, Maffei (*Volaterranus*), Erasmo, Budé y Longueil y en la que el modo de participación de los diferentes personajes es completamente heterogéneo.⁹⁵ Cada caso es particular, pero al de Erasmo no le falta su gracia, pues no aporta prácticamente nada a la obra al frente de la cual se le hace figurar (una simple sutileza ortográfica a propósito de una curiosidad botánica). Y frente a esta diáfana explotación propagandística del nombre de Erasmo en la portada aparece el verdadero protagonista de la edición ‘conjunta’ parisina: Christophe de Longueil, quien debió ser, a juzgar por las numerosas anotaciones en las que interviene, el motor de la obra, el impulsor, cuya colaboración no carente de desenvuelta osadía y de numerosas transformaciones impuestas al texto, llamarían la atención del propio editor francés, ya sea para mostrar su incertidumbre y dejar en manos del lector la aprobación, ya sea para tomar distancias ante la corrección o desmarcarse y constatar la inadmisibilidad de la lectura adoptada, *temeritas* que será criticada por Erasmo en la carta-prólogo de su edición de Plinio como inadecuada de todo buen editor.

Pero he aquí que aparece un personaje que va a trastornar la vida de Longueil apenas dos años después de esta edición pliniana, Pietro Bembo, quien tras conocer al joven francés en Roma, en torno al 1518, maravillado por su erudición e inteligencia, decide adoctrinarlo en la secta de los ciceronianos de la que era adalid. Este hombre de mundo, de exquisita prosa latina, fascinó al ‘bárbaro’ y pobre Longueil, que consagró desde entonces toda su actividad y energías a imitar los períodos de Cicerón, ordenando incluso destruir toda huella escrita de su renegado pasado ‘pliniófilo’.⁹⁶

Si se observa, en fin, la portada de la edición frobeniana de 1525 de la *Historia Mundi* pliniana, el nombre de Erasmo no aparece citado expresamente en ningún lugar. De hecho no hay un título simple, sino una epístola escrita por Johann Froben en primera persona del plural, quien incluye un solo nombre propio, el de Hermolao Barbaro, el único ‘casualmente’ preterido en la portada de la edición beraldiana de 1516

⁹⁵ Cf. *supra*, notas 8 y 72.

⁹⁶ Cf. Théophile Simar, *Christophe de Longueil, humaniste (1488-1522)* (Louvain: Bureaux du Recueil, 1911), pp. 53-54. Cf. et *Vitae Germanorum Philosophorum: qui saeculo superiori, et quod excurrit, Philosophicis ac humanioribus litteris clari floruerunt. Collectae a Melchiore Adamo* (Haidelbergae: Impensis Jonae Rosae Librarii Francof., Typis Iohannis Lacelloti, Acad. Typograph., 1615), pp. 47-50.

frente a los destacados de Sabellico, Maffei, Beroaldo, Erasmo, Budé y Longueil. Posiblemente la portada de la edición de la *Historia Mundi* de 1525 es la respuesta de Erasmo al insolente uso publicitario de su nombre en la portada de una edición pliniana anterior, aparentemente conjunta, cuyo verdadero protagonista, al menos de la primera parte, fue su enemigo Longueil, pliniófilo en sus primeros años, que, renegando poco después de su fe, se convirtió en el más eximio representante del ciceronianismo, y que todo el mundo identificó con el enfermizo Nosópono del diálogo de Erasmo el *Ciceronianus*, quien sólo con oír el nombre de Plinio el Viejo guardaba, cual renegado, el más absoluto silencio.⁹⁷

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⁹⁷ Cf. LB I 1006E-F: 'Bu[lephorus] Verum retro mihi cursus flectendus est, **duos Plinius** praetermisimus. **Maiorem, scio, non feres hic nominari**, Iuniorum fortassis admittas. No[soponus] Imo qui sunt huius causae censores, cum primis uetant contingi ab adolescentibus huius Epistulas, ne pro Ciceronianis euadant Pliniani'.

Carolin RITTER

PLINIUS FÜR MUSTERSCHÜLER.
ANWEISUNGEN ZUM SELBSTSTUDIUM IN
JACOB MICYLLUS' (1503-1558) BRIEF AN JOHANN FICHARD:
INTERPRETATION UND KOMMENTAR¹

1. Einleitung

In einem Schreiben an Melanchthon klagt der Schulmeister Jacob Micyllus über das Frankfurter Bürgertum: 'Nam quotus est, aliquem veterum qui noscere vatem | nunc velit, aut dignum laude poema putet?' — 'Denn wo gibt es noch jemanden, der heute einen der alten Dichter kennenlernen wollte, oder ein literarisches Werk des Lobes wert schätzte?'.² In seinem Schüler Johann Fichard scheint Micyllus einen solchen Menschen gefunden zu haben. Dieser hatte ihn gebeten, nach der Schule mit ihm gemeinsam Homer zu lesen. Im Winter des Jahres 1527 verfasst Micyllus einen Brief an seinen Schüler in elegischen Distichen, in welchem er ihm diese Bitte schweren Herzens abschlägt, da die Schulgeschäfte ihm auch angesichts der kurzen Wintertage keine Zeit ließen.³ Doch zeigt der Lehrer seinem Schüler darin andere Wege auf, wie er seine Kenntnis der alten Sprachen auch ohne die Hilfe des Lehrmeisters vertiefen kann.

Jacobus Micyllus (auch Molsheim genannt, eigentlich Jakob Moltzer) schrieb dieses Gedicht, als er auf Empfehlung Melanchthons zum ersten Mal in Frankfurt am Main 1524-1533 als Nachfolger Wilhelm Nesens

¹ Mein besonderer Dank gilt Prof. Dr. Siegmund Döpp und Dr. Hans Schönemann für die kritische Durchsicht des Manuskriptes und die wertvollen Anregungen.

² Vgl. Micyllus (im Folgenden abgekürzt als Mic.), *Epistola ad Philippum Melanchthonem*, 121-122, ediert und übersetzt bei Wilhelm Kühlmann – Robert Seidel – Hermann Wiegand (Hg.), *Humanistische Lyrik des 16. Jahrhunderts: Lateinisch und deutsch*, Bibliothek der frühen Neuzeit, 5 (Frankfurt: Deutscher Klassischer Verlag, 1997), p. 367.

³ Classen datiert dieses Gedicht in den Dezember des Jahres 1527, bevor Fichard das Studium an der Universität aufnahm. Vgl. Johannes Classen, *Jacob Micyllus, Rector zu Frankfurt und Professor zu Heidelberg von 1524 bis 1558 als Schulmann, Dichter und Gelehrter* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag für Kunst und Wissenschaft, 1859), p. 66.

die Leitung der privaten 'Junkerschule' (*schola patriciorum*) übernahm. Der spätere Rektor des Frankfurter Gymnasiums (1853-1864) Johannes Classen schildert in der Biographie über seinen Vorgänger die näheren Umstände seiner ersten Amtszeit am Gymnasium.⁴ Als Rektor oblag ihm zunächst die Verwaltung der Schule. Da die Existenz der so jungen Schule noch nicht gesichert war, sorgte er sich um den Erhalt der Einrichtung. Die Mittel, die der Rat der Stadt dafür zur Verfügung stellte, waren nicht immer ausreichend, so dass Micyllus auch von dem Frankfurter Bürger Hamman von Holzhausen unterstützt wurde. In den ersten Jahren seiner Tätigkeit war er darüber hinaus allein für die Unterweisung seiner Schüler zuständig und hatte allenfalls Gehilfen. Später veranlassten ihn jedoch Konflikte mit dem Prädikanten Dionysius Melander und dem Schulamtsgehilfen Moser, seine anfangs als glücklich empfundene Tätigkeit zugunsten eines Lehrauftrags an der Universität Heidelberg aufzugeben. Nach dem Sieg der Reformation in Frankfurt erhielt er 1537-1547 erneut die Leitung der inzwischen zur öffentlichen Einrichtung gewordenen Schule (*Gymnasium Francofurtanum*), die er in Melanchthons Sinne reformierte und zu einer modernen Gelehrtenschule machte. 1547 folgte er schließlich einem Ruf auf den Lehrstuhl für Griechisch an der Universität Heidelberg, um als Dekan und Rektor die Universität im Geiste der neuen Lehre und des Humanismus zu organisieren. Micyllus war mit den einflussreichsten Humanisten seiner Zeit verbunden. Als junger Student in Erfurt gehörte er von 1518 bis 1522 gemeinsam mit seinem Freund Joachim Camerarius zum Kreis um Eobanus Hessus. In Wittenberg wurde er 1522/23 vom Schüler Melanchthons zu dessen Verehrer und Freund. Micyllus beschäftigte sich vielfach mit didaktischen und pädagogischen Grundsätzen und entwarf wahrscheinlich im Jahre 1537 einen Lehrplan für vier bis fünf Klassen, der weit über seine Zeit hinaus Geltung hatte.⁵ Er verfasste Lehrbücher für Grammatik (Überarbeitung von Melanchthons *Grammatica Latina* 1540), Metrik (*De re metrica* 1539)⁶ und Arithmetik (*Arithmetica*

⁴ Vgl. Classen, *Jacob Micyllus*, pp. 53-97.

⁵ Vgl. Gerhard Dolinsky, 'Aus der Geschichte des Frankfurter Gymnasiums', in *Jenseits von Resignation und Illusion: Beiträge anlässlich des 450jährigen Bestehens des Lessing-Gymnasiums, der alten Frankfurter Lateinschule von 1520*, hg. von Heinz-Joachim Heydorn und Karl Ringshausen (Frankfurt am Main: Diesterweg, 1971), pp. 14-58 (pp. 30-32). Micyllus' *Descriptio scholae hic instituendae* ist bei Classen, *Jacob Micyllus*, pp. 168-174 sowie bei Reinhold Vormbaum (Hg.), *Die evangelischen Schulordnungen des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1860), pp. 631-636 abgedruckt.

⁶ Zuletzt zur Metrik des Micyllus vgl. Walter Ludwig, 'Antike Metrik im 16. Jahrhundert: Die unbekannten metrischen Kunststücke des Jakob Micyllus', *Philologus*, 150 (2006), 290-330.

logistica 1533), die als Grundlage für den eigenen Unterricht dienten, und zahlreiche Editionen antiker Autoren wie Homer, Euripides, Lukian sowie Ovid, Livius, Lukan, Martial, Tacitus und Hygin.⁷ Nach dem Tod seines Vaters gab Micyllus' Sohn Julius 1564 dessen Gedichte in den fünf Bücher umfassenden *Sylvae* heraus, aus denen auch der vorliegende Brief stammt.⁸ Micyllus' Biographie verdichtet sich in diesem Schreiben an Fichard, in dem er seine Qualitäten als Dichter, Gelehrter und Pädagoge unter Beweis stellt.⁹

1.1. Homerlektüre

Zu Beginn des Briefes schlägt Micyllus seinem eifrigen Schüler Fichard aus Zeitgründen die Bitte ab, gemeinsam mit ihm 'das berühmte Werk des ionischen Dichters' (2: 'Ionii nobile vatis opus') zu lesen. Diese Umschreibung Homers stammt aus einem Lobgedicht auf Homer von Piccolomini (vgl. Komm. zu 2). Dieser intertextuelle Bezug, das Epitheton *nobilis* sowie die Bezeichnung Homers als *vates*, also als eines göttlich begeisterten Dichters, setzen eine hohe Wertschätzung Homers voraus. Der Gedanke, dass Fichard nur gemeinsam mit seinem Lehrer Homer lese, legt darüber hinaus nahe, dass Ilias und Odyssee höchst anspruchsvolle und erlesene Texte sind. Ein Blick in das Schulcurriculum verrät, dass Homer Stoff der Prima, also des letzten Schuljahres, war.¹⁰ Micyllus muss außerdem gut mit dem Werk Homers vertraut gewesen sein, da er selbst zwei Ausgaben ediert und mit Annotationen versehen hat.¹¹ Trotz

⁷ Zu einer vollständigen Bibliographie der Werke des Micyllus vgl. Joannes Fridericus Hautz, *Jacobus Micyllus Argentoratensis, philologus et poeta, Heidelbergae et Rupertinae olim decus* (Heidelbergae: ex officina Reichardiana, 1852), pp. 61-66.

⁸ Zum vollständigen Titel der *Sylvae* vgl. 2.

⁹ Zu Micyllus' Leben und Werk vgl. Adolf Brecher, 'Micyllus, Jakob Molshem', *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 21 (1885), 704-708 sowie Franz Lerner, 'Micyllus, Jacob', *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 17 (1994), 459-460, zuletzt Robert Seidel, 'Micyllus, Jacob', *Frühe Neuzeit in Deutschland 1520-1620. Literaturwissenschaftliches Verfasserlexikon*, hg. von Wilhelm Kühlmann u.a. [im Druck]. Zu Micyllus' Wirken als Übersetzer, Herausgeber, Kommentator und Philologe in seiner Heidelberger Zeit mit Blick auf seine paratextuellen Äußerungen vgl. Robert Seidel, 'Jacob Micyllus in Heidelberg. Programm und Leistung eines humanistischen Philologen in kurpfälzischen Diensten', in *Die Wittelsbacher und die Kurpfalz in der Neuzeit. Zwischen Reformation und Revolution*, hg. von Wilhelm Kreutz – Wilhelm Kühlmann – Hermann Wiegand (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2013), pp. 333-339. Ich danke Herrn Prof. Seidel dafür, dass er mir Einsicht in die noch unpublizierten Manuskripte gewährt hat.

¹⁰ Vgl. Classen, *Jacob Micyllus*, pp. 172-173.

¹¹ Vgl. Jacobus Micyllus, *Homeri 'Ilias' et 'Odyssea' cum scholiis Graecis, Porphyrii Homeriarum quaestionum libro, et opusculo de antro Nympharum graece ex recognitione*

der vermutlich großen Verehrung für Homer rät Micyllus seinem Schüler auch zur Lektüre lateinischer Texte und zu vielfältigen anderen Übungsformen. Warum? Hält er die Ilias und die Odyssee für zu schwierig? Oder glaubt er, dass die Themen ungeeignet für das zarte Gemüt des jungen aufstrebenden Bürgersohnes sind?

Im Brief an Melanchthon erzählt Micyllus von der Homerbegeisterung Alexanders des Großen, der selbst auf dem Schlachtfeld nicht von seinem Homer lassen konnte:

121 nam quotus est, aliquem veterum qui noscere vatem
nunc velit, aut dignum laude poema putet? [...]

ille ferox totum iuvenis qui terruit orbem,
sub mediis armis natus Amyntiades.
carmina Pieridum, dum cingitur ense, legebat
130 ipsa, iubens vatum castra sonare modos.
idem cum fessus peteret post praelia somnum,
indormisse operi fertur Homere tuo.
at nunc quis tantum vel longa per otia vatem
aspicit, aut veterem denotat ore librum. [...]

143 et merito, quis enim solum nunc quaerit honestum?
virtutem pretium vel putat esse sui?¹²

Nach dieser Textstelle muss Fichard ein besonderer Schüler sein, da er Begeisterung für die antike Literatur zeigt (vgl. 121-122). Indem er sich für Homer interessiert, gehört er im Umkehrschluss zu den Menschen, die nach dem sittlich Guten streben (vgl. 143) und die Tugend für den

Jac. Micylli et Joach. Camerarii (Basil.: apud Hervag., 1541) sowie *Homeri interpretationes aliquot metricas reperies in Micylli libro IV sylv. p. 443 sqq. atque in Deliciarum poetarum Germanorum per Ranutium Gherum, sive, qui idem est, Janum Grutherum editarum parte IV. p. 830 sqq.* (Francof., 1612).

¹² Vgl. Mic., *Epistola ad Philippum Melanchthonem*, 121-122; 127-134; 143-144:

Denn wo gibt es noch jemanden, der heute einen der alten Dichter kennenlernen wollte oder ein literarisches Werk des Lobes wert schätzte? [...]

Jener wilde Jüngling, der den ganzen Erdkreis in Schrecken versetzte,

der mitten unter den Waffen geboren worden war – Alexander –

der las die Musengesänge, während er sich das Schwert umgürtete,

las sie und befahl, sogar das Lager solle von den Weisen der Dichter widerhallen.

Eben der sei, wenn er nach der Schlacht erschöpft Schlaf suchte,

auf deinem Buch, Homer, eingeschlafen.

Doch jetzt, wer beachtet selbst bei langer Mußezeit einen so großen Dichter

oder weist im Vortrag auf ein altes Buch hin? [...]

Denn wer strebt heute nach dem sittlich Guten allein,

oder wer hält die Tugend für den Lohn ihrer selbst?

(Übersetzung bei Kühlmann et al., *Humanistische Lyrik des 16. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 366-369).

Lohn ihrer selbst halten (vgl. 144). Es verwundert daher, dass Micyllus nicht enthusiastischer auf das Ansinnen seines jungen Schülers reagiert.

Der Wunsch Fichards, Homer zu lesen, erinnert an die Anekdote Alexanders des Großen, die Micyllus gewiss vor Augen hatte, als er an seinen Schüler schrieb. Auch der Vergleich mit Apelles an anderer Stelle im Brief weckt Assoziationen mit dem makedonischen König, da — im Übrigen auch in Micyllus' eigenem Kommentar zur *Ars amatoria* (zu 3, 401) — überliefert wird, dass Alexander der Große sich ausschließlich von Apelles malen lassen wollte (vgl. Komm. zu 55). Micyllus schmeichelt seinem Schüler mit dieser Anspielung auf Alexander den Großen, da sie nahelegt, dass er zu Höherem bestimmt sei, zumal diese Topik auch in der Herrscherpanegyrik der Frühen Neuzeit verbreitet war (vgl. Komm. zu 2). Und in der Tat sollte Fichard eines Tages zu den bedeutendsten Diplomaten und Rechtsgelehrten seiner Zeit gehören.¹³ Gleichwohl könnte Micyllus möglicherweise die Gefahr sehen, dass Fichard durch die Heldenepen kühn und übermütig wird und sich Alexander allzu sehr annähert, beschreibt Micyllus ihn doch als einen wilden Jüngling, der die Welt in Angst und Schrecken versetzt (vgl. 127-128). Dion Chrysostomos (vgl. 2) erzählt von einem Gespräch zwischen Alexander dem Großen und seinem Vater Philipp über seine Homerbegeisterung: Auf die Frage, warum Alexander ausschließlich Homer und nicht etwa den Lehrdichter Hesiod lese, antwortet der Sohn übermütig, Homer sei als der einzig edle heroische Dichter angemessen für Könige. Der Wunsch Fichards, den größten, erlesensten und anspruchsvollsten Dichter zu lesen, wirkt auch für einen jungen Schüler im 16. Jahrhundert recht ambitioniert. Diesem jugendlichen Eifer begegnet Micyllus mit praktischen Ratschlägen zur Vervollkommnung seiner Kenntnisse in den alten Sprachen und erhebt auf diese Weise pragmatische pädagogische Prinzipien über die einseitige Lektüre des hehren Dichters Homer. Micyllus lehnt Fichard gegenüber jedoch die gemeinsame Homerlektüre nicht vollkommen ab. Er schlägt seinem Schüler sogar vor, ihm an den Sonn- oder Feiertagen vorzulesen, was jener von ihm 'diktiert wünsche' (45: 'quae [...] dictata requiris'). Gleichwohl

¹³ Nach seiner Promotion in Freiburg ist Fichard zunächst als Advokat, Prokurator und Syndikus in Speyer und Frankfurt tätig. Als Gesandter bewirkt er auf den Reichstagen in Speyer und Augsburg durch kluges Verhandeln, dass Frankfurt trotz der Beteiligung am Schmalkaldischen Krieg Krönungsstadt bleibt. Für seine hervorragenden Dienste erhält er schließlich den Adelsstand und die Hofpfalzgrafenwürde. Vgl. Heinz F. Friedrichs, 'Fichard, Johann von', *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 5 (1961), 120-121.

setzt Micyllus vor allem auf die Eigenständigkeit seines Schülers und die Bereitschaft, sich auf verschiedene Texte und Übungen einzulassen, um seine humanistische Bildung wie Melanchthon und Erasmus auch 'nullo magistro' (27) zu vervollkommen. In seiner Autobiographie blickt der inzwischen bedeutende Rechtsgelehrte Johann Fichard auf seine Schulzeit am Frankfurter Gymnasium zurück und lobt die Gelehrsamkeit und das pädagogische Geschick seines Lehrers.¹⁴

1.2. Plinius als Vorbild

Mit seinen didaktischen Grundsätzen, die Kenntnisse im Griechischen und Lateinischen durch ausgewogene Lektüre und verschiedene Übungsformen zu vertiefen, folgt Micyllus dem Beispiel des jüngeren Plinius. Als Vorbild für diesen Brief eines Lehrers an seinen Schüler dient ein Schreiben an Pedanius Fuscus (7, 9), den Plinius als älterer Freund in der Frage berät, auf welche Weise er sich weiterbilden soll.¹⁵ Dafür sprechen verschiedene inhaltliche, motivische sowie lexikalische Parallelen: Zunächst ist der Anlass des Pliniusbriefes die Frage seines jungen Schützlings, wie er sich über die Ferien gewinnbringend beschäftigen soll.¹⁶ Ebenso reagiert Micyllus mit seinem Schreiben auf Fichards Bitte, über die kurzen Wintertage, an denen vermutlich weniger Unterricht stattfindet, mit ihm Homer zu lesen (vgl. Komm. zu 1-4).

Beide jugendlichen Adressaten zeigen darüber hinaus die Neigung, sich einseitig für einen einzigen Stoff zu begeistern: Während Fichard sich auf die Homerlektüre konzentrieren möchte (vgl. *Mic., epist. ad F.*, 1-4)¹⁷, favorisiert Pedanius Fuscus das Studium der Redekunst.¹⁸ Die älteren Ratgeber weisen ihre Schützlinge jedoch auf den unschätzbaren Wert einer breiten Ausbildung hin: Während Micyllus Fichard über Diktat und Auslegung von Texten durch den Lehrer hinaus zu Schreibübungen in Poesie, zur Umsetzung von Dichtung in Prosa, zur Wiedergabe bestimmter Textstellen und schließlich zur Übersetzung anhält, empfiehlt

¹⁴ Vgl. Johann C. von Fichard (Hg.), *Frankfurterisches Archiv für ältere deutsche Literatur und Geschichte*, 2. Teil (Frankfurt am Main: Gebhard und Körber, 1812), p. 10.

¹⁵ Sherwin-White lehnt die Auffassung anderer Interpreten ab, Plinius als Lehrer des Pedanius Fuscus zu sehen, vgl. Adrian N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny: A Historical and Social Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985) zu *Plin., epist.*, 7, 9, 1.

¹⁶ Vgl. *Plin., epist.*, 7, 1: 'quaeris quemadmodum in secessu, quo iam diu frueris, putem te studere oportere'.

¹⁷ Micyllus' Brief *Ioanni Fichardo Suo S.* wird im Folgenden als *Mic. epist. ad F.* abgekürzt.

¹⁸ Vgl. *Plin., epist.*, 7, 9, 7: 'scio nunc tibi esse praecipuum studium orandi'.

auch Plinius Schreibübungen in verschiedenen Stilformen und lehnt die Beschränkung auf eine einzige Gattung ab.¹⁹ Fuscus solle vielmehr historische Texte, Briefe und leichtere Poesie verfassen als sich allzu sehr auf die Redekunst zu spezialisieren.²⁰ Sowohl Plinius als auch Micyllus heben die Übung in Poesie und Prosa hervor.²¹ Überdies rät Plinius seinem Schützling dazu, sich der Lektüre verschiedener Autoren zu widmen.²²

Sowohl Plinius als auch Micyllus betonen die außerordentliche Bedeutung der Übersetzung für die Erweiterung des Wortschatzes, die Ausbildung des Stiles und die Schärfung der Wahrnehmung.²³ Dabei weitet Micyllus den bei Plinius angelegten Gedanken, dass die Übersetzung über die oberflächliche Lektüre hinausgehe und dem Übersetzer nichts entgehen könne, aus.²⁴ Beide Autoren legen großen Wert auf die Gleichbehandlung des Griechischen und des Lateinischen.²⁵

Zur Illustration der Notwendigkeit, seinen Geist durch eine Vielzahl an Übungsformen und Gattungen zu üben, dient bei beiden Autoren ein Gleichnis aus der Landwirtschaft. Plinius veranschaulicht darin seinen Rat an Pedanius Fuscus, Texte in verschiedenen literarischen Gattungen zu verfassen: Wie der Boden durch unterschiedliche Samen erfrischt wird, so braucht auch der menschliche Geist vielfältige Anstöße.²⁶ Micyllus weitet das bei Plinius eher knappe Gleichnis auf zehn Verse aus und

¹⁹ Vgl. Mic., *epist. ad F.*, 18-38 mit Plin., *epist.*, 7, 9, 7: 'sed non ideo semper pugnam hunc et quasi bellatorium stilum suaserim'. Dieses Ideal der *varietas*, die ein Leitmotiv des Briefes an Fichard ist (vgl. Komm. zu 18), begegnet auch in anderen Briefen des Plinius, etwa in Bezug auf die Poesie; vgl. Gregory O. Hutchinson, *Latin Literature from Seneca to Juvenal* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 15.

²⁰ Vgl. Plin., *epist.*, 7, 9, 8-9: 'volo interdum aliquem ex historia locum adprendas, volo epistulam diligentius scribas. [...] fas est et carmine remitti, non dico continuo et longo (id enim perfici nisi in otio non potest), sed hoc arguto et brevi, quod apte quantas libet occupationes curasque distinguit'.

²¹ Vgl. Plin., *epist.*, 7, 9, 14: 'inest his quoque eadem quae aliis carminibus utilitas, quod metri necessitate devincti soluta oratione laetamur, et quod facilius esse comparatio ostendit, libentius scribimus'.

²² Vgl. Plin., *epist.*, 7, 9, 15: 'tu memineris sui cuiusque generis auctores diligenter eligere'.

²³ Vgl. Mic., *epist. ad F.*, 25-38, insbesondere 25-26: 'praecipue varias cui curae est discere linguas, l utile sit totos vertere saepe libros' mit Plin., *epist.*, 7, 9, 2: 'utile in primis, et multi praecipunt, vel ex Graeco in Latinum vel ex Latino vertere in Graecum [...]'.
²⁴ Vgl. Plin., *epist.*, 7, 9, 2: 'simul quae legentem fefellissent, transferentem fugere non possunt' mit Mic., *epist. ad F.*, 33-38: 'maius enim lumen poscunt, quae vertere tentas, l [...] l eruit ex imis abscondita sensa latebris [...] und Komm. zu 33-38.

²⁵ Vgl. Mic., *epist. ad F.*, 50: 'divisum studiis tempus utrisque dabis' uw. mit Plin., *epist.*, 7, 9, 2 siehe oben.
²⁶ Vgl. Plin., *epist.*, 7, 9, 7: 'ut enim terrae variis mutatisque seminibus, ita ingenia nostra nunc hac nunc illa meditatione recoluntur'.

setzt einen neuen Akzent durch die Betonung des Unterschiedes zwischen Erdboden und menschlichem Geist (vgl. Komm. zu 9-18).

Er übernimmt aus dem Pliniusbrief also die Rahmenhandlung (ein älterer Berater schreibt an einen jüngeren Schützling über die angemessene Ausbildung), viele Themen und Motive (Bedeutung vielfältiger Übungen, Wert der Übersetzung usw.) sowie das Gleichnis aus der Landwirtschaft, doch bis auf wenige lexikalische Parallelen löst er sich von der Sprache seines Vorbildes, verwandelt Prosa in Poesie und erweitert Plinius' Repertoire durch die Metaphorik des Lichtes (vgl. Komm. zu 1), der Landwirtschaft (vgl. Komm. zu 9-18) und zahlreiche weitere didaktische Elemente (vgl. 1.3.). Im Grunde befolgt er damit den Rat, den Plinius Pedanius Fuscus für die Imitation von literarischen Vorbildern gegeben hatte: Er solle, nachdem er einen Text so gründlich gelesen habe, dass er sich an Thema und Gedankengang erinnere, mit dem Autor wettstreiten, indem er einiges von dem Original erhalte, mehr jedoch auslasse, verändere und ergänze.²⁷

Micyllus' Pliniusrezeption geht jedoch noch über diesen Brief hinaus. In den Versen 51-56 wird Plinius der Ältere, der Onkel des jüngeren Plinius, explizit als Vorbild genannt, da er seinen Tag für bestimmte Studien einteile und so an jedem Tag etwas lerne.²⁸ Diese Charakteristik geht auf den berühmten Brief 3, 5 zurück, in dem der jüngere Plinius den arbeitsreichen Tagesablauf und die Gelehrsamkeit seines Onkels beschreibt.²⁹ Es ist darüber hinaus bemerkenswert, dass Micyllus zur Veranschaulichung dieser regen Tätigkeit das Vorbild des berühmten antiken Malers Apelles wählt, von dem Plinius der Ältere selbst berichtet, er lasse keinen Tag verstreichen, ohne nicht wenigstens eine Linie gezeichnet zu haben (vgl. Komm. zu 55). So verbindet Micyllus Plinius den Älteren mit einem Vorbild aus dessen eigenem Werk.

²⁷ Vgl. Plin., *epist.*, 7, 9, 3: 'nihil offuerit quae legeris hactenus, ut rem argumentumque teneas, quasi aemulum scribere lectisque conferre ac sedulo pensitare, quid tu quid ille commodius' und 5: 'poteris [...] post oblivionem retractare, multa retinere plura transire, alia interscribere alia rescribere'.

²⁸ Vgl. Mic., *epist. ad F.*, 51-52: 'in studium certas partitus dicitur horas | Plinius et spacio quodque dedisse suo' sowie 55-56: 'sic, veluti Caus semper pingebat Apelles, | accidit ut quovis disceret ille die'.

²⁹ Vgl. Plin., *epist.*, 3, 5, 7-19. Zu einer weiteren poetischen Verarbeitung des Pliniusbriefes im 16. Jh. vgl. Franz Römer, 'Eine poetische Gestaltung von *epist.* 3, 5 aus dem 16. Jahrhundert', in *Plinius der Jüngere und seine Zeit*, hg. von Luigi Castagna und Eckhard Lefèvre (München: Saur, 2003), pp. 327-340.

Doch Micyllus verändert das Bild des älteren Plinius, indem er die Gewohnheiten seines Neffen in die Beschreibung integriert. Die Lektüre der griechischen und lateinischen Literatur in Poesie und Prosa, zu welcher der jüngere Plinius Pedanius Fuscus geraten hatte, stellt Micyllus als eine Gewohnheit des älteren Plinius dar.³⁰ Diese Tendenz, den älteren Plinius seinen poetischen Bedürfnissen anzupassen, zeigt sich außerdem im vorletzten Vers des Briefes³¹, der wiederum auf eine Stelle aus Plinius' Brief über seinen Onkel zurückgeht.³² So überliefert Plinius die Auffassung seines Onkels, dass jegliche Zeit verloren sei, die nicht den Studien gewidmet werde. Micyllus verwandelt das Prosazitat in einen Hexameter und ersetzt das Wort *studia* für die wissenschaftlichen Studien durch die Metonymie *Musae* für die Literatur (vgl. Komm. zu 59).

So passt Micyllus das Bild seines antiken Vorbildes der Intention seines Schreibens an, in welchem er seinem jungen Freund zu derartigen Beschäftigungen mit den Musen rät. Er lässt dabei den jüngeren und den älteren Plinius zu einer Figur verschmelzen, die einerseits explizit in der Form eines Exemplum, andererseits durch implizite Anspielung auf Textstellen zu einem Musterbeispiel für Fichard wird.

Plinius der Ältere ist der einzige antike Autor, den Micyllus namentlich als Vorbild für seinen Schüler anführt. Warum ist dieser doch eher sachlich-nüchterne Prosaautor wohl eine so bedeutende Persönlichkeit für den offenbar eher poetisch veranlagten Rektor eines Gymnasiums im 16. Jahrhundert? Zunächst ist hervorzuheben, dass die *Naturalis historia* erst gegen Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts etwa durch die in Italien veröffentlichten Editionen von Konrad Sweynheym und Arnold Pannartz einem breiteren Publikum zugänglich gemacht werden konnte.³³ Die Humanisten waren von dem Wissensreichtum, den Plinius in seiner antiken Enzyklopädie gesammelt hatte, fasziniert, arbeiteten sich daran ab und profitierten davon: 'It was becoming plain to the humanists that Pliny's *Historia naturalis* was a marvellous canvas for the display of their talents, in emendation as well as in invective: Realien, cosmography, medicine, in short *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*, all in a wonderfully deformed

³⁰ Vgl. Mic., *epist. ad F.*, 53-54: 'ut modo Graiorum legeret, modo scripta Latine, l deinde astricta modis, deinde soluta modis'.

³¹ Vgl. Mic., *epist. ad F.*, 59: 'tempus enim perit, Musis quodcumque negatum est'.

³² Vgl. Plin., *epist.*, 3, 5, 16: 'nam perire omne tempus arbitrabatur, quod studiis non impenderetur'.

³³ Zur Edition der *Naturalis historia* im Quattrocento vgl. Martin Davies, 'Making Sense of Pliny in the Quattrocento', *Renaissance Studies* 9/2 (1995), 240-257.

text'.³⁴ Generationen von Gelehrten nutzten die Enzyklopädie bis ins 16. Jahrhundert als maßgebliche Quelle etwa für medizinische und naturwissenschaftliche Fragen.³⁵ In Imitation der *Historia naturalis* sind seit dem 14. Jahrhundert zahlreiche neulateinische Enzyklopädien entstanden wie etwa Polydorus Vergilius' *De inventoribus rerum* (1499) oder Conradus Gesnerus' *Pandectarum sive partitionum universalium... libri XXI* (1544).³⁶ Plinius ist als *uomo universale* ein bedeutendes Vorbild der Humanisten. Als Lehrer hatte Micyllus gewiss große Ehrfurcht vor dem Wissen, das Plinius angehäuft hat. Und am Beispiel von Apelles lässt sich anhand seines Kommentars der *Ars amatoria* belegen, dass Micyllus seine eigene Kenntnis der Legenden und Anekdoten des Malers aus der *Naturalis historia* schöpft (vgl. Komm. zu 55), die bis heute für bestimmte kunsthistorische Fragestellungen die beste und bisweilen einzige Quelle bleibt.³⁷ Wie Plinius (neben seiner Tätigkeit als Berater des Kaisers, vgl. Plin., *epist.*, 3, 5) hat auch Micyllus neben seiner Lehrtätigkeit zahlreiche literarische und didaktische Werke verfasst und musste sich seine Zeit dafür gut einteilen, klagt er doch darüber, dass die Schule zu viel seiner Zeit in Anspruch nimmt (vgl. Komm. zu 6). Der Brief des jüngeren Plinius über den höchst ökonomischen Umgang seines Onkels mit dessen Zeit hat Micyllus gewiss beeindruckt. In dieser Hinsicht ist Plinius der Ältere ein bedeutendes Vorbild, doch nicht ohne Grund vermischt Micyllus ihn mit Zügen seines Neffen, da dieser ihm als Liebhaber der Literatur doch geistig näher ist.³⁸

1.3. Der Brief als Lehrgedicht

Das Gedicht *IOANNI FICHARDO Suo S.[alutem dicit]* wird zunächst durch seinen Titel, eine für den Prosabrief typische Grußformel³⁹, als

³⁴ Vgl. Davies, 'Making Sense of Pliny in the Quattrocento', p. 247.

³⁵ Vgl. Aude Doody, *Pliny's Encyclopedia: The Reception of the Natural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), der die Geschichte der Rezeption von Plinius' Werk als Enzyklopädie, insbesondere durch Francis Bacon und Diderot, untersucht.

³⁶ Vgl. Jozef IJsewijn with Dirk Sacré, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies: Literary, Linguistic, Philological and Editorial Questions*, 2. entirely rewritten edition, 2 vols (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1998-1990), II (1998), 260-262.

³⁷ Zur Rezeption von Plinius' Kapiteln über die Kunstgeschichte vgl. Doody, *Pliny's Encyclopedia*, pp. 132-135; 152-162.

³⁸ Vgl. Plin., *epist.*, 3, 5, 19.

³⁹ Vgl. Ernst-Alfred Kurfel, *Untersuchungen zur Briefform der 'Heroides' Ovids, Noctes Romanae*, 11 (Bern: Haupt, 1969), p. 13.

Brief markiert. Vermutlich diene das Schreiben tatsächlich zum Austausch unter den Briefpartnern, so dass sich aus der Wahl dieser Gattung auch ein pragmatischer Aspekt ergibt. Die Textsituation, die darin besteht, dass ein Lehrer während seiner Abwesenheit einen Brief an seinen Schüler über bestmögliche Übungen verfasst, verleiht der Vorstellung des Briefes als Ersatz der schreibenden Person Ausdruck.⁴⁰ Darüber hinaus stilisiert Micyllus sein Schreiben bisweilen als Gespräch.⁴¹ Micyllus' Versprechen, er werde Fichard nach dem Essen vorlesen (vgl. 43-44), entspricht wiederum dem *παρουσία*-Motiv, das im antiken Brief in der Versicherung Ausdruck findet, der Verfasser komme zum Adressaten.⁴² In diesen Motiven erschöpft sich jedoch bereits die Briefftopik des Schreibens an Fichard. Die Briefform eignet sich besonders gut als Rahmen für Lehrdichtung, da sie Intimität und einen direkten kommunikativen Bezug zwischen dem Briefschreiber/Lehrdichter und Adressaten/Schüler herstellt⁴³ und eine persönlichere Abstimmung auf die individuellen Bedürfnisse des zu belehrenden Adressaten ermöglicht als ohnehin in der Lehrdichtung angelegt.

Weitaus bedeutender als die epistolare Tradition erscheint der Einfluss der Lehrdichtung. Allein der äußere Rahmen — der Lehrer eines humanistischen Gymnasiums gibt seinem Schüler Ratschläge zur Vertiefung seiner Sprachkenntnisse — ist durch und durch didaktisch. Der reale Lehrer Micyllus spricht als Lehrdichter zu seinem Schüler Fichard, seinem Adressaten und Leser. Nicht zuletzt ist das Thema des Lehrgedichtes Micyllus' Fachgebiet: die alten Sprachen. Die reale Beziehung zwischen Lehrer und Schüler wird auf diese Weise in die Sphäre der Poesie transponiert, und das Lehrgedicht wird zu einer literarischen Fortsetzung

⁴⁰ Zum Brief als Ersatz der Person vgl. Klaus Thraede, *Grundzüge griechisch-römischer Briefftopik*, Zetemata, 48 (München: Beck, 1970), pp. 39-47; 83-86; 149-150.

⁴¹ Micyllus gestaltet dies etwa durch die hohe Anzahl der Pronomina in der ersten und zweiten Person (vgl. Komm. zu 1-4), die direkte Anrede des Adressaten (3: 'Ficharde') sowie die Verwendung einiger Imperative (29: 'aspice'; 37: 'adde, quod'; 39: 'quare age'). Zum Brief als Gespräch vgl. Thraede, *Grundzüge griechisch-römischer Briefftopik*, pp. 27-38; 47-52; 162-165.

⁴² Zum *παρουσία*-Motiv vgl. Thraede, *Grundzüge griechisch-römischer Briefftopik*, pp. 86-88.

⁴³ Micyllus spricht Fichard durchgängig in der zweiten Person an, hält sich jedoch bei dem Gebrauch von Imperativen (29: 'aspice'; 37: 'adde'; 39: 'age') zurück und benutzt vielmehr Konjunktive (42: 'sumas'; 43: 'pergas'; 48: 'cesses') sowie unpersönliche Ausdrücke (19: 'iuvat'; 21: 'prodest' usw.; 57: 'decet'). Micyllus selbst tritt als Lehrdichter gelegentlich durch die Wahl der dritten Person (19 und 49: 'magistri') oder den *pluralis modestiae* (6: 'nostrae scholae'; 39: 'nos') von der ersten Person zurück.

der tatsächlichen pädagogisch-didaktischen Tätigkeit.⁴⁴ Diese Lehrer-Schüler-Konstellation, die auf das an Pausanias gerichtete Lehrgedicht *Peri physeos* des Empedokles zurückgeht, ist im Lehrgedicht des Mittelalters und des Humanismus ausgesprochen weit verbreitet.⁴⁵

Über diese Konstellation und das didaktische Thema hinaus gibt es zahlreiche Merkmale, die das Gedicht als Lehrdichtung kennzeichnen. Neben Ausdrücken, die belehrenden Charakter haben und traditionell in der Lehrdichtung verankert sind⁴⁶, wird das Gedicht von Worten des Lehrens und Lernens bestimmt.⁴⁷ Als strukturelle Kompositionsprinzipien, die ihren traditionellen Platz in der Lehrdichtung finden, wählt Micyllus die Form des Katalogs zur Aufzählung der verschiedenen Übungsformen (vgl. Komm. zu 19-26; 39-50), Exempla der bedeutenden Zeitgenossen Melanchthon und Erasmus sowie des älteren Plinius, um seine Aussagen zu untermauern und Fichard Vorbilder vor Augen zu führen (vgl. Komm. zu 29-32), sowie ein Gleichnis aus dem Bereich der Landwirtschaft zur Illustration seiner Ratschläge.⁴⁸

Hier liefert die Kultivierung des Erdbodens eine Analogie zu der Förderung des menschlichen Geistes durch vielfältige Übungsformen. Dieses Bild und die weitere Metaphorik der Landwirtschaft stellen eine

⁴⁴ Vgl. Thomas Haye, *Das lateinische Lehrgedicht im Mittelalter: Analyse einer Gattung*, Mittellateinische Studien und Texte, 22 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), p. 113.

⁴⁵ Haye analysiert die literarischen und realen Kommunikationssituationen zwischen Autor und Publikum im Lehrgedicht des Mittelalters in den Abschnitten 'Die Präsenz des Dichters und Lehrers' (vgl. Haye, pp. 104-111) sowie 'Die Präsenz des Adressaten: Schüler und Publikum' (vgl. Haye, pp. 111-129). Zum Lehrgedicht im Humanismus vgl. Haye, pp. 374-397.

⁴⁶ Vgl. Komm. zu 8: 'pro re tua' und 'monere', 49: 'monitus'; 9: 'ratio'; 18: 'formas innumeras'; 19: 'iuvat'; 21 und 23: 'prodest'; 26: 'utile sit'; 29: 'aspice'; 37: 'adde, quod'; 39: 'quare age'; 45: 'requiris'; 57: 'deceat'.

⁴⁷ Vgl. Komm. zu 2: 'pellegeret', 53: 'legeret'; 4 und 50: 'studiis', 18: 'studii', 51: 'studium'; 6: 'scholae', 28: 'scholis'; 9 und 25: 'discere linguas', 27: 'didicere', 56: 'disceret'; 17 und 32: 'ingenium'; 19, 43 und 49: 'audire', 37: 'auditis'; 19 und 45: 'dictata', 40: 'dictando'; 19: 'magistri', 27: 'magistro'; 20: 'doctos'; 20: 'lectio'; 21: 'calamum versasse'; 23: 'texere carmen [...] textum solvere'; 24 und 34: 'reddere verba modumque'; 26 und 33: 'vertere libros'; 28: 'docuit'; 34: 'interpres'; 37: 'lumina'; 38: 'patulis auribus'; 40: 'iunctos continuare libros'; 41: 'Latia convertere lingua'; 42: 'data pensa'; 47: 'linguae Latinae'; 53: 'Graiorum [...] scripta Latine'; 54: 'astricta modis, soluta modis'.

⁴⁸ Vgl. Komm. zu 9-18. Von den vier Charakteristika, die Volk zur Definition der Lehrdichtung wählt — (1) 'explicit didactic intent'; (2) 'teacher-student constellation'; (3) 'poetic self-consciousness' und (4) 'poetic simultaneity'; vgl. Katharina Volk, *The Poetics of Latin Didactic: Lucretius, Vergil, Ovid, Manilius* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 34-43 — treffen alle auf das vorliegende Gedicht zu.

motivische Nähe zu mehreren Hauptwerken der antiken Lehrdichtung, Hesiods *Erga*, Vergils *Georgica* und Columellas *Res rustica* her, und auch in Ovids *Ars amatoria* dienen Gleichnisse aus der Welt des Ackerbaus zur Illustration seiner Lehre. Weitere Motive in Micyllus' Gedicht, die außerdem in der lukrezischen Lehrdichtung ihren Platz finden, sind die Metaphorik von Licht und Dunkel, das Motiv der Erde als Mutter und das Motiv der *varietas* etwa in Bezug auf die Bebauungsweisen des Ackers oder die Vielfalt der Übungsformen.⁴⁹ Nicht zuletzt imitiert Micyllus neben den Lehrgedichten von Horaz und Columella zahlreiche Stellen aus Ovids *Ars amatoria*⁵⁰, die er jedoch aus ihrem erotischen Kontext löst. Darin zeigt sich eine große Vertrautheit mit diesem Werk Ovids, das er Jahre später (1549) mit einem Kommentar ediert.⁵¹

Auch mit der Wahl des elegischen Distichons tritt Micyllus in die Fußstapfen Ovids, der von dem traditionellen Versmaß der Lehrdichtung, dem Hexameter, abweicht. In Mittelalter und Renaissance bevorzugten Lehrdichter gar das zunehmend in die epische Literatur eindringende elegische Distichon, da sie es für literarisch anspruchsvoll halten.⁵² So stellt Micyllus mit dem elegischen Metrum auch seine poetischen Fähigkeiten und seine Kompetenz als Lehrdichter und Lehrer der lateinischen Sprache zur Schau.

2. Text und Übersetzung

IOANNI FICHARDO Suo S.[alutem dicit]⁵³

- 1 Si mea me quavis sinerent tecum otia luce
Pellegere Ionii nobile vatis opus,
Hanc operam, Ficharde, tibi promittere soli
Et studiis vellem, dum cupis ista, tuis.

⁴⁹ Vgl. Komm. zu 1; 33 zu Licht und Dunkel; 10 zur Erde als Mutter sowie 18 zum Motiv der Formenvielfalt.

⁵⁰ Zur Imitation von Horaz vgl. Komm. zu 21-22; 34; zu Columella vgl. Komm. zu 5; 46 und zu Ovids *Ars amatoria* vgl. Komm. zu 9-18; 24; 27; 55.

⁵¹ Vgl. Jacobus Micyllus, *P. Ovidii Nasonis opera quae vocantur amatoria cum doctorum virorum commentariis... His accesserunt Jacob. Micylli annotationes longe doctissimae. Eiusdem Micylli locorum aliquot ex Ovidiana Metamorphosi retractio cum indice* (Basileae: apud Hervag., 1549).

⁵² Vgl. Haye, *Das lateinische Lehrgedicht im Mittelalter*, pp. 216-223.

⁵³ Der geringfügig modernisierte Text stammt aus den Praeliminaria der Ausgabe: *Iacobi Micylli Argentoratensis sylvarum libri quinque: Quibus accessit Apelles Aegyptius, seu calumnia, antehac, ut & caetera pleraque] nondum edita* (Francofurti: ex officina Petri Brubachii, 1564), fols. &6^v-7^v.

- 5 Sed quia nec longae venientia frigora brumae
Nec nostrae praebent tempora tanta scholae,
otia ne vacuum traherent tibi languida mentem,
Te volui pro re pauca monere tua.
- Non eadem ratio est diversas discere linguas
- 10 Atque eadem molli tradere semen humo.
Nam nisi consueto peraretur vomere tellus
Et capiat solito mutua farra sinu,
Non segetem reddit nec flavas tollit aristas
Longaque nec quicquam spes fovet agricolam.
- 15 Talis enim terra est: patiendo gignit alitque.
Unus hic est illi reddere farra modus.
At non ingenium cultura pendet ab una,
Haec studii formas accipit innumeras.
- Non audire iuvat semper dictata magistri,
- 20 Ut quoque non doctos lectio sola facit.
Saepe manu calamus prodest versasse, sed uno
Hic quoque contentus non solet esse modo.
Texere nunc carmen, nunc textum solvere prodest,
Reddere nunc certi verba modumque loci.
- 25 Praecipue varias cui curae est discere linguas,
utile sit totos vertere saepe libros.
Hac ope non pauci nullo didicere magistro,
Quae docuit cunctis Graecia tota scholis.
Aspice quem iactat tellus Germana Philippum,
- 30 Hac eadem tantum nomen adeptus ope est.
Et minor in Graecis fuerat quoque rebus Erasmus,
Ingenium tali si caruisset ope.
Maius enim lumen poscunt, quae vertere tentas,
Nec sola interpretes reddere verba volet.
- 35 Eruit ex imis abscondita sensa latebris,
Nec sat habet summa rem tetigisse manu.
Adde, quod auditis, quae cernunt lumina, praestant,
Certa tenent patulis auribus illa magis.
- Quare age, dum coepti prohibent nos otia votis,
- 40 Dictando iunctos continuare libros,
Ipse tibi partem Latia convertere lingua
Sumas in certos ceu data pensa dies.
Partem a me festis pergas audire diebus
Post ea, quae prandi tempora vulgus habet.
- 45 Sic tibi nec deerunt, quae tu dictata requiris.
Plusque mea fructus propria cura dabit.
Non tamen interea linguae meminisse Latinae
Cesses: haec studio concilianda pari est.

- Sique voles veteris monitus audire magistri,
 50 Divisum studiis tempus utrisque dabis.
- In studium certas partitus dicitur horas
 Plinius, et spacio quodque dedisse suo,
 Ut modo Graiorum legeret, modo scripta Latine,
 Deinde astricta modis, deinde soluta modis.
- 55 Sic, veluti Cous semper pingebat Apelles,
 Accidit, ut quovis disceret ille die.
- Quorum facta sequi decet atque exempla virorum,
 Et faciet fructum quaelibet hora suum.
- Tempus enim periit, Musis quodcumque negatum est:
 60 Hae celebrant annos, hae celebrant homines.

Micyllus grüßt seinen Johann Fichard

[1] Wenn meine freie Zeit es zuließe, an jedem beliebigen Tag mit dir das berühmte Werk des ionischen Dichters durchzulesen, verspräche ich dir allein, Fichard, und deinem wissenschaftlichen Eifer diesen Dienst gern, solange du dies willst. [5] Aber weil weder die bevorstehende Kälte des langen Winters noch mein Unterricht so viel Zeit gewähren, will ich dich in deinem Interesse zu Wenigem ermahnen, damit das träge Nichtstun dir nicht deinen unbeschäftigten Geist hin und her zieht.

Es ist nicht dasselbe Prinzip, verschiedene Sprachen zu lernen, [10] und dasselbe, dem weichen Boden den Samen anzuvertrauen. Denn wenn die Erde nicht mit dem gewohnten Pflug durchpflügt wird und geliehenes Getreide im gewohnten Schoß aufnimmt, gibt sie nicht den Samen zurück, und nicht hebt sie die goldenen Ähren empor, und die lange Hoffnung wärmt den Bauern vergeblich. [15] So nämlich ist die Erde. Durch passive Aufnahme bringt sie hervor und ernährt. Dies ist die einzige Art bei jener, Getreide hervorzubringen. Aber die Begabung hängt nicht von einer einzigen Pflege ab. Diese nimmt unzählige Formen des Studiums an.

Es nützt nichts, immer das vom Lehrer Vorgetragene zu hören [20] so wie auch die Vorlesung allein nicht gelehrt macht. Es nützt, oftmals die Schreibfeder in der Hand gewendet zu haben: Aber auch diese gibt sich gewöhnlich nicht mit einer einzigen Art (des Schreibens) zufrieden. Bald nützt es, ein Gedicht zu weben, bald das Gewebte zu lösen, bald die Worte und das Versmaß einer bestimmten Textstelle wiederzugeben. [25] Für den, dem es obliegt, verschiedene Sprachen zu lernen, sei es vor allem nützlich, häufig ganze Bücher zu übersetzen. Mit dieser Hilfe

haben nicht wenige ohne Lehrer das gelernt, was ganz Griechenland in allen Schulen gelehrt hat. Schau Philipp an, dessen sich die germanische Erde rühmt. [30] Mit ebendieser Hilfe hat er einen so großen Namen erworben. Und geringer im Griechischen wäre auch Erasmus gewesen, wenn seine Begabung ohne solche Hilfe gewesen wäre. Die Worte, die du zu übersetzen versuchst, erfordern nämlich mehr Klarheit. Und nicht wird der Übersetzer die Worte allein wiedergeben wollen. [35] Er gräbt den verborgenen Sinn aus den tiefsten Verstecken. Und es reicht nicht aus, die Sache mit oberster Hand berührt zu haben. Füge die Tatsache hinzu, dass das, was deine Augen wahrnehmen, vorzüglicher ist als das Gehörte; Jene behalten eher Sicheres als offene Ohren.

Daher wohl an, während meine Zeit mich von dem Wunsch nach dem Vorhaben abhält, [40] durch das Diktieren Buch an Buch zu reihen, mögest du dir an bestimmten Tagen vornehmen, einen Teil wie aufgetragene Wollarbeit selbst mit der lateinischen Sprache zu übersetzen. Du kannst damit fortfahren, einen Teil an den Festtagen von mir zu hören, nach der Zeit, die die Leute als Frühstückszeit haben. [45] So werden dir die Dinge nicht fehlen, die du diktiert für nötig hältst. Und mehr Ertrag als meine wird deine eigene Sorge geben. Du dürftest wohl unterdessen dennoch nicht versäumen, an die lateinische Sprache zu denken: Diese muss durch die gleiche Beschäftigung gewonnen werden. Und wenn du die Ermahnungen deines alten Lehrers hören willst, [50] wirst du jeder von beiden Beschäftigungen die geteilte Zeit geben.

Es heißt, Plinius habe die wissenschaftliche Beschäftigung auf bestimmte Stunden aufgeteilt und habe eine jede dem dafür vorgesehenen Teil gegeben, so dass er bald Schriften der Griechen, bald lateinisch verfasste Schriften, bald gebundene, bald ungebundene Rede las. [55] So kam es, dass, wie der Koer Apelles immer malte, jener an jedem Tag lernte.

Den Taten und den Beispielen dieser Männer ziemt es sich zu folgen, und jede beliebige Stunde wird ihren eigenen Ertrag schaffen. Die Zeit nämlich ist verloren, welche auch immer den Musen verweigert wurde: [60] Diese preisen die Jahre, diese preisen die Menschen.

3. Kommentar

1-8 Einleitung: Micyllus würde gerne den Wunsch seines Schülers Fichard nach einer gemeinsamen Homerlektüre erfüllen, aber der kom-

mende Winter und der Unterricht lassen ihm keine Zeit. Daher gibt er seinem Schüler einige Ratschläge, damit er sich auch ohne seine Hilfe weiterbilden kann.

1-4: Micyllus leitet den Brief mit einem zwei Distichen umfassenden Konditionalsatz im Irrealis der Gegenwart ein, in welchem er seinem Schüler die Bitte abschlägt, Homerlektüre mit ihm zu betreiben. Der häufige Gebrauch von Pronomina der ersten und zweiten Person gleich zu Beginn (vgl. 1: 'mea', 'me', 'tecum'; 3: 'tibi'; 4 'tuis') reflektiert das innige Verhältnis zwischen Sender und Adressat. Darüber hinaus wird darin die antike Vorstellung des Briefes als Dialog (vgl. [Demetr.], *eloc.*, 223) greifbar. Die Rahmenhandlung dieses Briefes, in dem ein älterer Berater seinen jugendlichen Freund in der geeigneten Ausbildung unterweist, ist an Plinius' Brief an Pedanius Fuscus angelehnt (vgl. Plin., *epist.*, 7, 9 und 1.2.).

1 Si mea me quavis sinerent tecum otia luce: Der metonymische Gebrauch von *lux* für den Tag als die Zeit von Sonnenaufgang bis Sonnenuntergang (vgl. OLD, s.v. 'lux', 4) hebt die Bedeutung des Tageslichts für die geistige Arbeit hervor und bereitet auf Vers 5 vor, in dem Micyllus den langen Winter als Begründung für seine mangelnde Zeit anführt. Zur Metaphorik von Licht und Dunkel, die auch in Lukrez' Werk eine Rolle spielt (vgl. David West, *The Imagery and Poetry of Lucretius* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 1994), pp. 80-82), vgl. Komm. zu 33; 35; 37. Der Begriff *otium* meint wie in Vers 39 vermutlich die (geringe) freie Zeit, die Micyllus in Anbetracht der schulischen Verpflichtungen für Muße bleibt. Der Vers wirkt durch die alliterierenden Silben *si... sinerent* und *mea me* dramatisch. Der Ausdruck *quavis... luce* findet seine Entsprechung in *quovis... die* (vgl. Komm. zu 56).

2 Pellegere Ionii nobile vatis opus: In diesem Pentameter elidiert Micyllus die Endsilbe von *pellegere* und wertet den Anfangsbuchstaben von *Īōnī* als i und nicht als j (in jenem Falle wäre e fälschlich lang). Obwohl das Nomen *Īōnīā* gemessen wird, skandiert man das Adjektiv *Īōnīus*; vgl. Robert D. Williams, *P. Vergilii Maronis Aeneidos Liber Tertius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962) zu Verg., *Aen.*, 3, 211. *Perlegere* beschreibt einerseits die gründliche Lektüre, andererseits das laute Vorlesen durch den Lehrer, ist jedoch nicht in schulischem Kontext belegt (vgl. OLD, s.v. 'perlego', 2: Suet., *Claud.*, 41, 1: 'cum primum [historiam] frequenti auditorio commisisset, aegre perlegit'). Die Junktur

nobile... opus begegnet in derselben Versposition schon in augusteischer Zeit (vgl. Prop., 2, 31, 12: 'et valvae, Libyci nobile dentis opus'; Ov., *trist.*, 1, 10, 30: 'Cyzicon, Haemoniae nobile gentis opus'). Mit *Ionii nobile vatis opus* variiert Micyllus Piccolominis Wendung 'Grai nobile vatis opus' (vgl. *carmina varia*, 22, 6), die aus einem Lobgedicht auf Homer stammt. Zu Homer als *vates* vgl. außerdem Val. Max., 8, 8 *ext.* 2: 'Homerus... ingenii caelestis vates'; Mic., *Epistola ad Philippum Melanchthonem*, 133. Der Wunsch des jungen Fichard, Homer zu lesen, erinnert an die Homerbegeisterung Alexanders des Großen (vgl. ausführlicher unter 1.1.). Dieser soll, wie Micyllus selbst in seinem Brief an Melanchthon schildert (vgl. 121-134), Homer gelesen haben, als er sich das Schwert umgürtete, und erschöpft von der Schlacht über seinem Homer eingeschlafen sein. Diese Anekdote, die auf Onesikritos (FGrHist, 134F 38) zurückgeht und durch Plutarch (*Alex.*, 8, 2) und Dion Chrysostomos (2) über die Antike hinaus wirkt, hat ihren festen Platz in der frühneuzeitlichen Topik der Herrscherpanegyrik (vgl. Kühlmann et al., *Humanistische Lyrik des 16. Jahrhunderts* zu Mic., *Epistola ad Philippum Melanchthonem*, 127-132). Dieser Wunsch Fichards, nur Homer zu lesen, entspricht der einseitigen Begeisterung des Pedanius Fuscus für die Redekunst (vgl. Plin., *epist.*, 7, 9, 7).

3-4 Hanc operam, Ficharde, tibi promittere soli | Et studiis vellem, dum cupis ista, tuis: Die Wendung *operam promittere* ist in der Antike lediglich in der Prosa belegt, vgl. Sen., *epist.*, 95, 10; Tac., *ann.*, 14, 14, 4.

5-6: Micyllus begründet das Abschlagen der Bitte seines Schülers in einem Distichon, das zwei durch die Anapher *nec... nec* eingeleitete Gründe enthält: die Kälte des langen Winters sowie die geringe Zeit, die dem Lehrer außerhalb des Unterrichts bleibt.

5 Sed quia nec longae venientia frigora brumae: Wie allgemein üblich hatte man noch im Jahre 1626 an der Frankfurter Lateinschule im Winter andere Unterrichtszeiten als im Sommer, da man sich nach dem Tageslicht richtete: Im Sommer fand der Unterricht vormittags von 6.30 bis 9 Uhr und nachmittags von 14 bis 17 Uhr statt, im Winter hingegen von 7.30 bis 10 Uhr sowie von 13 bis 16 Uhr (vgl. Dolinsky, 'Aus der Geschichte des Frankfurter Gymnasiums', p. 42). Die früh einbrechende Dunkelheit der Wintertage erschwerte es Micyllus, sich mit seinem Schüler nach der Schule zur Homerlektüre zu treffen. Der Gedanke, dass im Winter nicht auf gewohnte Weise gelernt werden kann, passt zu dem

folgenden Vergleich des Lernens mit der Aussaat von Getreide (vgl. Komm. zu 9-18), aus dem das Lernen als überlegenere Form hervorgeht, die nicht nur von einer Art der Kultivierung abhängt. Im Winter kann die Saat nicht aufgehen. Wenn der Lehrer nichts säen kann, muss der Geist seines Schülers auf andere Weise genährt werden. Der Begriff *bruma*, der ursprüngliche Superlativ von *brevis*, bezeichnet den Winter als die Zeit der kürzesten Tage, vgl. OLD, s.v. 'bruma', 1: Cato, *agr.*, 17, 1: 'ubi solstitium fuerit, ad brumam'; Caes., *Gall.*, 5, 13, 3: 'dies continuos XXX sub brumam esse noctem'. Zum Hexameterende *frigora brumae* vgl. Tib., 1, 4, 5: 'nudus et hibernae producis frigora brumae'; Ov., *trist.*, 4, 7, 1: 'bis ver Sol adiit gelidae post frigora brumae'; Colum., 10, 77: 'post ubi Rhipaeae torpentia frigora brumae'. Das Hyperbaton *longae... brumae* bildet die Länge des Winters im Vers ab. Zur Lichtmetaphorik vgl. Komm. zu 1.

6 Nec nostrae praebent tempora tanta scholae: Das Subjekt *scholae* ist im Plural für den Unterricht belegt (vgl. OLD, s.v. 'schola', 1: Quint., *inst.*, 3, 1, 14: 'postmeridianis scholis Aristoteles praecipere artem oratoriam coepit'). Die den Vers rahmende Wortstellung von *nostrae... scholae* bildet den Inhalt des Verses ab: Der Unterricht umgibt die Zeit, die er raubt. Zum *pluralis modestiae* im Brief vgl. Komm. zu 39.

7 otia ne vacuum traherent tibi languida mentem: Micyllus äußert hier die Befürchtung, dass geistige Inaktivität den unbeschäftigten Geist Fichards auf Abwege führen könnte. Er empfiehlt ihm daher auch über die langen Wintermonate hinweg beschäftigt zu bleiben. Der Begriff *languidum otium* (vgl. [Tib.], 3, 7, 181: 'languida nec noster peraget labor otia'; Claud., *rapt. Pros.*, 1, 277) bezeichnet die freie Zeit, die sich durch Nichtstun auszeichnet. Die Junktur *mentem trahere* steht für das 'hin und her Ziehen' oder 'Zerren' des Geistes, vgl. OLD, s.v. 'traho', 4a: Ter., *Andr.*, 260: 'curae, quae meum animum divorsae trahunt'; Stat., *Theb.*, 5, 624: 'quae mentem insania traxit?'. Zu *vacuus* im Sinne von 'unbeschäftigt' in dieser Verbindung vgl. OLD, s.v. 'vacuus', 11a; Verg., *georg.*, 3, 3: 'cetera, quae vacuas tenuissent carmine mentes'; Ov., *rem.*, 150: 'da vacuae menti, quo teneatur, opus!'; Plin., *epist.*, 7, 27, 7: 'ne vacua mens audita simulacra et inanes sibi metus fingeret'.

8 Te volui pro re pauca monere tua: Die belehrende Wortwahl (*monere, pro re tua*) drückt die Überlegenheit des erfahrenen Pädagogen gegenüber seinem Schüler Fichard aus, dem er Ratschläge erteilen kann, wenn sie

auch bescheiden als *pauca* bezeichnet werden. Zu *monere* im Sinne von ‘ermahnen’, ‘raten’, ‘auffordern’ mit dem Akkusativ vgl. OLD, s.v. ‘moneo’, 2b: Ter., *Hec.*, 766: ‘hoc moneo unum’ usw. Zu *pauca monere* vgl. Sall., *Catil.*, 58, 3: ‘sed ego vos, quo pauca monerem, advocavi’. Der Gebrauch des reinen Akkusativs bei Zahladjektiven ist besonders bei Dichtern üblich; vgl. Karl Vretska, *C. Sallustius Crispus: De Catilinae Coniuratione* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1976) zu Sall., *Catil.*, 45, 4; Raphael Kühner – Carl Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache: Zweiter Teil: Satzlehre*, 2 Bände, Nachdruck der 5. Auflage von 1976 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997), I, 279. *Pro re tua* bedeutet ‘in deinem Interesse’, vgl. Ter., *Ad.*, 809: ‘tu illos duo olim pro re tolerabas tua’. Micyllus verwendet hier das Perfekt *volui* anstelle des Präsens, da er sich in die Zeit hineinversetzt, zu der Fichard den Brief lesen wird. Zum Gebrauch des Perfekts im Briefstil vgl. Herrmann Menge, *Repetitorium der lateinischen Syntax und Stilistik*, unveränderter Nachdruck der 11. Auflage (München: Hueber 1960), §326.

9-18 Vergleich des Lernens mit dem Pflanzen von Samen: Getreide anzubauen ist nicht dasselbe wie Sprachen zu lernen. Die Erde bringt nur Ertrag hervor, wenn sie auf gleichbleibende Weise bewirtschaftet wird. Der menschliche Geist aber kann durch mannigfache Übungen gewinnbringend ‘kultiviert’ werden.

Das Gleichnis, das konventionellerweise eine Bauform des Lehrgedichtes ist (vgl. Peter Toohey, *Epic Lessons: An Introduction to Ancient Didactic Poetry* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 2), illustriert, dass nicht die einseitige Wissensvermittlung durch den Lehrer zu einem Lernerfolg führt, sondern dass es vielmehr vielfältige Möglichkeiten für einen Schüler gibt, sich selbständig Wissen anzueignen. Auch Plinius veranschaulicht in seinem Brief an Pedanius Fuscus (7, 9) die Notwendigkeit der Beschäftigung mit verschiedenen Themen und Übungsformen durch einen Vergleich aus der Landwirtschaft: So wie der Boden durch unterschiedliches Saatgut erfrischt wird, braucht der menschliche Geist vielfältige Anstöße (vgl. Plin., *epist.*, 7, 9, 7: ‘ut enim terrae variis mutatisque seminibus, ita ingenia nostra nunc hac nunc illa meditatione recoluntur’). Micyllus wählt eine neue Ebene des Vergleichs und betont gerade den Gegensatz zwischen den zu vergleichenden Elementen: Während der Erdboden nur auf eine Art und Weise mit Samen bepflanzt werden kann, benötigt der menschliche Geist zur Kultivierung vielfältige Übungsformen. Micyllus übernimmt also die Analogie von Erde (*tellus/terra*) und menschlichem

Geist (*ingenium*), doch er ersetzt die bei Plinius angelegte Entsprechung von Samen (*semen*) und Übungen (*meditationes*) durch die Betonung der Differenz zwischen der einzig möglichen Art des Getreideanbaus (*tradere semen*) und der Vielfalt an Übungsformen (*studii formae innumerae*). Nicht zuletzt begegnet das Bild des mit verschiedenen Übungsformen zu 'beackern' Geistes in Melanchthons *praefatio* zu Hesiods *Erga* (vgl. CR, XI, 115), die vermutlich 1526 verfasst wurde: vgl. 'varie subigendum est ingenium, et omnibus disciplinis excolendum'. Es ist gut möglich, dass Micyllus sich, wenn auch nicht in der Lexik, sondern in der Wahl der zu vergleichenden Gegenstände von seinem früheren Lehrer hat beeinflussen lassen. Metaphorik aus dem Bereich des Ackerbaus spielt außerdem eine Rolle in einem anderen didaktischen Werk, der *Ars amatoria* Ovids (vgl. Eleanor W. Leach, 'Georgic Imagery in the *Ars amatoria*', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 95 (1964), 142-154). In seinem Vergleich der weiblichen Liebe mit Feld und Ernte hebt der *magister amoris* hervor, dass unterschiedlicher Boden, der die Empfänglichkeit der Geliebten für die Kunst des Liebhabers versinnbildlicht, unterschiedliche Pflanzen hervorbringen kann (vgl. *ars*, 1, 755-758: 'finiturus eram, sed sunt diversa puellis | pectora: mille animos excipe mille modis. | nec tellus eadem parit omnia: vitibus illa | convenit, haec oleis, hic bene farra virent'; vgl. Verg., *georg.*, 1, 54-56; 2, 109-111). Die Vorstellung, die durch die richtige Pflege vorbereitete Erde bringe einen guten Ertrag, begegnet ebenfalls in der *Ars* (vgl. 3, 101-102: 'ordior a cultu: cultis bene Liber ab uvis | provenit et cultis stat seges alta solo'). Das Bild des Samens als zu pflegende Anlage im Menschen ist stoisch, vgl. Sen., *epist.*, 73, 16: 'semina in corporibus humanis divina dispersa sunt, quae si bonus cultor excipit, similia origini prodeunt et paria iis ex quibus orta sunt surgunt: si malus, non aliter quam humus sterilis ac palustris necat ac deinde creat purgamenta pro frugibus'; 120, 4 über den Samen des Wissens: 'hoc nos natura docere non potuit: semina nobis scientiae dedit, scientiam non dedit'. Auch an anderen Stellen des Briefes spielt Micyllus mit der Metaphorik des Ackerbaus: So lässt er den Übersetzer den verborgenen Sinn aus dem Originaltext graben (*eruere*; vgl. Komm. zu 35) und bezeichnet den Lernerfolg als die Früchte der Arbeit (*fructus*; vgl. Komm. zu 46 und 58).

9-10: Micyllus leitet das Gleichnis sogleich mit seiner Kernaussage ein. Durch die Anapher *eadem* (*ratio*) betont er, dass das Lernen von Sprachen und das Aussäen von Getreide gerade nicht nach demselben Prinzip

funktionieren. Der Terminus *ratio* für das Prinzip oder die Methode begegnet häufig im lukrezischen Lehrgedicht, vgl. 1, 110: 'nunc ratio nulla est restandi'; 395 'nec tali ratione potest denser aer' usw.

9 Non eadem ratio est, diversas discere linguas: Vgl. Ov., *Pont.*, 3, 9, 15: 'non eadem ratio est sentire et demere morbos'. Das Ziel von Micyllus' Bemühungen als Lehrer, *diversas discere linguas*, wird durch die Alliteration der Silbe *di* unterstrichen, wobei das zentrale Anliegen des Schreibens, *discere*, von dem zu lernenden Stoff, *diversas... linguas*, gerahmt wird. Die Betonung liegt darüber hinaus auf *diversas*. Denn Micyllus wird seinem Schüler im Laufe des Briefes raten, beide Sprachen, Latein und Griechisch, gleichermaßen zu betreiben (vgl. 50-53). *Discere* gehört selbstverständlich zur traditionellen Lexik des Lehrgedichts vgl. Verg., *georg.*, 3, 414; Ov., *ars*, 3, 327; vgl. Edward J. Kenney, 'Nequitiae Poeta', in *Ovidiana: Recherches sur Ovide publiées à l'occasion du bimillénaire de la naissance du poète*, hg. von Niculae I. Herescu (Paris, 1958), pp. 201-209 (p. 203).

10 Atque eadem molli tradere semen humo: Mit dem Epitheton *mollis* beschreibt Micyllus den Erdboden als besonders empfänglich für die Saat, vgl. Ov., *ars*, 3, 688: 'fons sacer et viridi caespite mollis humus'; Colum., 4, 4, 3: 'si mollis ac tenera humus... umorem stirpibus praebeuerit'. *Mollis* ist außerdem ein typisch weibliches Attribut (vgl. OLD, s.v. 'mollis', 3a: Catull., 68, 70-71: 'quo mea me se molli candida diva pede intulit'; Ov., *ars*, 1, 535: 'mollissima pectora'), so dass diese Beschreibung zur Personifizierung der Erde als Frau beiträgt (vgl. auch 12: 'sinu'; 13: 'flavas [...] aristas' sowie 15: 'patiundo gignit alitque'). Zum Motiv der Erde als Mutter in Lukrez' Lehrgedicht vgl. West, *The Imagery and Poetry of Lucretius*, pp. 103-114.

11-14: In dem zwei Distichen umspannenden Konditionalsatz im Potentialis mischt Micyllus die Modi (*peraretur, capiat, reddit, tollit, fovet*), wobei der Konjunktiv Präsens die Bedingung als eine ungewisse Annahme oder Erwartung darstellt. Diese Ungleichheit der Modi findet sich in vorklassischer und klassischer Zeit selten (vgl. Kühner – Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, II, 393-395).

11 Nam nisi consueto peraretur vomere tellus: Das Verb *perarare*, dessen Simplex *arare* für das Pflügen eines Feldes steht, ist in der Antike nicht im Kontext des Ackerbaus geläufig, sondern wird vielmehr für das Schreiben verwendet (vgl. ThLL, X, 1, 1189, 44-54: vgl. Ov., *am.*, 1, 11,

7: 'accipe et ad dominam peraratas mane tabellas'; *ars*, 1, 455: 'blandis peraretur littera verbis'). In seinem Kommentar zur *Ars amatoria* nimmt Micyllus zur Bedeutung von *perarare* Stellung: 'Peraratas: id est exaratas, conscriptas. Exarare enim scribere significat, a quadam arandi similitudine' (vgl. Micyllus, *P. Ovidii Nasonis opera quae vocantur amatoria* zu Ov., *ars*, 3, 401). Micyllus kennt also die antike Bedeutung von *perarare* und benutzt das Wort dennoch in seiner etymologischen Bedeutung. Durch diese Wortwahl spiegelt er die verschiedenen Übungsformen voraus, von denen das Schreiben eine ist (vgl. 21-24). Das Epitheton *consuetus* ist synonym zu *solitus* im folgenden Vers. Die von Micyllus gewählte Lexik des Ackerbaus begegnet in verschiedenen Variationen im Werk Ovids, vgl. *ars*, 2, 671: 'vomere findite terras' (Pflügen als jungendliches Betätigungsfeld); *met.*, 1, 102: 'saucia vomeribus per se dabat omnia tellus'; *Pont.*, 4, 2, 16: 'sed siccum sterili vomere litus aro'.

12 Et capiat solito mutua farra sinu: *Mutuus* bedeutet 'geliehen' im wörtlichen Sinn (vgl. OLD, s.v. 'mutuus', 1). Die Topik der geliehenen Saat, die bei der Ernte einen zinsreichen Ertrag bringt, begegnet auch in der *Ars amatoria* (2, 513: 'credita non semper sulci cum faenore reddunt') und ist seit Cicero geläufig, vgl. Cic., *Cato*, 51: 'terra, quae numquam ... sine usura reddit quod accepit [...] plerumque maiore cum faenore'; Tib., 2, 6, 22: 'semina, quae magno faenore reddat ager' (vgl. Markus Janka, *Ovid: 'Ars Amatoria', Buch 2, Kommentar* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1997) zu Ov., *ars*, 2, 513). Der Ausdruck *sinus* für den Schoß der Erde personifiziert wie *mollis* in Vers 10 die Erde als Frau. *Sinus* kann zwar selten für eine Aushöhlung der Erde stehen (vgl. OLD, s.v. 'sinus', 8a: Liv., 23, 1, 6: 'pleraeque cavae sunt viae sinusque occulti'; 30, 2, 12: 'Arpini terra campestri agro in ingentem sinum consedit'), jedoch hat der Leser sicherlich zunächst den weiblichen Schoß (vgl. OLD, s.v. 'sinus', 2; 3: Catull., 2, 2: 'quem [passer] in sinu tenere') vor Augen.

13 Non segetem reddit, nec flavas tollit aristas: Zu Micyllus' Junktur *segetem reddere* vgl. Varro, *ling.*, 9, 20: 'et cuius modi tritico iacto reddidit segetes'; Colum., 2, 15, 2: 'ea res laetas segetes reddit' und zu *reddere* im Kontext der Ernte vgl. Ov., *ars*, 2, 513: 'credita non semper sulci cum faenore reddunt'; *Pont.*, 1, 5, 56: 'hanc messem satis est si mea reddit humus'; Mart., 2, 38, 1: 'quid mihi reddat ager, quaeris' (vgl. Janka, *Ovid: 'Ars Amatoria'* zu Ov., *ars*, 2, 513; vgl. OLD, s.v. 'reddo', 15a). Micyllus gebraucht *reddere* in diesem Kontext auch an anderer Stelle (vgl. 16: 'reddere farra'). Das Epitheton *flavus* für die goldgelbe

Farbe der Ähren personifiziert die Erde als Frau (vgl. Komm. zu 10). Es ist als poetische Farbbezeichnung von Getreide seit augusteischer Zeit konventionell, vgl. ThLL, VI, 889, 34-40: Verg., *georg.*, 1, 73: 'flava [...] farra'; Tib., 2, 1, 48: 'deponit flavas annua terra comas'; Val. Fl., 1, 70: 'flava [...] arista'; Sil., 8, 61: 'flavas [...] aristas'.

14 Longaque nec quicquam spes fovet agricolam: Micyllus imitiert hier eine Stelle aus einer Elegie Tibulls, in der es ebenfalls um die wärmende Hoffnung des Bauern auf Ernte geht, vgl. 2, 6, 19-22: 'Iam mala finissem leto, sed credula vitam | Spes fovet et fore cras semper ait melius. | Spes alit agricolas, Spes sulcis credit aratis | semina, quae magno faenore reddat ager'. Bei Tibull ist *Spes* die Verkörperung einer Göttin, die die Ernte gedeihen lässt. Zu *spes* im Kontext des Ackerbaus vgl. Robert Maltby, *Tibullus: 'Elegies', Text, Introduction and Commentary*, Arca, 41 (Cambridge: Cairns, 2002) zu Tib., 1, 1, 9-10. Die Junktur *longa spes* ist in Poesie und Prosa konventionell, vgl. Hor., *carm.*, 1, 4, 15; Sen., *epist.*, 110, 4. *Nec* und *quicquam* sind zu *nequiquam* zusammenzuziehen.

15 Talis enim terra est: patiando gignit alitque: Vgl. Liv., 2, 40, 6: 'potuisti populari hanc terram quae te genuit atque aluit?'. Die Erde wird in ihrer Funktion als Spenderin von Getreide als Mutter personifiziert (vgl. Komm. zu 10). Micyllus wählt Vokabular, welches das Entstehen von Getreide in einem Trikolon mit dem Hervorbringen von menschlichem Leben assoziiert. So wird *pati* einerseits vordergründig für die passive Aufnahme des Saatgutes durch die Erde gebraucht (vgl. Verg., *ecl.*, 4, 40: 'non rastros patietur humus, non vinea falcem'), kann jedoch andererseits auch in Bezug auf die weibliche Rolle beim Geschlechtsverkehr verwendet werden, die in Analogie zur Erde darin besteht, den Samen des Mannes zu empfangen (vgl. OLD, s.v. 'patior', 2c: Ov., *fast.*, 2, 178: 'invito est pectore passa Iovem'). Das Bild des männlichen Samens, welcher der von der Frau zur Verfügung gestellten Materie die Form gibt, begegnet schon bei Aristoteles (vgl. *gen. an.*, 729a, 25-35; 729b, 12-21). Zur passiven Rolle der Frau vgl. Helen King, 'Geschlechterrollen', *Der neue Pauly*, 4 (1998), 1008-1014 und zum Geschlechterverhältnis in der Antike vgl. Sabine Föllinger, *Differenz und Gleichheit: Das Geschlechterverhältnis in der Sicht griechischer Philosophen des 4. bis 1. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Hermes Einzelschriften, 74 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1996). *Gignere* beschreibt sowohl das Hervorbringen von Getreide und anderen Früchten durch die Erde (vgl. ThLL, VI, 1988, 38 – 1989, 28: Cic., *fin.*,

5, 33: 'ea quae terra gignit'; *nat. deor.*, 2, 156: 'terra vero feta frugibus et vario leguminum genere [...] gignere videtur?') als auch von menschlichem Leben (vgl. OLD, s.v. 'gigno', 2b: Verg., *Aen.*, 1, 617-618: 'Aeneas quem Dardanio Anchisae | alma Venus [...] genuit'). Das Verb *alere* kann für das Nähren von Pflanzen durch die Erde stehen (vgl. OLD, s.v. 'alo', 1c: Verg., *Aen.*, 11, 71: '[flores] non iam mater alit tellus').

16 unus hic est illi reddere farra modus: Das Hyperbaton *unus... modus* umfasst den gesamten Vers und betont, dass es im Ackerbau nur eine einzige Art gibt, Getreide anzubauen. Zu *reddere* im Kontext der Ernte vgl. Komm. zu 13. Zu *farra reddere* vgl. Ov., *fast.*, 1, 693-694: 'farra [...] reddat ager'.

17 At non ingenium cultura pendet ab una: Im Gegensatz zur Landwirtschaft hängt die menschliche Begabung nicht von einer einzigen Art der 'Kultivierung' ab. Der Begriff *cultura* aus der Landwirtschaft (vgl. OLD, s.v. 'cultura', 1) wird metaphorisch auf die intellektuelle Förderung des menschlichen Geistes durch verschiedene Übungsformen übertragen (vgl. Cic., *Tusc.*, 2, 13: 'cultura [...] animi philosophia est'). Durch die Korrespondenz von *una... cultura* mit *unus modus* aus dem vorangehenden Vers unterstreicht Micyllus den Unterschied zwischen dem menschlichen Geist und der Erde.

18 Haec studii formas accipit innumeras: Die Junktur *formam accipere* stammt aus der Lehrdichtung (vgl. Verg., *georg.*, 1, 170: 'curvi formam accipit ulmus aratri'; 2, 449-450: 'torno rasile buxum | non formam accipiunt ferroque cavantur acuto') und setzt die Metaphorik des Ackerbaus fort. Zum Motiv der Formenvielfalt in der Lehrdichtung vgl. Lucr., 2, 1054-1055: 'seminaque innumero numero summaque profunda | multimodis volitent'; Ov., *ars*, 1, 759: 'pectoribus mores tot sunt, quot in orbe figurae: | qui sapit, innumeris moribus aptus erit' sowie in den Briefen des Plinius vgl. Hutchinson, *Latin Literature from Seneca to Juvenal*, p. 15. Auch im Brief an Pedanius Fuscus (Plin., *epist.*, 7, 9) ist die *variatio* im Studium ein Leitmotiv.

19-38 Verschiedene Übungsformen: Für das erfolgreiche Lernen der griechischen und lateinischen Sprache müssen verschiedene rezeptive und produktive Übungsformen kombiniert werden. So genüge das Diktieren sowie die Auslegung der Lehrbücher durch den Lehrer nicht. Es sollten auch Schreibübungen in Poesie und Prosa vorgenommen sowie

bestimmte Textstellen wiedergegeben werden. Die Übersetzung schließlich leiste einen wesentlichen Beitrag zur Beherrschung einer Sprache, da der Übersetzer den tief verborgenen Sinn erfassen wolle. Als Beispiele für Männer, die sich ihr gesamtes Wissen durch das Übersetzen erworben haben, nennt Micyllus Melanchthon und Erasmus.

Die Notwendigkeit vielfältiger Übungsformen, insbesondere durch die Auswahl verschiedener Gattungen sowohl in Poesie als auch in Prosa sowie die Lektüre verschiedener Autoren hebt auch Plinius gegenüber seinem jungen Freund Pedanius Fuscus hervor (vgl. *epist.*, 7, 9, 8-15 sowie 1.2.). Im ersten Teil des Abschnittes, in dem Micyllus die Übungen in der Form eines Kataloges darstellt (19-26), variiert er das didaktische Vokabular für 'nützlich sein' (19: 'iuvat'; 21 und 23: 'prodest'; 26: 'utile sit'). Zum Katalog als konventionellem Merkmal der Lehrdichtung vgl. Annette Harder, 'To Teach or not to Teach...? Some Aspects of the Genre of Didactic Poetry in Antiquity', in *Calliope's Classroom: Studies in Didactic Poetry from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, eds. Annette Harder – Alasdair A. MacDonald – Gerrit J. Reinink (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), pp. 23-48 (pp. 26-27).

19 Non audire iuvat semper dictata magistri: An erster Stelle nennt Micyllus die im 16. Jahrhundert übliche Unterrichtsmethode, bei welcher der Lehrer Texte vortrug und die Schüler nachsprachen oder nachschrieben, um sie später zu reproduzieren (vgl. Friedrich Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts: auf den deutschen Schulen und Universitäten vom Ausgang des Mittelalters bis zur Gegenwart. Mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den klassischen Unterricht*, 2 Bände, 3. erweiterte Auflage (Leipzig: Verlag von Veit & Comp., 1919-1921), I, 344-345 sowie Arno Seifert, 'Das höhere Schulwesen: Universitäten und Gymnasien', in *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte, Band 1., 15. bis 17. Jahrhundert*, hg. von Notker Hammerstein und Christa Berg (München: Beck, 1996), 197-374 (p. 268). Diese Methode war gewiss auch mit Erläuterungen des unbekannten Textes durch den Lehrer verbunden (vgl. Hans Schönemann, 'Lateinunterricht an einem Gymnasium der frühen Neuzeit – Versuch einer Rekonstruktion', in *Pontes VI. Der Altsprachliche Unterricht in der Frühen Neuzeit*, hg. von Martin Korenjak und Florian Schaffenrath, *Comparanda: Literaturwissenschaftliche Studien zu Antike und Moderne*, 14 (Innsbruck: Studien-Verlag, 2010), pp. 91-104 (p. 93). *Non audire* steht am Versanfang, um zu betonen, dass diese reproduktive Lernform gerade nicht ausreichend sei. Das Verb *dictare*

impliziert auch bei Horaz und Juvenal in schulischem Kontext eine unreflektierte und unselbständige Form des Lernens durch reine Reproduktion (vgl. Roland Mayer, *Horace: 'Epistles', Book 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) zu Hor., *epist.*, 1, 1, 55: 'haec recinunt iuvenes dictata senesque' und 1, 18, 13: 'ut puerum saevo credas dictata magistro | reddere vel partis mimum tractare secundas'; vgl. Iuv., 5, 122-123: 'donec peragat dictata magistri | omnia'). Micyllus bezeichnet sich an dieser Stelle zum ersten Mal als *magister* wie auch Ovid in der *Ars amatoria* als Autor seines Lehrgedichts (vgl. 2, 744 und 3, 812: 'Naso magister erat'; 341-342: 'atque aliquis dicet "nostri lege culta magistri | carmina, quis partes instruit ille duas"'). Im Gegensatz zu Ovid ist Micyllus neben seiner literarischen Rolle als belehrender Autor tatsächlich der Lehrer seines Adressaten.

20 Ut quoque non doctos lectio sola facit: Als Ergänzung zum Diktieren führt Micyllus die Vorlesung (*lectio*) an, die in der Auslegung von Lehrbüchern durch die Lehrperson bestand (vgl. Seifert, 'Das höhere Schulwesen: Universitäten und Gymnasien', p. 268; zu *lectio* als Lehrervortrag vgl. ThLL, VII, 1084, 63-70 'in scholis gramm. vel philos.': Schol. Iuv., 7, 225: 'veniunt ad grammaticos ut lectiones accipiant'). Möglicherweise ist hier die Erläuterung der vom Lehrer diktierten Texte gemeint, die die Schüler sich zuvor notiert und auswendig gelernt hatten (19). Micyllus nennt das Ziel des Studiums: gelehrt zu sein (*doctus*). An den Gymnasien des 16. Jahrhunderts diente die Lektüre der Autoren dazu, Musterbeispiele (*exempla*) für die schriftstellerische Darstellung zu geben. Neben dem Erwerb grammatisch-stilistischer sowie poetisch-rhetorischer Regeln der Textkomposition nutzten die Schüler der Renaissance die Texte, um ihnen Wörter und Wendungen zu entnehmen, die sie in sogenannte Adversarienbücher (auch *Collectanea*) eintrugen. Die Sachkenntnis, die in den Texten steckte, lernte man nebenher (vgl. Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts*, I, 345). Der von Micyllus entworfene Lehrplan sah Terenz und Vergils *Bucolica* für die Tertia, Vergils *Aeneis* und Ciceros *Epistulae* für die Secunda sowie Hesiod, Homer, Isokrates, Demosthenes und Ciceros *De officiis*, die *Compendia historiarum* des Justin und Florus sowie schließlich Ovids *Metamorphosen* für die Prima vor (vgl. Classen, *Jacob Micyllus*, p. 173). Zu möglichen Vorbildern für *doctum facere* vgl. Sen., *epist.*, 106, 11: 'in supervacuis subtilitas teritur: non faciunt bonos ista, sed doctos'; Aug., *epist.*, 118, 4: 'nos doctos et sapientes non facit'. Zu *ut quoque* vgl. Quint., *inst.*,

9, 4, 96: 'alii omnes, ut quoque sint loco longae'; Tert., *adv. Marc.*, 3, 129: 'ut quoque post requiem prophetica iura teneret'.

21-24: 'Eloquenz, und zwar zunächst in lateinischer Sprache, ist das erste Ziel des gelehrten Unterrichts, die Nachahmung der alten Schriftsteller das wesentliche Mittel (vgl. Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts*, I, 347).' In diesem Abschnitt empfiehlt Micyllus seinem Schüler Stilübungen in verschiedenen Gattungen (vgl. 21-22) in der Poesie, die Umwandlung von Poesie in Prosa (vgl. 23) sowie die originalgetreue Wiedergabe bestimmter Textstellen (vgl. 24). Im Lehrplan des Frankfurter Gymnasiums sind zu diesem Zweck ab der Tertia Übersetzungen aus dem Deutschen ins Lateinische und aus dem Lateinischen ins Deutsche vorgesehen, ab der Secunda die Verskomposition (vgl. Classen, *Jacob Micyllus*, pp. 170-172).

21-22 Saepe manu calamum prodest versasse: sed uno | Hic quoque contentus non solet esse modo: Die Wendung *manu versare* stammt aus Horaz' *Ars poetica*, vgl. 268-269: 'vos exemplaria Graeca | nocturna versate manu, versate diurna'. Horaz ermuntert seine Leser darin, bei Tag und bei Nacht griechische Vorbilder zu studieren. An anderer Stelle benutzt Horaz *transvertere calamum* für das Durchstreichen stilistisch unschöner Passagen mit schwarzer Tinte (vgl. *ars*, 445-447: 'vir bonus et prudens [...] incomptis (erg. versis) allinet atrum | transverso calamo signum'). Micyllus verbindet die Junktoren zu *manu calamum versare*, so dass die Wendung wörtlich das Hin- und Herwenden des Schreibrohrs in der Hand des Schreibers bedeutet und auf die unmittelbare Schreiberfahrung verweist. Das Bild des Wendens begegnet auch in *vertere* und *convertere* in Bezug auf die Übersetzung (vgl. Komm. zu 26; 33 und 41). Das aus den Stengeln von Schilf gefertigte Schreibrohr (*calamus*), das zur Beschriftung von Papyrus und Pergament diente, war neben dem Griffel (*stilus*) ein wesentliches Schreibgerät der Antike (vgl. Rolf Hurschmann, 'Feder', in *Der Neue Pauly*, 4 (1998), 455-456. Micyllus spielt mit der urtümlichen Bedeutung von Stil als Schreibgerät (die jedoch nur im Falle von *stilus* gebräuchlich scheint; vgl. OLD, s.v. 'stilus', 4b: Sen., *dial.*, 9, 1, 13: 'aliquid simplici stilo scribe') und personifiziert das Schreibrohr, das sich nicht mit einer einzigen Schreibweise zufrieden gebe. Der vielseitige Gebrauch des Rohrs spielt auf verschiedene Schreibstile an. Diese Ablehnung eines einseitigen Stiles erinnert an Micyllus' Empfehlung an seinen Schüler, sich nicht allein auf die Homerlektüre zu konzentrieren. Das durch Enjambement über

zwei Verse gesperrte Hyperbaton *uno... modo* nimmt die gleiche Wendung aus Vers 16 auf, um den Gegensatz zwischen der Kultivierung der Erde und der Ausbildung des menschlichen Geistes hervorzuheben. Von den unzähligen Übungsformen (vgl. 18: 'studii formas [...] innumeras') erweist das Schreiben sich als eine (vgl. 21-24). Das Prinzip der *variatio* besteht also auch innerhalb der einzelnen Übungsformen fort.

23 Texere nunc carmen, nunc textum solvere prodest: Die Empfehlung an Fichard, sich sowohl in der Komposition von Poesie als auch in der Umsetzung von Dichtung in Prosa zu üben, untermalt Micyllus kunstvoll mit Hilfe der Anapher *nunc... nunc* sowie des Polyptotons *texere... textum*. Auch Plinius hatte seinen Schützling zum Üben beider Textformen angehalten (vgl. *epist.*, 7, 9, 14). Zur Junktur *carmen texere* für das Verfassen von Poesie vgl. Auson., 13, 29 Green: 'licia qui texunt et carmina, carmina Musis'; Petrarca, *bucolicum carmen*, 10, 239: 'textentem pectine carmen'. Zum Weben als alter Metapher für das Dichten vgl. Marcello Durante, 'Untersuchungen zur Vorgeschichte der griechischen Dichtersprache: Die Terminologie für das dichterische Schaffen', Übersetzung eines 1960 in italienischer Sprache erschienenen Aufsatzes, *Wege der Forschung*, 165 (1968), 261-290 (pp. 272-274). Die Wendung *textum solvere* beschreibt die Umwandlung von Poesie in Prosa. Micyllus' Zeitgenosse Schefferus empfiehlt unter Berufung auf Quintilian (vgl. *inst.*, 1, 9, 2 [über den Unterricht beim grammaticus]: 'versus primo solvere, mox mutatis verbis interpretari, tum paraphrasi audacius vertere, qua et brevare quaedam et exornare salvo modo poetae sensu permittitur'; vgl. Forcellini, s.v. 'solvo', 19 'verba aliter collocando ligatam metri rationem tollere': Hor., *sat.*, 1, 4, 60) die wörtliche Auflösung von Versen, die Wiedergabe mit verändertem Wortlaut oder die freie Paraphrase (vgl. Joannes Schefferus, *Gymnasium styli, seu de vario scribendi exercitio ad exemplum veterum liber* (Upsaliae: Curio, 1665), 8: 'variationem sequitur carminis solutio, quae est versuum neglecta non mensura modo, sed etiam dictionis lege in prosam pulchra immutatio'). Auch Himerios schildert die Nacherzählung von Versen in Prosa mit ähnlichem Vokabular (vgl. *or.*, 48, 10 = p. 200 Colonna, 'τὸ μέτρον αὐτὸ λύσας εἰς λόγον τῆς λύρας' [ich will den Inhalt des Alkaiosgedichtes erzählen] 'indem ich das Metrum der Lyra auflöse zu Prosa'). Die Wendung *textum solvere* könnte darüber hinaus auf eine Stelle bei Properz anspielen, vgl. 2, 9, 3-6: 'Penelope poterat bis denos salva per annos | vivere, tam multis femina digna procis; | coniugium falsa poterat differre Minerva, |

nocturno solvens texta diurna dolo'. In der langjährigen Abwesenheit des Odysseus hatte Penelope geschworen, ihre Freier erst nach Fertigstellung des Totengewandes für Laertes zu erhören. Um ihrem Mann treu zu bleiben, löst sie das am Tag Gewebte bei Nacht wieder auf. Mit dieser Anspielung auf Penelope bringt Micyllus Homer wieder ins Bewusstsein des Lesers (vgl. Komm. zu 2). Zu einer weiteren möglichen Anspielung auf Penelope durch eine Webmetapher vgl. Komm. zu 42.

24 Reddere nunc certi verba modumque loci: Mit *nunc* setzt Micyllus die Anapher aus dem vorausgehenden Vers trikolonisch fort. Nach der freien Textkomposition und der Prosaparafrase empfiehlt er Fichard die originalgetreue Wiedergabe von Worten (*verba*) und Versmaß (*modus*) einer wahrscheinlich antiken Textstelle (*locus certus*). Micyllus verwendet *reddere* außerdem im Kontext der Getreideernte (vgl. Komm. zu 13) und für die Übersetzung (vgl. Komm. zu 34). So impliziert er, dass auch bei geistiger Arbeit ein fruchtbarer Ertrag erzielt werde. Zu *reddere* im Sinne von 'reproduzieren', 'wiederholen' vgl. OLD, s.v. 'reddo' 5b: Hor., *carm.*, 4, 11, 34-35: 'condisce modos amanda | voce quos reddas'; Ov., *ars*, 3, 295 'quaedam male reddere verba'; Quint., *inst.*, 11, 2, 51: 'semel auditos [...] versus [...] dicitur reddidisse Theodectes'. Zu *locus* als Textstelle vgl. OLD, s.v. 'locus' 23a: Quint., *inst.*, 1, 1, 36: 'electos ex poetis maxime [...] locos ediscere'.

25-26 Praecipue varias cui curae est discere linguas | utile sit totos vertere saepe libros: Micyllus imitiert hier eine Textstelle aus Plinius' Brief an Pedanius Fuscus über den unschätzbaren Wert der Übersetzung, vgl. 7, 9, 2: 'utile in primis, et multi praecipiunt, vel ex Graeco in Latinum vel ex Latino vertere in Graecum' (vgl. 1.2.). Micyllus variiert das Versende *diversas discere linguas* (vgl. 9). *Vertere* wird seit der Archaik im Sinne von 'übersetzen' gebraucht, vgl. Plaut., *Asin.*, 11: 'huic nomen graece Onagost fabulae; Demophilus scripsit, Maccus vertit barbare'; Cic., *fin.*, 1, 7: 'si plane sic verterem Platonem [...] ut verterunt nostri poetae fabulas'; Quint., *inst.*, 10, 5, 2: 'vertere Graeca in Latinum veteres nostri oratores optimum iudicabant'. Zu Ausdrücken des Wendens bei Schulübungen vgl. Komm. zu 21.

27 Hac ope non pauci nullo didicere magistro: Micyllus übernimmt einen halben Vers der *Ars* Ovids aus einem erotischen Kontext über das Erlernen körperlicher Liebe ohne Lehrer, der für seine Aussageabsicht an dieser Stelle vermutlich jedoch keine Relevanz hat (vgl. 2, 479: 'quid

facerent, ipsi nullo didicere magistro'). Zu *nullo... magistro* als Verweis auf das homerische Motiv der Autodidaktik (vgl. Janka, *Ovid: 'Ars Amatoria'* zu Ov., *ars*, 2, 479; Hom., *Od.*, 22, 347-348; vgl. Ov., *trist.*, 1, 6, 23: 'nullo pia facta magistro'; Mart., *epigr.*, 20, 3: 'non facit hoc iussu nulloque docente magistro'). Indem Micyllus unter anderem durch die Litotes *non pauci nullo* hervorhebt, dass die von ihm vorgeschlagene Methode der Übersetzung für viele Menschen auch ohne Lehrer erfolgreich war, ermutigt er seinen Schüler Fichard zu selbständiger Arbeit.

28 Quae docuit cunctis Graecia tota scholis: Dieses Fazit zum Nutzen der Übersetzung wirkt durch den Pleonasmus (*cunctus, totus*) hyperbolisch. Die Behauptung, man könne durch Übersetzung lernen, was das gesamte Griechenland in allen Schulen lehre, erscheint stark übertrieben. Vermutlich bezieht Micyllus sich hier neben den sprachlichen Fertigkeiten auf die Inhalte, die über die Texte vermittelt werden. Das Wissen Griechenlands steht für das Wissen schlechthin, nahm doch die akademische Welt des 16. Jahrhunderts an, Philosophie und Wissenschaft seien von den Alten zum Abschluss gebracht worden (vgl. Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts*, I, 354). In der Schule des Humanismus lernte man die Sachkenntnisse vor allem über die Lektüre: 'Indem man die alten Autoren, die Redner und Philosophen, die Dichter und Historiker liest, gewinnt man aus ihnen zugleich philosophisches, historisches, antiquarisches, geographisches, naturwissenschaftliches Wissen (vgl. Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts*, I, 345).' Zur Schule in der Antike vgl. Martin L. Clarke, *Higher Education in the Ancient World* (London: Routledge, 1971). Zum Motiv der überlegenen griechischen Bildung vgl. Hor., *epist.*, 2, 1, 156-157: '*Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artis intulit agresti Latio*'. In der augusteischen Dichtung steht *Graecia tota* in derselben Versposition in der zweiten Hemiepes des Pentameters, vgl. Prop., 2, 6, 2: '*ad cuius iacuit Graecia tota fores*'; Ov., *rem.*, 164: '*transtulerat vires Graecia tota suas*'; 468 '*cuius in arbitrio Graecia tota fuit*'.

29-30: Philipp Melanchthon (1497-1560) und Micyllus verband eine tiefe Freundschaft. Im Jahre 1522/23 ging Micyllus an die Universität Wittenberg, um Vorlesungen bei Melanchthon zu hören. Er gehörte dort zum Kreis seiner jüngeren Verehrer und Freunde. Zur gelehrten Freundschaft zwischen Melanchthon und Micyllus vgl. Robert Seidel, 'Gelehrte Freundschaft – Die *Epistula ad Philippum Melanchthonem* des Jacobus Micyllus', *Daphnis* 19/4 (1990), 567-633. Melanchthon empfahl Micyllus auch

dem Rat der Stadt Frankfurt als Rektor der jungen Lateinschule (Lerner, 'Micyllus, Jacob', 459-460). An dieser Stelle hebt Micyllus Melanchthon als Übersetzer hervor. In der Tat hat der Griechischprofessor zahlreiche Werke griechischer Autoren, die sämtliche Gattungen abdecken, wie Homer, Hesiod, Tyrtaeus, Solon, Phocylides, Theognis, Simonides, Bacchylides, Pindar, Empedocles, Sophokles, Euripides und Menander, Demosthenes, Aischines, Xenophon, Arat, Plutarch, Kallimachos, Theokrit, Stobaeus, Ptolemaeus, Lukian, Aelian und weitere ins Lateinische sowie die Werke diverser Theologen ins Deutsche übersetzt; vgl. Carolus G. Bretschneider (Hg.), *Philippi Melanthonis Opera quae supersunt omnia*, Corpus Reformatorum (Halle: Schwetschke, 1834-1860). Zu möglichen Anklängen an Melanchthon vgl. Komm. zu 9-18; 41.

29 Aspice quem iactat tellus Germana Philippum: Mit dem Imperativ *aspice*, der zum typischen Vokabular des Lehrgedichts gehört (vgl. Verg., *georg.*, 2, 114; Ov., *ars*, 2, 433; 3, 115; vgl. Kenney, 'Nequitiae Poeta', p. 203), lenkt Micyllus die Aufmerksamkeit Fichards auf das große Vorbild Melanchthon. Der Topos, dass ein Land sich eines seiner Bewohner rühme, stammt aus Vergils *Aeneis* (vgl. 6, 876-877: 'nec Romula quondam | ullo se tantum tellus iactabit alumno'). Zu *iactare* im Sinne von 'sich einer Sache rühmen', 'prahlen mit' vgl. OLD, s.v. 'iacto', 11a: Ov., *epist.*, 17, 51: 'quod genus et proavos et regia nomina iactas'.

30 Hac eadem tantum nomen adeptus ope est: *Hac eadem... ope* nimmt *hac... ope* aus Vers 27 wieder auf und präsentiert Melanchthon als Beispiel für einen der *non pauci*, die sich ihr umfassendes Wissen ohne Lehrer durch das Anfertigen von Übersetzungen erworben haben. Melanchthon hat es sogar zu großer Berühmtheit verholfen.

31-32 Et minor in Graecis fuerat quoque rebus Erasmus | Ingenium tali si caruisset ope: Micyllus reiht auch Erasmus von Rotterdam (1466 oder 1469-1536) unter den Männern ein, die sich durch eigene Übersetzungen großes Wissen im Griechischen angeeignet haben. Er spielt dabei vermutlich auf Erasmus' berühmte lateinische Übersetzung des Neuen Testaments an, die er 1519 neben dem griechischen Text veröffentlicht hat (vgl. Otto Schottenloher, 'Erasmus von Rotterdam, Desiderius', *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 4 (1959), 554-560). Darüber hinaus hat Erasmus neben anderen Autoren Euripides, Lukian und Libanius sowie Texte griechischer Kirchenväter ins Lateinische übersetzt (vgl. Heinz Holeczek, 'Erasmus von Rotterdam (1466/67-1536)', in *Humanismus im deutschen*

Südwesten: Biographische Profile, hg. von Paul G. Schmidt (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2000), pp. 125-149; Desiderius Erasmus, *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami: recognita et adnotatione critica instructa notisque illustrata* (Amsterdam: North Holland, 1969-). Auch im irrealen Bedingungssatz (zur Mischung der Modi im potentialen Konditionalsatz vgl. Komm. zu 11-14) verwendet Micyllus ungleiche Modi (vgl. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, II, 398-403). Mit *tali... ope* verweist Micyllus auf *hac... ope* in Vers 27 sowie auf *hac eadem... ope* in Vers 30 zurück.

33 Maius enim lumen poscunt, quae vertere tentas: Die Vorstellung, dass den Augen des Übersetzers nichts entgehe, stammt aus Plinius' Brief an Pedanius Fuscus, vgl. 7, 9, 2: 'simul, quae legentem fefellissent, transferentem fugere non possunt. intelligentia ex hoc et iudicium acquiritur'. Die Metapher des Lichts, die hier für die intellektuelle Erhellung und bezogen auf die Übersetzung für die Klarheit im Textverständnis steht (vgl. OLD, s.v. 'lumen', 10; vgl. Lucr., 1, 144: 'clara [...] lumina menti'; [Verg.], *Aetna*, 161 'falleris et nondum in certo tibi lumine res est'; Melancthon, CR, XI, 114: 'lumen orationis'), spielt auf *luce* im Eingangsvers an. Die Dunkelheit der Wintertage steht im Gegensatz zur geistigen Erleuchtung, zu der man durch die Übersetzung gelangen kann. Das Motiv der produktiven geistigen Arbeit während einer sternklaren Nacht, die zur geistigen Erhellung führt, stammt aus Lukrez' *De rerum natura* (vgl. 1, 142-145: '[tua virtus et voluptas amicitiae] inducit noctes vigilare serenas | quaerentem dictis quibus et quo carmine demum | clara tuae possim praepandere lumina menti, | res quibus occultas penitus convisere possis'; zur Lichtmetaphorik bei Lukrez vgl. West, *The Imagery and Poetry of Lucretius*, pp. 80-82). Mit der Junktur *lumen poscere* greift Micyllus möglicherweise auf eine weitere Pliniusstelle über den Philosophen Athenodor zurück, der sich nach Einbruch der Dunkelheit Schreibtafel, Griffel und Licht (hier jedoch im wörtlichen Sinne) kommen lässt (vgl. Plin., *epist.*, 7, 27, 7: 'ubi coepit advesperascere, [...] poscit pugillares stilum lumen'). Zur Lichtmetaphorik im Brief vgl. Komm. zu 1. Zu Ausdrücken des Wendens bei Schulübungen vgl. Komm. zu 21.

34 Nec sola interpres reddere verba volet: Micyllus imitiert eine Passage aus Horaz' Lehrgedicht über die Poesie (vgl. *ars*, 133-134: 'nec verbo verbum curabis reddere fidus | interpres'), in der Horaz sich gegen eine allzu sklavisches wörtliche Übersetzung ausspricht. *Sola... reddere verba* steht hier daher für die rein wörtliche Textwiedergabe ohne das

Bemühen, tiefer in den Sinn des Originals einzudringen. Zu *reddere verba* vgl. Komm. zu 24. Zu *interpres* als Übersetzer vgl. OLD, s.v. 'interpres' 4: Varro, *ling.*, 7, 2, 17: 'nostri interpretes ὀμφαλὸν umbilicum dixerunt'; Cic., *fin.*, 3, 15: 'nec tamen exprimi verbum e verbo necesse erit, ut interpretes indiserti solent'.

35 Eruit ex imis abscondita sensa latebris: Micyllus greift hier auf eine Stelle aus Horaz' *Epistulae* zurück, nach der ein guter Dichter verborgene, längst vergessene Archaismen ans Tageslicht bringt, und imitiert dabei auch die Vermischung der für die Lehrdichtung typischen Metaphorik von Licht und Landwirtschaft (vgl. Charles O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry: 'Epistles' Book II: The Letters to Augustus and Florus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) zu Hor., *epist.*, 2, 2, 115-116: 'obscurata diu populo bonus eruet atque | proferet in lucem speciosa vocabula rerum'). Bei Micyllus ist es jedoch der Übersetzer, der den tief im Dunkel des fremdsprachlichen Textes verborgenen Sinn 'hervorgräbt' und ihn dadurch zugänglich macht. Zur metaphorischen Tradition von *eruere* bei Varro und Cicero vgl. Brink, *Horace on Poetry: 'Epistles' Book II* zu Hor., *epist.*, 2, 2, 115; vgl. Cic., *orat.*, 79: 'sententiae [...] nescio unde ex abdito erutae'. Zur Metaphorik des Ackerbaus vgl. Komm. zu 9-18. Micyllus setzt hier die Metapher des Lichts für die intellektuelle Erleuchtung aus Vers 33 fort. Zur Lichtmetaphorik im Brief vgl. Komm. zu 1. Micyllus meint vermutlich die Vorstellung von Sinn als zugrunde liegende Bedeutung eines Textes, die durch das lateinische Wort *sensus* (vgl. OLD, s.v. 'sensus, ūs, m.', 9d: Ov., *fast.*, 5, 484: 'hic sensus verbi, vis ea vocis erat'; Quint., *inst.*, 6, 3, 48: 'verba duos sensus significantia') ausgedrückt wird, wählt jedoch den in der Antike nur sehr selten belegten Ausdruck *sensa* (vgl. OLD, s.v. 'sensa, orum n.': Cic., *de orat.*, 1, 32: 'quod exprimere dicendo sensa possumus'; Quint., *inst.*, 8, 5, 1), dessen Bedeutung 'Gedanken', 'Meinungen' an dieser Stelle weniger passend ist. Zu Parallelen in der Wortwahl vgl. Plaut., *Cist.*, 63: 'in latebras apscondas pectore penitissimo'; Cic., *fam.*, 3, 12, 1: 'mirandum est magis nullam ne in tabellae quidem latebra fuisse absconditam malevolentiam'.

36 Nec sat habet summa rem tetigisse manu: Obwohl der Ausdruck *summa manus* im Werk Ovids, wo das Hyperbaton *summa... manu* dieselbe Versposition einnimmt (vgl. *ars*, 3, 226: 'aptius a summa conspiciere manu'; *Pont.*, 2, 10, 14: 'ne careant summa Troica bella manu'; *trist.*, 3, 14, 22: 'certius a summa nomen habere manu'), für den letzten Schliff steht, den ein Künstler an seinem Werk vornimmt (vgl. Roy K.

Gibson, *Ovid: 'Ars Amatoria', Book 3*, Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries, 40 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) zu Ov., *ars*, 3, 226; OLD, s.v. 'summus', 5d), heißt *summa manu* hier in Verbindung mit *tangere* 'mit oberster Hand (oberflächlich) berühren' (vgl. OLD, s.v. 'summus', 5d; [Verg.], *Moret.*, 107: 'saepe manu summa lacrimantia lumina terget'). Die Wendung *sat habet* stammt aus der archaischen Komödie, wo sie jedoch nicht mit Infinitiv konstruiert wird (vgl. Plaut., *Amph.*, 79: 'sat habet favitorum semper qui recte facit'; Ter., *Eun.*, 485: 'ubi tempu' tibi erit, sat habet, si tum recipitur').

37 Adde, quod auditis, quae cernunt lumina, praestant: Micyllus unterstützt seine Argumentation für die Übersetzung mit der Aussage, dass das mit den eigenen Augen Wahrgenommene einen größeren Wert hat als das bloß Gehörte. Er bewertet den Lernerfolg durch eigene Lektüre somit höher als den durch den Lehrervortrag. Diese Einschätzung wirkt für einen Lehrer des 16. Jahrhunderts modern, da der Unterricht sehr stark auf den mündlichen Vortrag ausgelegt und selbst die Studierenden an der Universität auf die Vorlesung als Quelle aller Belehrung angewiesen waren (vgl. Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts*, I, 355). Das substantivierte Partizip *auditis* ist hier als Ablativus comparationis zu übersetzen. Mit *lumina* verwendet Micyllus dasselbe Wort metonymisch für die Augen (vgl. OLD, s.v. 'lumen', 9), das er kurz zuvor für die geistige Erhellung durch die Übersetzung (vgl. Komm. zu 33) gebraucht hat, und stellt auf diese Weise einen Zusammenhang zwischen der Lektüre als Tätigkeit der Augen und dem daraus resultierenden Erkenntnisgewinn her. Zu *adde quod* als traditionellem Vokabular des Lehrgedichts vgl. Lucr., 1, 847; 3, 829; Ov., *ars*, 2, 675; 3, 81; 539 (vgl. Kenney, 'Nequitiae Poeta', p. 203).

38 Certa tenent patulis auribus illa magis: Mit diesem Nachsatz erläutert Micyllus näher, warum er den visuellen Wissenserwerb für wirkungsvoller hält als den auditiven (vgl. 37): Man merke sich den Stoff besser. Das Subjekt *illa* bezieht sich auf *lumina* zurück, während das substantivierte *certa* das Objekt bildet. Zu *patulae aures* vgl. Hor., *epist.*, 1, 18, 70: 'nec retinent patulae commissa fideliter aures'; 2, 2, 105: 'obturem patulas impune legentibus auris'.

39-50 Konkrete Anweisungen zum Lernen: Fichard soll einen Teil selbst aus dem Griechischen ins Lateinische übersetzen, und an den Festtagen werde Micyllus ihm am Nachmittag Texte vorlesen. Aber Fichard

möge die gleiche Zeit und Mühe auch für die lateinische Sprache aufwenden.

Zur Aneinanderreihung der einzelnen Ratschläge wählt Micyllus hier die für das Lehrgedicht typische Form des Katalogs (vgl. Komm. zu 19-26).

39 Quare age, dum coepti prohibent nos otia votis: Mit der Aufforderung *quare age* (vgl. Hom., *Od.*, 12, 23: ἀλλ' ἄγετ'), die zum belehrenden Ton des Lehrgedichtes beiträgt (vgl. Kenney, 'Nequitiae Poeta', p. 203; Verg., *georg.*, 2, 35: 'quare agite o proprios generatim discite cultus'; Colum., 10, 230: 'quare age, quod sequitur, parvo discrimine sulci'), leitet Micyllus zu den konkreten Anweisungen über. In diesem Distichon wiederholt er seine Bemerkung vom Briefanfang, er sei wegen der Schulgeschäfte verhindert. Auch hier benutzt er das Wort *otium* für die geringe Zeit, die ihm zur Verfügung steht (vgl. Komm. zu 1). Zum nachklassischen Gebrauch von *votum* mit objektivem Genitiv vgl. OLD, s.v. 'votum', 3a: Iuv., 14, 125; Apul., *met.*, 6, 28. Zu *prohibere* mit separativem Ablativ vgl. OLD, s.v. 'prohibeo', 4a: Plaut., *Mil.*, 699-700: 'damna multa mulierum | me uxore prohibent'; Cic., *de orat.*, 3, 58: 'opere prohibentur'. Micyllus spricht von sich im *pluralis modestiae* (*nos* statt *me*), um seine eigene Persönlichkeit hinter die des Adressaten Fichard treten zu lassen (zum *pluralis modestiae* beim Briefschreiber vgl. Menge, *Repetitorium der lateinischen Syntax und Stilistik*, §224).

40 Dictando iunctos continuare libros: Der Infinitiv hängt von *coepti* aus dem vorangehenden Vers ab. Der Ausdruck *iunctos libros continuare* steht hier wörtlich für das kontinuierliche Aneinanderreihen von Büchern (vgl. OLD, s.v. 'iungo', 10 und s.v. 'continuo', 3). Nach Classen (*Jacob Micyllus*, p. 67) deutet der Vers 'auf die bei dem Mangel an Exemplaren gewöhnliche Unterrichtsweise hin, wo der Lehrer den Text vorlas (*dictare*), die Schüler nachsprachen oder nachschrieben.'

41 Ipse tibi partem Latia convertere lingua: Mit der Positionierung von *ipse tibi partem* am Versbeginn betont Micyllus die Bedeutsamkeit der Eigeninitiative Fichards beim Übersetzen. In Vers 43 verkehrt Micyllus die Reihenfolge zu *partem a me* und stellt seine eigene Bedeutung als Lehrer auf diese Weise zurück. *Latia lingua* ist als instrumentaler Ablativ zu verstehen, so dass der Ausdruck für das Übersetzen vom Griechischen mit Hilfe der lateinischen Sprache, das heißt ins Lateinische, steht. Zu Ausdrücken des Wendens bei Schulübungen vgl. Komm. zu 21. Zu

convertere im Sinne von ‘übersetzen’ mit der Zielsprache im instrumentalen Ablativ vgl. ThLL, IV, 869, 56-60: Auson., 12 *praef.* Green: ‘[epitaphia] quae antiqua [...] Latino sermone converti’; Aug., *civ.*, 13, 24. Micyllus’ Lehrer Melanchthon lobt in seinem Vorwort zu Hesiods *Erga* (vgl. CR, XI, 114) die Vorteile der Übersetzung des griechischen Lehrdichters in lateinische Verse und verwendet neben dem typisch didaktischen *prodesse* (vgl. 21 und 23) auch den instrumentalen Ablativ für die Übersetzung ‘mit’ der lateinischen Sprache: ‘profuerit etiam, si locum aliquem floridiorem tuo Marte latinis versibus exposueris, quae exercitatio dici non potest, quantum acuat iudicium, quantum item ad alendam sermonis copiam et comparandam scientiam explicandi res obscuras faciat.’ Hier berühren sich die Ratschläge zweier Lehrergenerationen an ihre Schüler. Durch die Übersetzung griechischer Literatur ins Lateinische würde Fichard darüber hinaus dem von Micyllus angeführten Beispiel Melanchthons und Erasmus’ folgen, die ihre Fähigkeiten in dieser Weise ohne fremde Hilfe erworben und zahlreiche Werke aus dem Griechischen ins Lateinische übersetzt haben (vgl. 27-32). Auch Micyllus hat eine lateinische Lukianübersetzung herausgegeben; vgl. Jacobus Micyllus, *Luciani Samosatensis opera, quae quidem exstant, omnia, e Graeco sermone in Latinum, partim jam olim diversis auctoribus, partim nunc demum per Jac. Micyclum, quaecunque reliqua fuere, translata: Cum argumentis et annotationibus ejusdem* (Francof.: apud Egenolph., 1538).

42 Sumas in certos ceu data pensa dies: Die Junktur *data pensa* stammt von Ovid, der sie stets wörtlich für das Tageswerk webender Frauen wie Penelope verwendet, vgl. *fast.*, 2, 743: ‘lumen ad exiguum famulae data pensa trahebant; epist., 3, 75: ‘nos humiles famulaeque tuae data pensa trahemus’; *met.*, 13, 511: ‘Penélopes munus, quae me data pensa trahentem’; *trist.*, 4, 1, 13. Durch das Bild des Webens spielt Micyllus möglicherweise schon vorher auf Penelope an (vgl. Komm. zu 23). Durch *ceu*, das gewöhnlich Gleichnisse und Vergleiche einleitet (vgl. OLD, s.v. ‘ceu’, 1a: Lucr., 4, 56), markiert Micyllus, dass *pensum* hier bildlich als Wollarbeit zu verstehen ist und nicht schlicht für die Aufgabe im Allgemeinen steht (vgl. OLD, s.v. ‘pensum’, 2). Der Optativ *sumas* steht mit dem reflexiven Dativ *tibi* in der Bedeutung ‘sich eine Aufgabe vornehmen’, ‘eine Verantwortung übernehmen’ vgl. OLD, s.v. ‘sumo’, 15: Cic., *Verr.*, 2, 3, 2: ‘qui sibi hoc sumpsit ut corrigat mores aliorum’; Hor., *carm.*, 1, 12, 1-2: ‘quem virum aut heroa lyra vel acri | tibia sumis celebrare, Clio?’.

43 Partem a me festis pergas audire diebus: *Partem a me* nimmt *ipse tibi partem* aus Vers 41 anaphorisch auf (vgl. Komm. zu 41). Die Anapher *partem... partem* legt nahe, dass das quantitative Verhältnis zwischen der eigenen Lektüre Fichards und dem Lehrervortrag ausgeglichen sein sollte. Die Junktur *dies festus* ist seit der Archaik in Poesie und Prosa konventionell, vgl. ThLL, VI, 627, 15 – 630, 12: Plaut., *Aul.*, 380; Cic., *inv.*, 1, 40; Ov., *am.*, 3, 10, 47. Mit *dies festus* könnte Micyllus entweder an Feiertage im Allgemeinen oder auch an den Sonntag (*dies Dominicus*) gedacht haben (vgl. ThLL, VI, 628, 51-58 ‘de die dominico’: Itala, *deut.*, 16, 8 (Lugd.): ‘dies festus domini dei tui’; Rufin. Orig., *in num.*, 23, 3 p. 749^A: ‘dies [...] festus est domini’). Nach dem Essen gegen zwölf Uhr fand am Sonntag wie auch an den Feiertagen kein Unterricht statt, so dass Micyllus und Fichard genügend Zeit und Muße für eine kleine Privatstunde blieb.

44 Post ea quae prandi tempora vulgus habet: Mit dem Vorschlag, nach dem Essen zu arbeiten, spielt Micyllus möglicherweise wieder auf Plinius’ Brief über den Arbeitseifer seines Onkels an, vgl. 3, 5, 10: ‘post cibum saepe (quem interdium levem et facilem veterum more sumebat) aestate si quid otii iacebat in sole, liber legebatur, adnotabat excerpebatque’ (vgl. 1.2.). Mit *prandium* wird in römischer Zeit meist das zweite Frühstück bezeichnet, das am Mittag eingenommen wurde (vgl. Joachim Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, Handbuch der römischen Altertümer, 7, 2. Auflage (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1886), pp. 266-267). Der Terminus *vulgus* ist leicht abwertend und grenzt den Patriziersohn Fichard vom ‘gemeinen Volk’ ab (vgl. OLD, s.v. ‘vulgus’, 1: Cic., *Brut.*, 183: ‘semperne [...] vulgi iudicium cum intellegentium iudicio congruit?’; Hor., *car.*, 3, 1, 1: ‘odi profanum vulgus et arceo’). Zu *vulgus habet* in derselben Versposition vgl. Ov., *Pont.*, 4, 16, 38: ‘nomina longa mora est, carmina vulgus habet’.

45-46 Sic tibi nec deerunt, quae tu dictata requiris | Plusque mea fructus propria cura dabit: Micyllus zieht aus dem Vorschlag, seine Vorträge über die Wintertage durch eigene Lektüre zu ergänzen und gemeinsam mit ihm an den Feiertagen zu lesen, den durch *sic* markierten Schluss, dass Fichard auf diese Weise die so gewünschten Vorlesungen weniger vermisste (vgl. 1-4) und umso mehr dabei lerne. So wird Fichard vermutlich durch das Wissen, das er sich durch die eigene Lektüre erworben hat, auch bei Micyllus’ Vorträgen stärker profitieren. Bezieht man *quae... dictata requiris* auf den Briefbeginn (vgl. 2)

zurück, so könnte Homer der zu lesende Autor sein. *Requirere* gehört zum traditionellen Vokabular der Lehrdichtung, vgl. Lucr., 5, 1091; Verg., *georg.*, 2, 227 (vgl. Kenney, 'Nequitiae Poeta', p. 203). Zu *dic-tare* und zur Bedeutung des Vorlesens lateinischer Texte im Unterricht des 16. Jahrhunderts vgl. Komm. zu 19. Mit der Wahl des Ausdrucks *fructus* für den Lernertrag (vgl. ThLL, VI, 1392, 6 – 1393, 8 'fructus industriae, laboris, studiorum': Cic., *Brut.*, 23; Sall., *Catil.*, 35, 3: 'fructu laboris industriaeque [...] privatus'; Sen., *dial.*, 6, 12, 2: 'provenerunt [...] magni fructus [...] laborum ex ipsa educatione'; Melancthon, CR, XI, 115: 'fructu studiorum'; siehe auch Plinius' Brief an Pedanius Fuscus in Bezug auf das Ergebnis beim Wettstreit mit Vorbildern 7, 9, 6: 'laboriosum istud et taedio plenum, sed difficultate ipsa fructuosum') schlägt Micyllus den Bogen zur Metaphorik des Ackerbaus zurück (vgl. Komm. zu 9-18). Zu *fructus* und *dare* vgl. Acc., *trag.*, 620 Dangel: 'postremo amplexa fructum, quem di dant: capel!'; Cic., *Verr.*, 2, 5, 36. Auch die Wendung *propria cura* könnte zu dieser Metaphorik beitragen: In Columellas Lehrgedicht *Res rustica* steht sie für die besondere Sorgfalt des Bauern (vgl. 8, 1: 'proximam propriamque rustici curam'), bei Seneca für die besondere pädagogische Aufmerksamkeit eines Lehrers gegenüber seinem Schüler (vgl. Sen., *benef.*, 6, 16, 3: 'ne praeceptorem quidem habeo cur venerer, si me in grege discipulorum habuit, si non putavit dignum propria et peculiari cura, si numquam in me derexit animum, et, cum in medium effunderet, quae sciebat, non didici, sed excepi').

47-48 Non tamen interea linguae meminisse Latinae | *Cesses*: Nachdem in den vorausgehenden Versen (39-46) vermutlich vom Erwerb der griechischen Sprache die Rede war, ermahnt Micyllus Fichard, dem Lateinischen ebenfalls genügend Beachtung zu schenken. Der potentielle Konjunktiv *cesses*, der hier eine milde Form der Aufforderung ausdrückt, könnte mit 'du dürftest (wirst doch) wohl nicht versäumen' übersetzt werden. Zum Potentialis als Anrede einer bestimmten Person vgl. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, I, 177. Das Enjambement unterstreicht die Bedeutung des Wortes *cesses*. Zu *meminisse*, das hier von seinem Objekt *linguae... Latinae* gerahmt wird, mit Genitiv im Sinne von 'einer Sache gegenüber aufmerksam sein', 'etw. Beachtung schenken' vgl. OLD, s.v. 'memini', 3b: Cic., *Verr.*, 2, 2, 73: 'ut sui iuris dignitatisque meminisset'; Prop., 2, 20, 28 'possum ego nunc curae non meminisse tuae?'.

48 haec studio concilianda pari est: Das Verb *conciliare* ist im Kontext des Spracherwerbs oder des Studiums nicht belegt. Es könnte hier in der Bedeutung ‘zusammenfügen’ oder ‘gewinnen’ (vgl. OLD, s.v. ‘concilio’, 1a; 4a) verwendet werden, was auch einen aktiven Gebrauch der lateinischen Sprache nahelegt (vgl. Komm. zu 47).

49-50 Sique voles veteris monitus audire magistri | Divisum studiis tempus utrisque dabis: Als *magister amorum* gebraucht auch Ovid das Wort *monitus* für seine lehrreichen Ermahnungen und Ratschläge, vgl. 2, 427-428: ‘qui modo celabas monitu tua crimina nostro, | flecte iter et monitu detege furta meo’; 3, 750: ‘et quaeris monitus hac quoque parte meos’. Zu Micyllus’ eigener Bezeichnung als Lehrer vgl. Komm. zu 19. Mit dem Epitheton *vetus* in Bezug auf *magister* hebt Micyllus seine Überlegenheit durch Lebenserfahrung hervor und unterstreicht auf diese Weise seine Berechtigung, dem jungen Bürgersohn angemessene und wertvolle Ratschläge (*monitus*) zu erteilen. Mit der höflich und zugleich belehrend klingenden konditionalen Wendung *si voles monitus audire* umgeht Micyllus den direkten Imperativ. Mit den *studia utraque* sind die beiden alten Sprachen, Latein und Griechisch, gemeint, zumal Micyllus direkt an diesen Vers das Pliniusexemplum anknüpft, aus dem dieser als großes antikes Vorbild für die gleichberechtigte Lektüre beider Sprachen hervorgeht.

51-56 Pliniusexemplum: *Plinius der Ältere wird als Vorbild für den jungen Fichard angeführt, da er sich seinen Tag genauestens einteilt, um möglichst viel seiner Zeit für die Arbeit zu nutzen. Außerdem verwende er ebensoviel Zeit auf die griechische wie auf die lateinische Literatur sowie auf Poesie und Prosa.*

Micyllus vermischt hier Aspekte des jüngeren mit dem älteren Plinius aus den Briefen 3, 5 und 7, 9 (vgl. 1.2.). In dieses Exemplum fügt Micyllus darüber hinaus einen durch *ut/sic* markierten Vergleich mit dem Maler Apelles (55-56), so dass ein Exemplum im Exemplum, also eine *mise en abîme* entsteht.

51-52 In studium certas partitus dicitur horas | Plinius, et spacio quodque dedisse suo: Mit dem von *dicitur* abhängigen NcI macht Micyllus seinen Leser darauf aufmerksam, dass die von ihm geschilderte Episode über Plinius in der antiken Literatur überliefert ist. Ein Vorbild für die Aufteilung der Zeit durch *partiri* könnte Quintilian sein, vgl. *inst.*, 12, 11, 18: ‘sed breve nobis tempus nos fecimus: quantulum enim studiis

partimur?'. Trotz der Wortstellung bezieht *in* sich auf *certas horas*, da nicht gemeint sein kann, dass Plinius nur bestimmte Stunden auf das gesamte Studium aufteilte, sondern vielmehr seine wissenschaftlichen Betätigungsfelder wie die griechische und römische Literatur (53), Poesie und Prosa (54) auf verschiedene dafür vorgesehene Stunden des Tages verteilte. Denn wie wir aus Plinius' Brief 3, 5 wissen, hat sein Onkel rund um die Uhr gearbeitet. Zu *certa... hora* vgl. Ov., *trist.*, 1, 3, 53-54: 'a! quotiens certam me sum mentitus habere | horam, propositae quae foret apta viae!'; Sen., *apocol.*, 2, 2: 'horam non possum certam tibi dicere'; Plin., *nat.*, 7, 169. Zu *spatium* als bestimmte Zeit für einen besonderen Zweck vgl. OLD, s.v. 'spatium', 10: Plaut., *Aul.*, 806-807: 'nunc interim spatium ei dabo exquirendi | meum factum'; Cic., *fin.*, 4, 1, 1: 'spatium sumamus ad cogitandum'.

53 Ut modo Graiorum legeret, modo scripta Latine: Die Lektüre griechischer und lateinischer Werke wirkt sowohl durch die inkonzinne Konstruktion (*scripta*) *Graiorum*... *scripta Latine* als auch durch die Notwendigkeit, das Objekt *scripta* vor- sowie das Prädikat *legeret* nachzuziehen, abwechslungsreich und anspruchsvoll. Die Inkonzinnität entsteht durch die Kombination des Objekts *scripta* mit dem Genetivattribut *Graiorum* im Falle der griechischen Literatur sowie mit dem Adverb *Latine* im Falle der römischen Literatur, durch die das zunächst substantivierte Partizip *scripta* seine ursprünglich verbale Färbung zurückerhält. Andererseits wird durch die Anapher des temporalen *modo... modo* nahegelegt, dass das Griechische und das Lateinische gleichberechtigt sind und gleichermaßen verdienen, dass man sich intensiv mit ihnen beschäftigt, indem man ihnen gleich viel Zeit einräumt. Micyllus könnte hier auf eine Stelle aus Horaz' *Epistulae* anspielen (vgl. 2, 1, 28-31: 'si, quia Graiorum sunt antiquissima quaeque | scripta vel optima, Romani pensantur eadem | scriptores trutina, non est quod multa loquamur: | nil intra est olea, nil extra est in nuce duri'), in der Horaz sich jedoch ironisch über die gleiche Wertschätzung der frühen griechischen und römischen Autoren äußert. An anderer Stelle der *Ars* hebt Horaz überdies die große Bedeutung der Lektüre griechischer Autoren hervor und impliziert, dass die griechische Literatur die einzig würdige und nachzuahmende Dichtung sei (vgl. Charles O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry: The 'Ars Poetica'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971) zu Hor., *ars*, 268-269: 'vos exemplaria Graeca | nocturna versate manu, versate diurna'). Micyllus wendet sich mit der gleichen Wertschätzung beider Sprachen gegen

diese Anschauung und wählt stattdessen Plinius den Jüngeren als Vorbild (vgl. *epist.*, 7, 9, 2: ‘vel ex Graeco in Latinum vel ex Latino vertere in Graecum’ sowie 1.2.). Aus der oben zitierten Horazstelle übernimmt Micyllus die poetische Bezeichnung *Grai* für die Griechen, die Horaz in heroischem Kontext verwendet, sowie den Ausdruck *scripta* für Schriften in Poesie und Prosa (vgl. Brink, *Horace on Poetry: ‘Epistles’ Book II* zu Hor., *epist.*, 2, 1, 28-29).

54 *Deinde astricta modis, deinde soluta modis*: In diesem stilistisch aufwendig gestalteten Vers konkretisiert Micyllus, welche Art von römischer und griechischer Literatur Plinius gelesen hat (vgl. Komm. zu 53), Poesie und Prosa. In dem durch Anapher (*deinde... deinde*) und Epipher (*modis... modis*) streng parallel angeordneten Pentameter nehmen die beiden Antagonismen, *astricta* und *soluta* (*scripta*), jeweils eine der metrisch identischen Pentameterhälften ein, so dass der Anschein erweckt wird, beide Formen von Literatur seien gleich wichtig. Das hier mit dem instrumentalischen Ablativ *modis* verbundene Epitheton *astrictus* zur Charakterisierung der gebundenen Rede ist vornehmlich in der Prosa verbreitet, vgl. Cic., *de orat.*, 1, 70: ‘poeta, numeris astrictior paulo, verborum autem licentia liberior’; *orat.*, 67: ‘cum versu sit astrictior [poeta]’. Zur Abgrenzung von der *oratio soluta* vgl. Cic., *de orat.*, 3, 175: ‘sententiam [...] numero quodam complectatur et astricto et soluto’; *Brut.*, 274: ‘nec vero haec soluta nec diffluentia, sed astricta numeris’. Das Versende *soluta modis*, das Micyllus für die Beschreibung der ungebundenen Rede (hier mit *modis* als separativem Ablativ) gebraucht, stammt aus der Tristienelegie 4, 10 (vgl. 24-26: ‘scribere temptabam verba soluta modis: | [...] | et quod temptabam scribere versus erat’), wo es dieselbe Versposition innehat. Ovid beschreibt an dieser berühmten Stelle, dass er gar nicht anders konnte als zu dichten. Zu *solutus* als Epitheton für Prosa vgl. OLD, s.v. ‘solutus’, 9: Cic., *de orat.*, 3, 177: ‘ex hac haec etiam soluta variis modis multorumque generum oratio’; Plin., *epist.*, 7, 9, 14: ‘metri necessitate devincti soluta oratione’; [Tib.], 4, 1, 36: ‘quique canent vincto pede quique soluto’. Zu *modus* als Versmaß vgl. OLD, s.v. ‘modus’, 7a: Cic., *orat.*, 193: ‘ut in eis [pedibus] singulis modus insit’; Prop., 3, 9, 44: ‘cecinisse modis, Coe poeta, tuis’ usw.

55 *Sic, veluti Cous semper pingebat Apelles*: Apelles, dessen Malerei in der Renaissance viel diskutiert wurde, gilt als der berühmteste Maler des Altertums. Micyllus selbst hat ein Theaterstück mit dem Titel *Apelles Aegyptius* verfasst sowie eine Nacherzählung der ‘Verleumdung’ des

Malers durch Lukian (*Calumniae* 2-5) ins Lateinische übersetzt (vgl. Jacobus Micyllus, 'Apelles Aegyptius, seu calunnia, fabula scenica', in *Iacobi Micylli Argentoratensis sylvarum libri quinque*, pp. 577-679, sowie *Apelles, eine schöne historia wider die Verleumnder, erstlich von Luciano griechisch beschrieben, nachmals von Micyllo lateinisch Comedienweis gemacht, jetzt in deutsch Reimen gefasset durch J. Cornerum* (Frankfurt: Basse, 1589). Lukians Werk hat auch Künstler wie Botticelli zu Darstellungen wie der *La Calunnia di Apelle* (1494-1495) angeregt (vgl. Nicola Hösch, 'Apelles', *Der Neue Pauly*, 1 (1996), 829). In einer *mise en abîme* führt Micyllus ihn als Vorbild für Plinius an, der wiederum als Vorbild für den jungen Fichard wirken soll. Die Stelle wird klarer, wenn man Micyllus' Kommentar zur *Ars amatoria* hinzuzieht, in dem er betont, dass Apelles keinen einzigen Tag verstreichen ließ, ohne zu malen: 'Illi [Apelles] perpetua consuetudo fuit, nunquam tam occupatam diem agendi, ut non lineam ducendo exerceret artem' (vgl. Micyllus, *P. Ovidii Nasonis opera quae vocantur amatoria* zu Ov., *ars*, 3, 401). Überliefert ist diese Gewohnheit — wie Micyllus selbst angibt (*auctor Plinius*) — bei Plinius dem Älteren selbst, vgl. *nat.*, 35, 84: 'Apelli fuit alioqui perpetua consuetudo numquam tam occupatum diem agendi, ut non lineam ducendo exerceret artem.' So verknüpft Micyllus verschiedene intertextuelle Ebenen. Aus Plinius' Brief über seinen Onkel (vgl. 3, 5) weiß er, dass Plinius der Ältere keinen Tag ohne Arbeit verstreichen ließ (vgl. 1.2.). Er verknüpft dieses Wissen mit einem Beispiel aus Plinius' *Naturalis historia*, in dem Plinius der Ältere über den hochgeschätzten Maler Apelles berichtet, dass er keinen Tag ohne Malerei verbringe (zur ausführlichen Beschreibung des Apelles vgl. Plin., *nat.*, 35, 79-97), und macht ihn zu seinem Modell. Darüber hinaus erfahren wir aus Micyllus' Kommentar, dass der Maler von Alexander dem Großen verehrt wurde: 'A nullo alio quam ab Apelle pingi voluit Alexander Magnus' (vgl. Micyllus, *P. Ovidii Nasonis opera quae vocantur amatoria* zu Ov., *ars*, 3, 401). Auch diese Anekdote geht im Übrigen auf Plinius' *Naturalis historia* zurück, vgl. 35, 85: 'ab aliquo se pingi vetuerat edicto'. Wie bezüglich seiner Begeisterung für Homer wird Fichard auch hier indirekt mit Alexander dem Großen assoziiert (vgl. Komm. zu 2). Obwohl Apelles aus dem ionischen Kolophon stammt, erhält er das Attribut *Cous*, weil dort sein berühmtestes Bild, die *Aphrodite Anadyomene* entstanden ist, vgl. Ov., *ars*, 3, 401-402: 'si Venerem Cous nusquam posuisset Apelles, l mersa sub aequoreis illa lateret aquis'; Plin., *nat.*, 35, 79: 'Apelles Cous'.

56 Accidit ut quovis disceret ille die: Mit dem Resümee, Plinius lerne durch regelmäßige und ausgewogene Lektüre an jedem Tag etwas, rundet Micyllus das Exemplum ab. Das Hyperbaton *quovis... die* spielt vermutlich auf *quavis... luce* im ersten Vers an, in dem Micyllus seinem Schüler mitteilt, er könne leider nicht an jedem Tag mit ihm Homer lesen. Auf diese Weise signalisiert Micyllus, dass Fichard, auch wenn sein Lehrer verhindert ist, durch beständige Arbeit und die Auswahl der richtigen Übungen und Stoffe ebenso etwas lernen kann.

57-60 Schlussworte: Fichard möge den genannten Vorbildern folgen, und jede Stunde werde ihren Lernerfolg bringen.

57 Quorum facta sequi decet atque exempla virorum: Der Hinweis, den Vorbildern der genannten Männer, Melanchthon (29-30), Erasmus (31-32), Plinius (51-56) und Apelles (55), zu folgen, hat durch die Wortwahl *decet*, das in der Bedeutung 'sich schicken', 'sich ziemen' (vgl. OLD, s.v. 'decet', 4) seinen Platz in der Lehrdichtung findet (vgl. Lucr., 2, 891: 'illud [...] meminisse decebit'; 5, 50; Ov., *ars*, 3, 614: 'hoc decet, hoc leges iusque pudorque iubent'), einen didaktisch moralisierenden Charakter. Die starke Sperrung von *quorum... virorum* über den gesamten Vers hebt die Bedeutung der drei genannten Persönlichkeiten hervor und rückt das durch Hendiadyoin hervorgehobene Wesentliche in den Mittelpunkt: die Taten (*facta*) und die Beispiele (*exempla*), denen es zu folgen gilt. Zu *exempla virorum* am Hexameterende vgl. Ov., *Pont.*, 1, 3, 61: 'i nunc et veterum nobis exempla virorum'; Lucan., 4, 575: 'non tamen ignavae post haec exempla virorum'.

58 Et faciet fructum quaelibet hora suum: Zum metaphorischen Gebrauch von *fructus* als Ertrag mühevoller Lehren vgl. Komm. zu 46 und als Objekt zu *facere* vgl. Varro, *rust.*, 3, 2, 13: 'fructus capere, quam alii faciunt'. Das Bild des Ertrags einer Stunde begegnet bei Ovid, vgl. *Pont.*, 4, 10, 67-68: '"detinui" dicam "curas, tempusque fefelli: | hunc fructum praesens attulit hora mihi"'. Durch das Reflexivpronomen *suum* hebt Micyllus hervor, dass tatsächlich jede einzelne Stunde ihren eigenen Ertrag bringen werde. Zur Metaphorik des Ackerbaus vgl. Komm. zu 9-18.

59 Tempus enim periit, Musis quodcumque negatum est: Micyllus variiert Plinius' Gedanken, dass die Zeit, die nicht mit Studien verbracht wird, verlorene Zeit sei (vgl. *epist.*, 3, 5, 16: 'nam perire omne tempus

arbitratur, quod studiis non impenderetur'). Micyllus ersetzt die erläuternde Konjunktion *nam* durch *enim* und übernimmt die Wendung *tempus perire* sowie die relativische Konstruktion. An die Stelle der *studia* setzt er die Metonymie *Musae* und verengt den Begriff auf die von den Musen begünstigte Literatur wie das Epos (Klio), heroische Gesänge und die Elegie (Kalliope) sowie Tragödie und Komödie (Melpomene und Thalia), Hymnen, Liebeslieder (Erato) und weitere (zu den Musen und ihren Tätigkeitsbereichen vgl. Konrad Schauenburg, 'Musen', in *Lexikon der Alten Welt*, hg. von Carl Andresen et al. (Zürich: Artemis, 1965), p. 2005).

60 Hae celebrant annos, hae celebrant homines: Der letzte Vers des Gedichtes erhält durch den Parallelismus und die doppelte Anapher *hae celebrant* einen feierlichen Klang: Es sind die Musen, die die Lebensjahre und die Menschen, ja die gesamte Menschheitsgeschichte, einzigartig machen, indem sie sie in ihren Werken besingen. Als Abschluss dieser Elegie schwingt in dem allgemeinen Lob der Dichtung auch eine Bewertung der eigenen Tätigkeit des Micyllus als Dichter mit. Mit dieser Elegie schließt er an die antike Tradition an und reiht Fichard schließlich unter den Menschen ein, die von den Musen gerühmt werden. Zu *celebrare* im Sinne von 'rühmen' und 'berühmt machen' durch Dichtung vgl. OLD, s.v. 'celebro', 6a: Hor., *carm.*, 1, 12, 1-2: 'quem virum aut heroa lyra vel acri | tibia sumis celebrare, Clio?'; *ars*, 287: '[poetae] celebrare domestica facta' und in Bezug auf die Musen vgl. Sasso, *epigrammaton libri*, 1, 67, 15: 'quam Musae celebrant, quam pulcher Apollo'. Zum Topos der Berühmtheit durch Dichtung, der sowohl im Hellenismus als auch in der römischen Dichtung verbreitet ist, vgl. Robin G. M. Nisbet – Margaret Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace: 'Odes' Book 2* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978) zu Hor., *carm.*, 2, 20, 14 und James C. McKeown, *Ovid: Amores. Text, Prolegomena and Commentary*, 3 vols (Leeds: Cairns, 1987-98) zu Ov., *am.*, 1, 3, 25-26: vgl. Catull., 95, 5: 'Zmyrna cavas Satrachi penitus mittetur ad undas'; Ov., *am.*, 1, 15, 13: 'Battiades semper toto cantabitur orbe'.

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EMBLEMA EX AESOPICA FABULA.
A PROPÓSITO DEL EMBLEMA *Εἰζας νικῶν*,
SIVE VICTRIX ANIMI AEQUITAS,

El médico y filólogo holandés Hadrianus Junius / Adriaen de Jonghe (1511-1575)¹ publicó su obra maestra filológica, la edición de Nonius Marcellus, *De proprietate sermonum*, en el mismo año, ciudad e imprenta que su libro *Emblemata, Ad D. Arnoldum Cobelium. Eiusdem Aenigmatum Libellus. Ad D. Arnoldum Rosenbergum* (Antuerpiae: ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1565)², con el que su autor se coloca entre los más precoces y distinguidos cultivadores del *genus emblematicum*.

¹ Para la biografía y obra emblemática de Junius, vid. Chris Heesakkers, 'Junius (Hadrianus) 1511-1575', en *Centuriae latinae. Cent une figures humanistes de la Renaissance aux Lumières offertes à Jacques Chomarat*, ed. Colette Nativel (Genève: Droz, 1997), pp. 449-455; Chris Heesakkers, 'Hadriani Iunii Medici Emblemata (1565)', en *Mundus Emblematicus. Studies in Neo-Latin Emblem Books*, eds. Karl A. E. Enenkel – Arnoud S.Q. Visser (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 33-69; Chris Heesakkers – Beatriz Antón, 'Herederos de Alciato en Holanda y España: Adriano Junio (*Emblemata*, 1565) y Juan de Solórzano Pereira (*Emblemata centum regio politica*, 1653)', *Minerva*, 16 (2002-2003), 131-172; Beatriz Antón, 'La simbología del león en los *Emblemata* de Adriano Junio', *Calamus Renascens*, 9 (2008), 65-98; Ead., 'Los *Emblemata* de Adriano Junio, el primer libro de emblemas holandés', en *Emblemática trascendente*, eds. R. Zafra – J. J. Azanza (Pamplona: SEE – Universidad de Pamplona, 2011), pp. 163-173; Dirk van Miert, *Hadrianus Junius (1511-1575). Een humanist uit Hoorn* (Hoorn: Bas Baltus, 2011); Beatriz Antón, 'Estudio introductorio' a la traducción española de los *Emblemata* de Hadrianus Junius (Zaragoza: Pórtico, 2013), pp. 25-108; y los trabajos incluidos en el libro *The Kaleidoscopic Scholarship of Hadrianus Junius (1511-1575): Northern Humanism at the Dawn of the Dutch Golden Age*, ed. Dirk van Miert (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2011), en particular para su faceta de emblematista son de gran interés las contribuciones de Ari Wesseling, 'Devices, Proverbs, Emblems: Hadrianus Junius' *Emblemata* in the Light of Erasmus' *Adagia*', pp. 214-259 [publicado antes en *Con parola breve e con figura. Emblemi e imprese fra antico e moderno*, eds. L. Bolzoni – S. Volterrani (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2008), pp. 87-133]; y Karl Enenkel, 'Emblematic Authorization – *Lusus Emblematicus*: the Function of Hadrianus Junius's Emblem Commentary and Early Commentaries on Alciato's *Emblematum libellus*', pp. 260-289; y Dirk van Miert, 'Epilogue: The Kaleidoscopic Scholarship of Hadrianus Junius', pp. 290-305.

² En efecto, como indica la portada principal, en el mismo volumen, tras los *Emblemata*, va una colección de adivinanzas con portada propia: *Hadriani Iunii Medici Aenigmatum*

De los 58 emblemas que conforman la *editio princeps*³ sólo uno, el nº XLIII, lleva doble *titulus*, en griego y en latín: Εἰξας νικῶν, *sive victrix animi aequitas* [Fig. 1], y está dedicado a Victor Giselinus (*Ad Victorem Giselinum*). Durante el año 1564 en que Junius preparaba la edición de sus *Emblemata*, Victor Gyselin / Ghyselinck (1539-1591)⁴, filólogo y doctor en medicina⁵, colaboraba en la *officina plantiniana* como lector de pruebas de imprenta; luego entró en el círculo de Cristóbal Plantino y publicó varios estudios filológicos.

Sabemos por el propio Junius⁶ que, junto con una carta (sin fecha), le envió a Giselinus un emblema que le había dedicado y que el destinatario reclamaba; pero Junius le expresa sus dudas de que dicho emblema responda al carácter de Giselinus, agregando que se lo envía con la condición de que, si no es de su agrado o lo considera inapropiado, lo queme o lo destruya como mejor le parezca.

El doble título del emblema, Εἰξας νικῶν ('Vencer cediendo')⁷ y *victrix animi aequitas* ('El triunfo de la constancia')⁸, se inspira en la divisa

Libellus, Ad virum clarissimum Arnoldum Rosenbergum Iurisconsultum (Antuerpiae: ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1565).

³ En la *editio quarta* (Leiden: C. Plantino – Amberes: C. Plantino, 1585) se añadieron al final cuatro emblemas más, de modo que el total de la colección consta de 62 emblemas.

⁴ Para la biografía y obra de Giselinus, vid. Paul O. Kristeller – Virginia Brown, *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin translations and commentaries* (Washington: CUA Press, 1992), VII, 281-282; y Chris Heesakkers, *Een netwerk aan de basis van de Leidse universiteit. Het album amicorum van Janus Dousa, facsimile-uitgave van hs. Leiden UB, BPL 1406* (Leiden: Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, 2000), pp. 180-183.

⁵ Su primer y único libro de medicina lo publicó en 1579 y se lo dedicó a su amigo Janus Dousa, quien a su vez era amigo de Junius; vid. Chris Heesakkers, *Praecedanea Dousana. Materials for a biography of Janus Dousa pater (1545-1604)* (Amsterdam: Holland U.P., 1976), pp. 5-111; Id., 'Lipsius, Dousa and Jan van Hout: Latin and the vernacular in Leiden in the 1570s and 1580s', en *Lipsius in Leiden. Studies in the Life and Works of a Great Humanist on the Occasion of his 450th Anniversary*, eds. Karl Enenkel – Chris Heesakkers (Voorthuizen: Florivallis, 1997), pp. 93-120.

⁶ Cf. *Epistolae, quibus accedit ejusdem vita et oratio de artium liberalium dignitate: numquam antea edita. Cum indice* (Dordrecht: V. Caimax, 1552 [1652]), pp. 263-264: 'Emblema quod flagitas tetrasticho, ut cetera omnia, circumscriptum, sed haud scio an genio tuo responsurum mitto ea lege atque omine ut si palato minus tuo fastidierit [= satisfecerit], si oculis tuis indignum fuerit, flammis aboleas rapacibus, aut digno alio interitu absumas'. Heesakkers, *'Hadriani Iunii Medici Emblemata* (1565)', p. 42.

⁷ Jacob Cats en *Emblemata moralia et aeconomica* [sic] (Rotterdam: P. van Waesberge, 1627) presenta un mote semejante en el emblema XXII, *Cedendo victor abibis* ('Cediendo, saldrás vencedor'), lema que reproduce un conocido *locus* ovidiano (*ars*, 2, 197): 'Cede repugnanti, cedendo victor abibis' ('Cede, si opone resistencia; cediendo, saldrás vencedor').

⁸ La expresión *Animi aequitas* implica asimismo cierta mansedumbre y docilidad de carácter, de ahí que se hayan señalado entre las fuentes de este emblema: Vulg. Luc.,

EMBLEMA XLIII.

49

Εἰς τὴν νικῶν, siue victrix animi æquitas.
Ad Victorem Giselinum.



*Vis Boreæ obnixas violento turbine sternit
 Ornos: Arundo infracta eandem despuat.
 Fit victor patiens animus cedendo furori:
 Insiste, Victor, hanc viam & re, & nomine.*
 D Bivium

[Fig. 1] H. Junius, *Emblemata* (Amberes, 1565).
 Archive: no copyright.

personal de Victor Giselinus, *Aequi animi astra praemium* ('El premio del ánimo constante es la gloria').

Dicha divisa fue incluida en el *Album amicorum* de Janus Dousa (fol. 29r) junto con el poema que Giselinus compuso para su amigo en julio de 1568⁹.

La *pictura* del emblema XLIII muestra un árbol cuyo tronco se rompe a causa del fuerte soplo del viento, mientras unas cañas sólo se doblégan a su paso¹⁰. En el epigrama que hace de *subscriptio* (un hexámetro y un senario yámbico repetidos) se describe el grabado y se expone la admonición, aprovechando el significado del nombre del dedicatario (*Victor*):

Vis Boreae obnixas violento turbine¹¹ sternit
Ornos: Arundo infracta¹² eandem despuir.
Fit victor patiens animus cedendo furori:
Insiste, Victor, hanc viam & re, & nomine.¹³

En el comentario correspondiente (pp. 133-134), Junius no empieza — como en otros emblemas — describiendo el metro y enumerando sus fuentes filológicas¹⁴, sino que sin más preámbulos pasa a exponer su significado simbólico. El poder destructor de la tormenta, capaz de aniquilar cuanto se le opone, es igual a la envidia:

Ut fulminis, ita & procellae eadem est fere natura & vis, ut validissima quaeque ac renitentia sternant, evertant, dissipent. Idem est livoris ingenium.¹⁵

1, 52 ('Deposuit potentes de sede, et exaltavit humiles') y 14, 11 ('quia omnis, qui se exaltat, humiliabitur: et qui se humiliat, exaltabitur'); cf. Arthur Henkel – Albrecht Schöne, *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* 2ª ed. (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1996), cols. 150-151. Geoffrey Whitney en *A Choice of Emblems* (Leiden: C. Plantino, 1586, embl. 220) simplificó el título del emblema de Junius por *Vincit qui patitur* ('Vence quien resiste pacientemente'); vid. Chris Heesakkers, 'Geoffrey Whitney's use of Hadrianus Junius' *Emblemata*', en *Living in Posterity. Essays in honour of Bart Westerweel*, eds. B. Westerweel – J. F. van Dijkhuizen et al. (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2004), pp. 139-146 (pp. 141-142).

⁹ Cf. Heesakkers, *Een netwerk aan de basis van de Leidse universiteit*, pp. 178-179.

¹⁰ Reproducido en Henkel – Schöne, *Emblemata*, cols. 150-151.

¹¹ Para *violento turbine*, vid. Luc., *B.C.*, 5, 611.

¹² Para *harundo infracta*, vid. Verg., *Aen.*, 12, 387.

¹³ 'La fuerza del Bóreas arranca los fresnos con violento torbellino. La caña irrompible desprecia esa misma fuerza. El ánimo paciente logra vencer cediendo a la furia. Sigue, Víctor, este camino de acuerdo con tu vida y con tu nombre'. El autor sigue el tópico de equipar la furia de los elementos a la furia humana.

¹⁴ Son las dos primeras categorías de las cuatro que en los *Emblemata* de Junius distingue Karl A. E. Enenkel, 'The Neo-Latin Emblem: Humanist Learning, Classical Antiquity, and the Virtual "Wunderkammer"', en *Companion to Emblem Studies*, ed. Peter M. Daly (New York: AMS, 2008), pp. 129-153 (pp. 133-134).

¹⁵ 'El poder natural del rayo y el de la tormenta son casi idénticos, pues abaten, derriban y destruyen lo más fuerte y resistente. Tal es la condición de la envidia'.

En cambio, la caña, al doblarse y soportar pacientemente el embate de los vientos, simboliza el ánimo dócil y resignado:

Contra arundinem contumacem adversus saevientium nimborum impetus,
domitricemque ruentis caeli videmus, nec aliis armis, quam patientia qua-
dam tutam.¹⁶

La aplicación (*usus*) del argumento se basa en la conveniencia de seguir la idea estoica de la fortaleza y la constancia de ánimo frente a las adversidades y la maldad humana:

Neque vero alia est aequitatis animi ratio, quae invicto robore despuat ac
preferendo invidiam ceteraque mala superat, gloriae immortalis quaestu
opulentissima; ubi temeritas succumbit, quam laudem invenit, saepius.¹⁷

Según Junius, quien con paciencia se apoya valientemente en la honestidad ('Qui vitae honestati innititur fortiter patiens'), vive seguro y vence contundentemente a los enemigos ('is et tute vivit, & de inimicis triumphat serio'), e incluso tal persona suele contar con la ayuda de la fortuna, según dijo Cornificio ('talique fortuna etiam adiumento esse solet, quod Cornificius dixit'). Las palabras 'fortitudini fortunam quoque esse adiumento solere' proceden de la *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (3, 9, 1), obra atribuida entre otros a aquel Cornificio de quien habla Quintiliano (3, 1, 21; 9, 3, 89), y que remeda la conocida máxima del comediógrafo: *Fortes* (o *audaces*) *Fortuna* (*adiuvat*) (Ter., *Phorm.*, 203).¹⁸

El emblematista apela al concepto estoico de *constantia* en términos similares a los que años después empleará Justus Lipsius, uno de los principales transmisores del estoicismo romano.¹⁹ En efecto, en el libro I, cap. IV de su tratado *De constantia* (Amberes / Leiden: C. Plantino, 1584) llama constancia 'a una firme e inmutable fortaleza de ánimo, que ni se envanece ni se humilla por circunstancias externas o fortuitas' ('constantiam hic appello rectum et immotum robur animi, non elati externis aut fortuitis non depressi'); líneas después señala que la verda-

¹⁶ 'Por el contrario, vemos que la caña se muestra firme frente al ímpetu de los enfurecidos nubarrones y triunfa sobre el cielo que se desploma, sin que la protejan más armas que su paciencia'.

¹⁷ 'No es diferente la naturaleza de la entereza de ánimo, la cual con fuerza invencible y perseverante desprecia la envidia y triunfa sobre los restantes infortunios, y es la más opulenta por alcanzar la gloria inmortal más a menudo cuando su temeridad sucumbe que cuando logra la alabanza'.

¹⁸ Vid. Renzo Tosi, *Dizionario delle sentenze latine e greche* (Milano: BUR, 1997¹⁴), n° 851.

¹⁹ Vid. Gerhard Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State*, transl. D. McLintock (Cambridge-London, etc.: Cambridge U.P., 1982), pp. 13-131.

dera madre de la constancia es la paciencia (*patientia*) y la humildad (*demissio animi*).

Una característica de Junius es que suele hacer indicaciones precisas sobre el diseño de las *picturae*²⁰, como sucede en este emblema, que concluye con esta plástica descripción: 'La razón del dibujo es evidente ('*Picturae ratio obvia est*')': cuando el viento sopla con los carrillos hinchados ('*ubi ventus aliquis tumidis buccis inspirans*'), parte por la mitad a los grandes árboles y, arrancándolos de raíz, los abate ('*ingentes arbores et confringit medias, & revulsas radicitus profligat*'), mientras que el cañaveral permanece ileso ('*illaeso perstante arundineto*')'.

La fuente del emblema, que el autor pasa en silencio seguramente por parecerle demasiado obvia para sus lectores, es una fábula esópica de larga tradición: la del junco, *arundo*, y el olivo, *olea* (en Esopo y Babrio; en Aviano es la encina, *quercus*²¹). Es muy factible, además, que Junius hubiera visto esta fábula plasmada en imágenes, ya que la invención de la imprenta trajo consigo una gran proliferación de libros de fábulas ilustradas²², datándose los primeros en el último cuarto del siglo XV. En efecto, Albrecht Pfister (ca. 1420 - ca. 1466) publicó en 1461 en Bamberg el (posiblemente) primer libro ilustrado, *Der Edelstein*, del dominico suizo Ulrich Boner, que reunía cien fábulas de tradición esópica, heredadas del *Romulus*, acompañadas de 103 xilografías.²³ No mucho después, el médico alemán Heinrich Steinhöwel (1412-1482) publicó, entre 1476 y 1477 en Ulm, una versión bilingüe (latín / alemán) con todas las fábulas que encontró atribuidas a Esopo, Aviano y otros muchos autores, encabezada por una biografía de Esopo de procedencia bizantina; el impresor Johan Zainer enriqueció el libro con abundantes ilustraciones,

²⁰ Vid. Antón, 'Los *Emblemata* de Adriano Junio', p. 167; Ead., 'Estudio introductorio', pp. 60-63.

²¹ Esta fábula pertenece a aquellas de tradición compleja en que Aviano deriva de Babrio; cf. Francisco Rodríguez Adrados, *Historia de la fábula greco-latina (II). La fábula en época imperial romana y medieval* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1985), pp. 247-258.

²² Ya en las colecciones medievales de fábulas las ilustraciones siempre desempeñaron un papel importante; vid. Barbara Tiemann, *Fabel und Emblem, Gilles Corrozet und die französische Renaissance – Fabel* (Munich: W. Fink, 1974), p. 23. En Francia se contabilizan 14 colecciones de fábulas en 49 manuscritos, principalmente de los siglos XIV y XV; cf. George Ch. Keidel, 'The History of French Fable Manuscripts', *Publications of the Modern Language of America*, 24/2 (1909), 207-219.

²³ Ed. facs.: U. Boner, *Der Edelstein*, Bamberg, Albrecht Pfister, 1561 (*Faksimile der ersten Druckausgabe Bamberg 1461. 16. 1 Eth. 2o der Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel*. Einleitung von Doris Fouquet (Stuttgart: Müller u. Schindler, 1972).

quizá del maestro Jörg Syrlin el Viejo. A este incunable, que carece de título, índice y datación, se le conoce como el *Ulmer Aesop*.²⁴ Fue entonces cuando la fábula, género popular y proto-emblemático, podía ofrecer la forma tripartita del emblema canónico, a saber, un título, una *pictura* y un texto explicativo de carácter moral, constituyendo un emblema 'avant la lettre'.²⁵

En el siglo XVI, tras la publicación del *Emblematum Liber* de Andreas Alciatus, que se nutre igualmente de Esopo²⁶, se establece una mayor conexión entre el género emblemático y el fabulístico²⁷, pues en ocasiones

²⁴ Ed. facs.: *Aesops Leben und Fabeln sowie Fabeln und Schwänke anderer Herkunft Lateinisch herausgegeben und ins Deutsche übersetzt von Heinrich Steinhöwel. – Ulm: Johannes Zainer d. Ä. [ca. 1476/1477], Kommentar von Peter Amelung* (Ludwigsburg: Graz, Art-Buchbinderei, 1995). Véase Charles L. Küster, *Illustrierte Aesop-Ausgaben des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (Hamburg: [s. n.], 1970); Claude Dalbante – Eugénie Droz, *Les subtiles fables d'Esoppe. Lyon Mathieu Husz 1468. Notice de J. Bastin. Etude sur l'illustration des fables par C. Dalbante et E. Droz. Traduction de l'allemand en français par J. Macho* (Lyon: Ass. Guillaume Le Roy, 1926), pp. 158-162; Wolfgang Metzner – Paul Raabe e.a., *Das illustrierte Fabelbuch* (Hamburg, Maximilian-Gesellschaft, 1998, 2 vols.). En España la edición más antigua es el *Isopete historiado* (Zaragoza, 1482), que remite al *Ulmer Aesop*; vid. Carmen Navarro, 'El incunable de 1482 y las ediciones del *Isopete* en España', *Quaderni di Lingue e Letterature*, 15 (1990), 157-164; María José Lacarra, 'La fortuna del *Isopete* en España', en *Actas del XIII Congreso Internacional Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval* (Valladolid, 15 a 19 de septiembre de 2009), *In Memoriam Alan Deyermond*, eds. J. M. Fradejas – D. Dietrick et alii (Valladolid: Ayuntamiento de Valladolid – Universidad de Valladolid, 2010, 2 vols.), I, 107-134; Antón Alvar – Constance Carta – Sarah Finci, 'El retrato de Esopo en los *Isopetes* incunables: Imagen y texto', *Revista de Filología Española* (RFE), 91, 2 (2011), 233-260.

²⁵ Alvan Bregman, *Emblemata. The Emblem Books of Andrea Alciati. A Leaf Book, with Eight New Emblems by Henricus de Nova Villa* (Newtown: Bird & Bull Press, 2007), p. 51.

²⁶ Mason Tung, 'A Serial List of Aesopic Fables in Alciati's *Emblemata*, Whitney's *A Choice of Emblems*, and Peacham's *Minerva Britannia*', *Emblematica. An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies*, 2/2 (1989), 315-329.

²⁷ Para las conexiones entre fábula y emblema, vid. Tiemann, *Fabel und Emblem*; Monika Hueck, *Textstruktur und Gattungssystem: Studien zum Verhältnis von Emblem und Fabel im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Kronberg: Scriptor, 1975); José Miguel Morales Folgueras, 'La fábula clásica como fuente de inspiración para la Emblemática', en *Actas del I Simposio Internacional de Emblemática* (Teruel: Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, 1994), pp. 279-303; Francisco Talavera Esteso, 'El motivo de la fábula en la emblemática y el comentario del Brocense a los *Emblemata* de Alciato', en "*Así dijo la zorra*". *La tradición fabulística en los pueblos del Mediterráneo*, eds. A. Pérez Jiménez – G. Cruz Andreotti (Madrid – Málaga: Ediciones Clásicas & Charta Antiqua, 2002), pp. 239-275; Antonio Bernat Vistarini, '*Emblema in fabula*. El sabio instruido de la naturaleza de Francisco Garau', en *Los días del Alción. Emblemas, Literatura y Arte en el Siglo de Oro*, eds. A. Bernat Vistarini – J. T. Cull (Barcelona: UIB – J. J. Olañeta, 2002), pp. 83-91; Antonio Bernat – Tamas Sajó, '*Imago Veritatis*. La circulación de la imagen simbólica entre

los mismos autores (v. gr. G. Corrozet)²⁸ y los mismos impresores (v. gr. C. Plantino)²⁹ realizaban tanto libros de fábulas como libros de emblemas. Por lo tanto, nuestro emblematista tenía a su alcance notables ejemplos de libros de fábulas ilustrados a la manera de los libros de emblemas, entre los que merecen señalarse, junto a los citados *Der Edelstein* y el *Ulmer Aesop*, el temprano *Les Fables du tresancien Esope Phrigien* (Paris: Denis Ianot, 1542) de Gilles Corrozet, quien recoge el motivo del junco y del olivo en la fábula LXXXI, *Du Roseau, et de l'Oliuier*, dirigida contra los orgullosos (*Contre les orgueilleux*) [Fig. 2].

Un caso singular, y que bien puede considerarse un precedente del *emblemata triplex*, lo ofrece el magnífico Esopo publicado por Iacobus de Phortzheim en 1501 en Basilea, que conserva los grabados y textos latinos en prosa del *Ulmer Aesop*, pero realzado ahora con los versos del humanista y poeta Sebastian Brant: *Esopi appologi [sic] sive mythologi cum quibusdam carminum et fabularum additionibus Sebastiani Brant*. En la fábula esópica objeto de nuestro estudio, el olivo (árbol mediterráneo) ha sido sustituido por un abeto (árbol propio de zonas frías) [Fig. 3]. El grabado, que reproduce el de la fábula *De abiete et harundine* / 'Fabel von der Tanner und den Tot' del libro de Steinhöwel³⁰, es muy semejante al de Junio, ya que el viento aparece representado como un rostro humano con los carrillos hinchados (aunque aquí está además soplando una trompa³¹). Sin embargo, a diferencia de la interpretación estoica de esta fábula que ofrece Junio, aquí la interpretación religiosa es patente en la parte versificada de Brant:

De abiete et harundine

Deijcit excelsa dominus de sede superbos

Atque humiles alta collocat arce deus.³²

fábula y emblema', *Studia Aurea. Revista de Literatura Española y Teoría Literaria del Renacimiento y Siglo de Oro*, 1 (2007).

<http://www.studiaoarea.com/articulo.php?id=46>

²⁸ Tiemann, *Fabel und Emblem*; Alison Saunders, *The Sixteenth-Century French Emblem Book. A Decorative and Useful Genre* (Genève: Droz, 1988); Ead., *The Seventeenth-Century French Emblem: A Study in Diversity* (Genève: Droz, 2000), pp. 21-64.

²⁹ John Landwehr, *Emblem and Fable Books Printed in the Low Countries 1542-1813. A Bibliography* (Utrecht: H&S, 1988), pp. 406-407; Saunders, *The Sixteenth-Century French Emblem Book*, p. 40; Karen L. Bowen – Dirk Imhof, *Christopher Plantin and Engraved Book Illustrations in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2008), pp. 192-193; 294-300.

³⁰ Cf. Lib. IV, fab. XX, fol. 146v-147r (grabado en fol. 147r).

³¹ Tal como se ve en el arte bizantino, pasando después al Renacimiento; vid. Raimond van Marle, *Iconographie de l'art profane au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1971), II, 294-297.

³² Cf. Vulg. Luc., 1, 52: 'Deposuit potentes de sede et exaltavit humiles'.

Qui se stare putat firmum: meditetur ab inde
 Se quoque casurum: dum sua fata vocant.
 Despiciat miseros nec enim diuesve potensve.
 Perpetuo nescit sors habitare loco.
 Sepe cadit cedrus libani: fortesque cupressi
 Stare humilis poterit forsán harundo diu.³³

e igualmente en la explicación en prosa, que es la del *Ulmer Aesop* (fol. 146v):

Qui superbo et duro corde sunt: et nolunt se subdere domino suo / solet eis euenire sicut arbori abietis / que vento veniente noluit se flectere. Stetit autem iuxta eam harundo que vento veniente / flectebatur in quamcumque partem ventus eam mouebat. Et dixit ad eam abies / quare non stas firmiter sicut et ego. Respondit harundo: non est virtus mea vt tua. Et dixit ad eam abies Et ideo scire potes quia fortior sum te. Venit autem ventus validus et abietem proiecit in terram: harundinem vero dimisit. Sic sepe elati proijciuntur dum humiles manent erecti.³⁴

Gran celebridad alcanzó la pulcra colección de fábulas ilustradas de Gabriele Faerno, *Fabulae Centum ex antiquis auctoribus delectae* (Romae: Vincentius Luchinus, 1563), donde el grabado, muy tosco, ocupa una página y el texto en verso ocupa otra. La fábula *Canna, et Oliva* (nº 50) ofrece una enseñanza práctica similar a la del emblema de Junius: la necesidad de ceder ante los que son más fuertes y poderosos que nosotros:

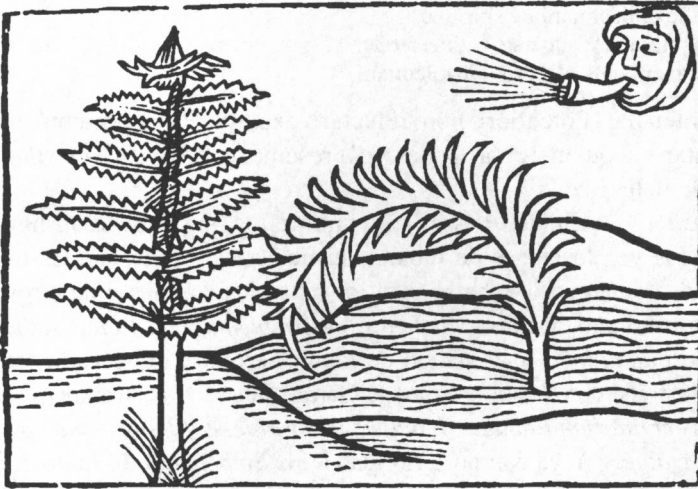
De honore firmitatis, atque uirium
 Canna, atque oliua litigantes, inuicem
 Grauiissimas dixere contumelias.
 Atque adeo, tu ne inepta te praeponere
 Audes mihi, aut certare mecum? oliua ait:
 Ego stipite inconcussa robustissimo,
 Telluris in profunda radices ago:
 Tu caule lento, tanquam olus, summo in solo
 Haeres; & omni obnoxia aurae fluctuas.

³³ 'El Señor expulsó a los soberbios de su sede, Dios colocó a los humildes en su alta fortaleza. Quien crea que está seguro, considere que también él caerá de allí cuando la muerte lo llame. Así pues, que ni el rico ni el poderoso desprecien a los desdichados. La suerte no sabe habitar un lugar a perpetuidad. A menudo caen el cedro del líbano y los fuertes cipreses. La humilde caña tal vez consiga mantenerse en pie durante mucho tiempo'.

³⁴ 'A quienes son de corazón duro y soberbio, y no quieren obedecer a su Dios, suele acontecerles como al abeto que no quiso doblegarse ante el fuerte viento. Junto a él está una caña que se doblegaba ante el fuerte viento en cualquier dirección que éste la llevaba. Le preguntó a ésta el abeto: "¿Por qué no eres tan firme como yo?" Le respondió la caña: "Mi condición no es como la tuya". Replicó el abeto: "Has de saber, además, que soy más fuerte que tú". Se desencadenó un potente vendaval y derribó el abeto, pero dejó la caña. Así a menudo los altaneros son abatidos, mientras los humildes permanecen en pie'.



[Fig. 2] G. Corrozet, *Les Fables du tresancien Esope Phrigien* (Paris, 1542).
Gallica: domaine public.



De abiete et barundine.

Eijcit excelsa dominus de sede superbos
 Atq; humiles alta collocat arce deus.
 Qui se stare putat firmum: meditetur ab inde
 Se quoq; casurum: dum sua fata vocant.
 Despicat miseros nec enim dives ve potens ve,
 Perpetuo nescit fors habitare loco.
 Sepe cadit cedrus libani: fortetq; cupressi
 Stare humilis poterit forsitan barundo diu.

[Fig. 3] *Esopi appologi sive mythologi cum quibusdam carminum et fabularum additionibus Sebastiani Brant* (Basilea, 1501).

Library of Congress: no copyright.

Haec illa cum iactaret insolentius,
 Tandem immodestis canna parcens litibus,
 Silentium egit, tempus expectans suum.
 Ecce autem atroci turbine eurus impotens
 Incubuit aruis: cui cum oliua improuide
 Obniteretur, fracta procubuit solo.
 At canna cedens ultro, & huc illuc leui
 Inflexa declinatione spiritus,
 Incolumis & superstes aduersariae,
 Grauem eius olim risit insolentiam.³⁵

La sentencia 'Potentiori non reluctari expedit' ('No es conveniente enfrentarse a quien es más poderoso') resume, a modo de *epimythium*, la 'morale della favola'.

El taller 'De Gulden Passer' fue uno de los que publicaron libros de emblemas y colecciones de fábulas ilustradas, de suerte que las mismas planchas podían aprovecharse para los grabados de unos y de otros. Así, en el mismo año en que aparecieron los *Emblemata* de Junius salía de la *officina plantiniana* una edición de fábulas esópicas y de varios autores más, ilustrada con 74 xilografías de Gerard Janssen van Kempen: *Aesopi Phrygis et aliorum Fabulae, Iconibus illustratae, & latinius quam antehac interpretatae*.³⁶ Y ya con posterioridad a los *Emblemata* de Junio, esto es, a partir de 1567, también vieron la luz varias ediciones de las *Fabulae Centum* de Gabriele Faerno³⁷, en las que, en el caso concreto de la fábula *Canna, & Oliua*, los versos arriba transcritos van seguidos de este *explicit*:

Disceptabant de fortitudine, robore, & constantia olea, seu quercus (nihil enim refert) & arundo. Cum autem olea siue quercus arundini exprobraret mobilitatem, & quod ad quamuis illa exiguum auram tremeret, tacuit arundo. Non ita diu post, ingruentibus ventis, & resistente flatibus ipsorum vel olea vel quercu, ab horum illa vi errata & dissipata fuit, arundo autem submissione sua integritatem conseruauit.³⁸

³⁵ 'Mientras una caña y un olivo disputaban sobre el honor de la constancia y de la fuerza, se profirieron mutuamente graves injurias. Dice además el olivo: "¿acaso tú, necia, osas anteponte a mí o rivalizar conmigo? Yo soy imbatible por mi robustísimo tronco y hundo mis raíces profundamente en la tierra. Tú, como las hortalizas, eres de tallo flexible, creces a flor de suelo y fluctúas expuesta a cualquier ráfaga de viento." Una vez que el olivo le espetó tales palabras lleno de jactancia, la caña guardó silencio obviando sus insolentes reproches. Pero he aquí que un fuerte Euro se extendió con terrible torbellino por los campos, y el olivo, como imprudentemente opusiera resistencia, se quebró y cayó por tierra. En cambio, la caña, como cedía voluntariamente y se doblaba hacia acá y hacia allá según la dirección de las rápidas rachas de viento, intacta y sobreviviendo a su adversario se burló de la molesta insolencia mostrada antes por el olivo'.

³⁶ Landwehr, *Emblem and Fable books*, p. 322.

³⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 346-348.

³⁸ 'Discutían sobre la valentía, la fuerza y la constancia un olivo o una encina (pues da igual) y una caña. Como el olivo o la encina le censurase a la caña su flexibilidad y el

Amén de los libros de fábulas ilustrados, Junius pudo encontrar el motivo de la fábula esópica en otro género que gozó de extraordinario auge en los siglos XVI y XVII, el género de las empresas (*divises*). No en vano la divisa, como ‘nudo de expresión elíptica en sentido metafórico asociado a objetos simbólicos, en relación con un individuo y su historia privada, puede proporcionar materia emblemática particularmente rica y compleja.’³⁹ Pero, en contraste con el emblema, que tiende a una aplicación general de aquello que formula simbólicamente, la divisa tiende a lo particular de una persona, en tanto que busca expresar ingeniosamente los objetivos, deseos y propósitos personales, o bien el carácter del individuo que adopta una determinada divisa como suya.⁴⁰

Junius — quien conocía el italiano desde su estancia en Italiana (1538-1540) — es muy probable que, para componer este emblema, hubiese tenido delante asimismo el *Dialogo dell'impresa militari e amorose* de Paolo Giovio (1483-1552)⁴¹, escrito en 1551 y publicado en Roma en 1555⁴²; la primera edición con ilustraciones es la de G. Rouillé (Lyon, 1559).⁴³

La empresa de la celeberrima familia Colonna está presidida por el dibujo de un cañaveral con una filacteria que encierra el lema *Flectimur*,

que ésa temblara ante el viento, por muy débil que soplara, guardó silencio la caña. No mucho después, cuando se desató un vendaval y el olivo o la encina hizo frente a sus ráfagas, el árbol fue arrancado de raíz y abatido por la fuerza del viento; en cambio, la caña, doblegándose, resultó indemne’.

³⁹ Anne Rolet, ‘Aux sources de l’emblème: blasons et devises’, *Littérature*, 145 (2007), 53-78 (p. 68).

⁴⁰ Mario Praz, *Imágenes del Barroco. Estudios de Emblemática* (trad. J. M^a Parrueño, Madrid: Siruela, 2005²), pp. 16-66; Alison Saunders, ‘When Is It a Device and When Is It an Emblem: Theory and Practice (but Mainly the Latter) in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France’, *Emblematica. An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies*, 7, 2 (1993), 239-257 (pp. 241-242); John Manning, *The Emblem* (London: Reaktion Books, 2004), p. 77; Liana de Girolami Cheney, ‘The impresa in the Italian Renaissance’, en *Companion to Emblem Studies*, ed. Daly, pp. 251-266 (p. 257); Peter Daly, *Literature in the Light of the Emblem*, 2^a ed. (Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp. 27-30.

⁴¹ Dorigen Caldwell, ‘Studies in Sixteenth-Century Italian Imprese’, *Emblematica. An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies*, 11 (2001), 1-257 (pp. 13-50).

⁴² El texto fue reeditado muchas veces; vid. Guido Arbizzoni, ‘Imprese as Emblems: the European reputation of an “Italian” Genre’, en *The Italian Emblem: A Collection of Essays*, eds. D. Mansueto – E. L. Calogero (Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies, 2007), pp. 1-32 (p. 1 n. 1); S. Sonia Maffei, ‘Giovio’s *Dialogo delle imprese militari e amorose* and the Museum’, en *The Italian Emblem*, pp. 33-64 (p. 35 n. 9); Girolami, ‘The impresa in the Italian Renaissance’, pp. 255; 259.

⁴³ Sin embargo, Junius no nombra a Giovio en el elenco de autores utilizados que cierra sus *Emblemata*, citando entre los modernos sólo a Erasmo y a Lilio G. Gyraldi.

non frangimur undis ('Nos doblamos, no nos rompemos con las olas')⁴⁴ [Fig. 4]. Giovio informa sobre el origen de la *impresa* de los Colonna: éstos, expulsados de Roma por el papa Alejandro VI, prefirieron refugiarse en el reino de Nápoles y en Sicilia, cosa que se negaron a hacer los Orsini y por ello acabaron eliminados; en cambio, los Colonna 'capearon el temporal', confiando en que, tras esta desafortunada etapa, vendrían tiempos mejores.

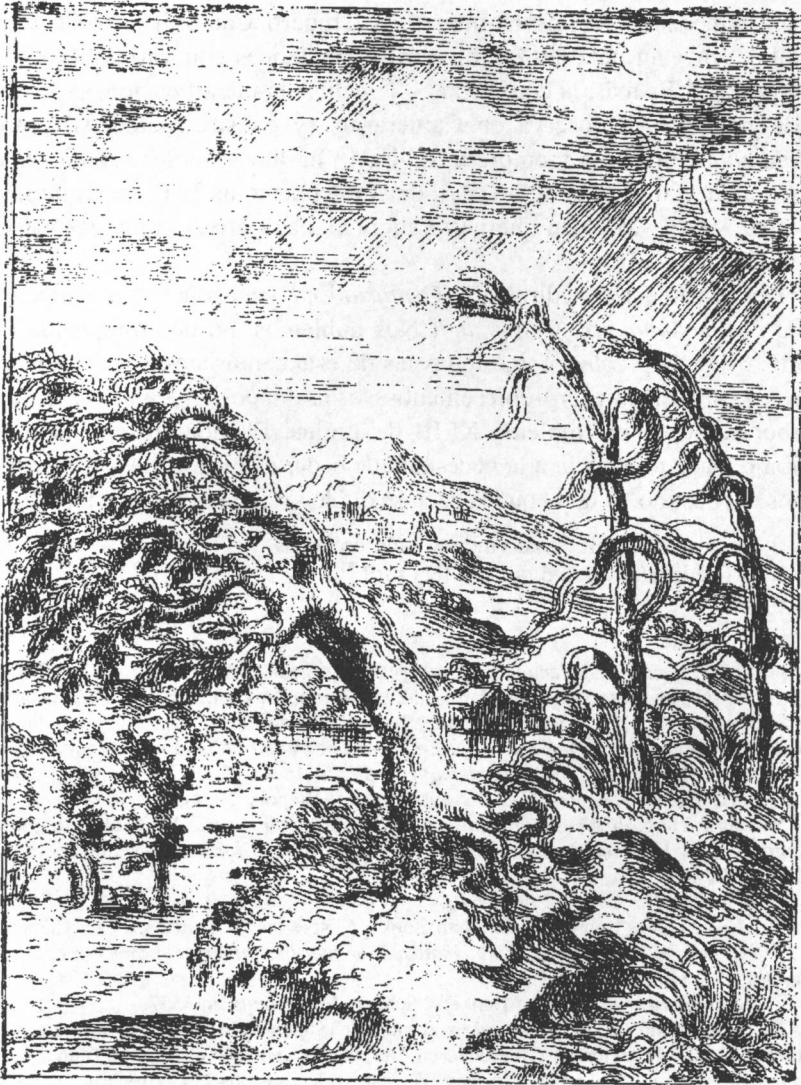
La invención de esta empresa — declara Giovio — se debió al ingenio del poeta napolitano Jacopo Sannazzaro (1456-1530):

I Signori Colonnese be portarono vna [sc. impresa], laquale seruuiua vniversalmente per tutto i ceppo fatta in quello estermínio di Papa Alexandro contro i Baroni Romani, perche furon costretti tutti col Cardinal Giouanni à fuggirsi di Roma, e ricouerarono parte nel Regno di Napoli e parte in Sicilia; nel quale caso parue, che prendessero miglior partito, che non haueuan fatto i Signori Orsini, hauendo eglino eletto di voler più tosto perder la robe e lo stato, che commetter la vita all' arbitrio di sanguinosissimi Tiranni. Ilche non seppero far gli Orsini, i quali perciò ne restarono disfatti e miserabilmente strozzati. L'impresa fù, ch'essi voleuano dire, che anchor che la fortuna gli perseguitasse, egli sbatesse, essi però restauano anchor viui, e con isperanza che passata l'asprezza della burasca, s'hauessero à rileuare. Fù dico l'impresa al quanti giunchi in mezo d'vna palude turbata da' venti, la natura de' quali è di piegarsi, mà non già di rompersi per impetto dell'onde ò di venti: era il motto; FLECTIMVR, NON FRANGIMVR VNDIS. DOM. Io giudico Mons. che questa inuentione, (e fusse di chi si volesse), sia bellissima, e compita d'anima e di corpo. GIO. E io credo, anzi tengo per fermo ch'ella vscisse dell'ingegno di M. Iacopo Sannazzaro poeta chiarissimo, e molto fauorito del Rè Federigo, dal quale furono raccolti e stipendiati i Colonnese; e dopò qu'esso Rè fù cacciato, s'accostarono al gran Capitano. (*Dialogo delle imprese militari e amorose* (Lyon: G. Rouille, 1559), pp. 64-65).

Teniendo en cuenta que los símbolos viajan de un género a otro, contribuyendo así a crear un patrimonio de imágenes empleadas en los libros

⁴⁴ Se trata de un *locus communis* que no sólo constituye el argumento del emblema XLIII de Hadrianus Junius (el lema podría haber sido FLECTIMVR, NON FRANGIMVR INVIDIA, pero eso no sólo haría a Junius pecar de explícito, sino que privaría al lector del placer de adivinar el verdadero significado del emblema); este *locus*, utilizado por el humanista alcañizano Juan Lorenzo Palmireno (1524-1579), ha sido escogido como logotipo del Instituto de Estudios Humanísticos con sede en Alcañiz (Teruel); vid. José M^a Maestre, 'Prólogo', *Calamus Renascens*, 1 (2000), p. 8; Santiago Sebastián, 'La influencia emblemática de Giovio sobre el humanista turolense Palmireno', en *El arte aragonés y sus relaciones con el hispánico e internacional. Actas del III Congreso de arte aragonés. Huesca, 19-21 de diciembre de 1983*, Sección II (Huesca: Diputación Provincial, 1985), pp. 201-213 (p. 207).

CANNA, ET OLIVA.



[Fig. 4] G. Faerno, *Fabulae Centum ex antiquis auctoribus delectae* (Roma, 1563).

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de emblemas y en las colecciones de empresas, se impone dar un considerable salto en el tiempo para — dentro de la *traditio* de los *Emblemata* de Junius — llegar al médico alemán Joachim Camerarius *Iunior* (1534-1598), cuyas *Symbolorum et Emblematum Centuriae Quatuor* (Norinbergae: impensis Johannis Hofmanni, & Huberti Camoxij, 1590[1593]-1604)⁴⁵ revelan notables similitudes y conexiones con varios libros de empresas.⁴⁶ Es más, la confusión — e incluso la identificación — terminológica que se observa en Camerarius (y en sus coetáneos) entre *symbolum*, emblema y empresa (divisa)⁴⁷, ha llevado a los estudiosos a preguntarse si se trata de un libro de emblemas, o un libro de empresas, o ambos a la vez⁴⁸, sin que hasta ahora se haya ofrecido una respuesta satisfactoria.

Nuestra atención se dirige a la *Centuria Vna*, y en concreto al emblema XCV, *Flectimur non frangimur* ('Nos doblamos, no nos rompemos')⁴⁹ [Fig. 5], cuya *pictura*, como todas las de esta centuria está elaborada *ex re herbaria*. Aparecen representados varios juncos (o cañas), y no un árbol como en el emblema XLIII de Junius. El monodístico, bajo el dibujo, hace referencia a la necesidad de ceder estoicamente a los designios del destino, al igual que la caña se doblaga sumisa ante la tempestad:

Flectitur obsequio⁵⁰, sic vincit arundo procellas.
Laeditur adversum qui sua fata furit.⁵¹

⁴⁵ Vid. *Symbola et Emblemata (Nürnberg 1590 bis 1604)*. Mit Einführung und Registern herausgegeben von Wolfgang Harms und Ulla-Britta Kuechen, 2 vols. (Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck – u. Verlagsanstalt, 1986-1988; introd. en vol. 2); y Jan Papy, 'Joachim Camerarius's *Symbolorum et Emblematum Centuriae Quatuor*: From Natural Sciences to Moral', en *Mundus Emblematicus. Studies in Neo-Latin Emblem Books*, eds. Karl A. E. Enenkel – Arnoud S.Q. Visser (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 201-234.

⁴⁶ Mason Tung, 'Joachim Camerarius's *Symbola et emblemata*: A Study of the Impresa Connections', *Emblematica. An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies*, 19/2 (1996), 309-344.

⁴⁷ Manning, *The Emblem*, pp. 15-16.

⁴⁸ Mason Tung, 'Impresa or Emblem Book? A Note on the Confusion over Cameraarius' *Symbola et Emblemata*', *Emblematica. An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies*, 19/2 (1996), 423-435.

⁴⁹ Reproducen este emblema Henkel – Schöne, *Emblemata*, col. 357.

⁵⁰ La expresión *Flectitur obsequio* y el mote de este emblema XCV nos llevan a otro emblema, pero de argumento diferente, en esta misma Centuria, el n° XXI, titulado: *Vi frangitur, obsequio flectitur* (Ovid., *ars*. 279-280: 'Flectitur obsequio curvatus ab arbore ramus: l frangis, si vires experiere tuas'). Para este motivo, vid. Henkel – Schöne, *Emblemata*, cols. 152-153.

⁵¹ 'Se doblaga con condescendencia: así vence la caña a las tormentas. Se perjudica quien se muestra airado contra su destino'.



[Fig. 5] P. Giovio, *Dialogo dell'impresie militari e amorose* (Lyon, 1559).
 Empresa de la familia Colonna.
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En el comentario que, en la página vuelta, acompaña el emblema, informa Camerarius sobre el origen de la divisa (*symbolum*) de la familia Colonna, cuya autoría atribuye al poeta napolitano Jacobo Sannazario:

Cum Alexandri Sexti Pontificis Romani temporibus, familia Columnensium amplissima ac potentissima, ex urbe exacta, ac omnibus bonis & honoribus spoliata esset, idque propter causas nonnullas, quas hic recensere non est operae pretium: omnes ex illa concesserunt in Regnum Neapolitanum, cujus Reges semper singulari favore ipsos sunt persecuti; Perque hoc symbolum satis quidem aperte demonstrare voluerunt, quod etiam si fortuna eo tempore plurimum illis adversaretur, & gravissime ipsos premeret, nihilominus ita satis afflicti, generosum tamen animum nullo modo deponentes, nonnihil quidem adversariorum furori ac vehementiae ad tempus cedere vellent, ita tamen ut non dubitarent, suorum constantia ac magnanimitate, post tot procellas ac tam graves tempestates rursum ad pristinam dignitatem sese perventuros esse. Quod etiam paulo post contigit, posteaquam Fredericus Rex Neapolitanus ipsos in suam fidem

recepisset, ac amplis stipendijs auxisset. Ajunt autem hujus symboli autorem fuisse doctissimum virum ac celeberrimum poetam Iacobum Sannazarium.⁵²

Camerarius, como otras tantas veces, no declara la fuente del emblema, que nos lleva al *Dialogo dell' Imprese militari et amorose* de Paolo Giovio.⁵³ El emblematista alemán al final del comentario menciona el emblema XLIII de Junius y a su destinatario, el médico Victor Giselinus, en estos términos:

Adrianus Iunius in Emblematis addidit Εἰξας νικᾶν [sic], VICTRIX ANIMI AEQUITAS, cum erudito tetrasticho, ad Victorem Giselinum Medicum.

Como corolario, recuerda la citada fábula de Aviano, cuyo *epimythium* transcribe:

Fabula autem de Quercu & Arundine nota est, quae & apud Avianum inter alias eleganti carmine expressa legitur, cum hoc epimythio:

Haec nos dicta monent magnis obsistere frustra,
Paulatimque truces exsuperare minas.

Finalizamos este recorrido con una somera alusión al *Ragionamento sopra la proprietà delle imprese con le particolari de gli academici Affidati et con le interpretationi et croniche* (Pavia: Girolamo Bartoli, 1574) del polígrafo Luca Contile (1505-1574)⁵⁴, pues aunque su obra apareció casi una década después de los *Emblemata* de Junius, su autor utiliza un motivo similar al que nos ocupa en la *impresa* de Aldigieri, miembro de los Cornazzani, notable familia de la ciudad de Parma.

⁵² 'Cuando, en tiempos del pontífice romano Alejandro VI, la muy ilustre y poderosa familia de los Colonna fue expulsada de la ciudad y despojada de todos sus bienes y honores — y eso debido a causas que no es necesario referir aquí —, todos sus miembros pasaron al reino de Nápoles, cuyos reyes siempre los honraron con especial distinción. Por medio de este símbolo quisieron ciertamente demostrar con bastante evidencia que, aunque en ese momento la fortuna se ensañaba con ellos y los humillaba gravemente, sin embargo en modo alguno se sentían afligidos, de ninguna manera abandonaban su ánimo valiente; y en absoluto cederían entonces ante el vehemente furor de sus adversarios, tanto que no dudaban de que con su constancia y magnanimidad, después de tan numerosas tormentas y tan onerosas tempestades, recobrarían nuevamente su antigua dignidad. En efecto, eso sucedió poco después, una vez que el rey Federico de Nápoles los recibió bajo su protección y los ensalzó con amplios recursos. Se dice que el autor de este símbolo [divisa] fue el doctísimo varón y celebrísimo poeta Jacobo Sannazario'.

⁵³ En el elenco de autores de la *Centuria Vna* Camerarius lo cita como 'Paulus Iovius'.

⁵⁴ Vid. Caldwell, 'Studies in Sixteenth-Century Italian Imprese', pp. 131-141; Girolami, 'The impresa in the Italian Renaissance', pp. 256-257.

Ciertamente, la empresa de este personaje esta ilustrada con un grabado de la planta llamada *melica* o *melega* (el *milium Indicum*, ‘mijo’ o ‘maíz’⁵⁵) con el lema *Flector, sed non frangor* [Fig. 6], que evoca necesariamente los *loci* arriba mencionados *Flectimur, non frangimur undis* (Giovio) y *Flectimur non frangimur* (Camerarius). El ápice del tallo de esta gramínea — señala Contile — se inclina debido a su peso pero sin llegar a quebrarse (según se aprecia en el grabado), y del mismo modo este Cornazzano usa el nombre de ‘Il Pieghevole’, porque ‘humanamente si inchina verso chiunque ha bisogno del suo aiuto e fauore’.

*

Hadrianus Junius, siguiendo la estela del *Emblematum Liber* de Andreas Alciatus, integra en sus *Emblemata* los libros de fábulas ilustradas y los libros de empresas, utilizando en este emblema el motivo del junco o caña, (*h*)*arundo*, y el fresno, *ornus*, árbol que en las versiones más divulgadas es un olivo (*olea*), una encina (*quercus*) o un abeto (*abies*). Recomienda no enfrentarse abierta y arrogantemente a los poderosos, sino con cautela burlar su enojo y su poder. De ahí que, aprovechando la conexión entre emblemas y divisas, pase de la enseñanza general del emblema a la particular de la divisa para aconsejar a su amigo Victor Giselinus que continúe afrontando con resignada paciencia los ataques de los envidiosos y cuantas *res aduersae* le sobrevengan, porque al final — en clara alusión a la divisa personal *Aequi animi astra praemium* de su amigo — verá su constancia recompensada con la gloria inmortal.

El emblema XLIII, merced al argumento fabulístico de la caña (o junco) y del fresno, pone ante los ojos de los lectores — el grabado contribuye a la función mnemotécnica del emblema — la imagen simbólica de la tríada estoica *constantia, patientia y firmitas*, tríada que poco después utilizará exitosamente Justus Lipsius en *De constantia* como consigna para hacer frente a los males de su tiempo⁵⁶, un tiempo tan agitado y turbulento como el que le tocó en suerte vivir al propio Junius.

⁵⁵ Se solían confundir ambas plantas; vid. Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1611), s.v. *maíz*; cita a Plinio [*nat. hist.* 18, 10] y a Dioscórides, Lib. II, cap. 88; Covarrubias sigue el *Dióscorides* de A. Laguna.

⁵⁶ Véase en especial el cap. ‘Constantia in malis publicis’, en Oestreich, *Neostoicism*, pp. 13-38.

XCIV.
**FLECTIMVR NON
 FRANGIMVR.**



*Flectitur obsequio, sic vincit arundo procellas.
 Laditur aduersum qui sua fata furit.*

[Fig. 6] J. Camerarius, *Symbolorum et emblematum Centuria Vna*
 (Nüremberg, 1590 [1593]).

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[Fig. 7] L. Contile, *Ragionamento sopra la proprietà delle imprese* (Pavía, 1574).

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Dirk SACRÉ

NEW LIGHT ON THE ROMAN PROFESSOR
AND NEO-LATIN POET HENRICUS CHIFELLIUS (1583-1657)
(WITH UNNOTICED POEMS OF JUSTUS RYCQUIUS
AND MAXAEMILIANUS VRIENTIUS)

To Professor Jordi Pérez Durá

Henricus Chifellius, an Antwerp humanist who spent most of his life in Rome, has earned himself a place in the annals of Neo-Latin poetry. He did so firstly with his *Lacippiados seu de bello Granatensi per Ferdinandum regem catholicum gesto liber primus* (Romae: Guilielmus Facciotus, 1615), an unfinished poem on the conquest of Granada by the Catholic king Ferdinand, of which only the first book came out; in the *Companion to Neo-Latin studies*, Jozef IJsewijn referred to this work and expressed the wish that more poets had displayed the wisdom of Chifellius, instead of producing over-long and often dull epic poetry in a Virgilian vein.¹ Furthermore, the humanist issued a supplement to Seneca's mutilated *Phoenissae* (or *Thebais*, as it was often called during the Renaissance), probably with the intention of staging a production of the play in the Roman palace of Cardinal Francesco Barberini in 1625 (*L. Annaei Senecae Thebais per Henricum Chifellium Antverpiensem, publ. in Almae Urbis gymnasio eloquentiae professorem. Chori totius, et*

¹ Jozef IJsewijn, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, 1: *History and Diffusion of Neo-Latin Literature. Second entirely rewritten edition*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, 5 (Leuven: Leuven University Press – Peeters, 1990), p. 138; cp. also Jozef IJsewijn with Dirk Sacré, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, 2: *Literary, Linguistic, Philological and Editorial Questions. Second entirely rewritten edition*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, 14 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1998), p. 27. For other (Neo-Latin) literature on the reconquista of Granada, see Dietrich Briesemeister, 'Literatura épico-dramática del siglo de oro sobre la conquista de Granada: un "compromiso" poético?', *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, 36 (1988), 935-954.

quinti actus adiectu suppleta [Romae: Guilielmus Faciottus, 1625]); he actually added several *chori* and an entire fifth act.²

In this article, however, I do not want to add to the interpretation of these Neo-Latin poems, but merely to draw the reader's attention to some new facts about Chifellius' life and his Latin oeuvre. Here too, it was the late Professor IJsewijn who broke new ground, composing the first biographical and bibliographical account of the humanist, which was published in the national biography of Belgium.³ Jozef IJsewijn was particularly interested in Neo-Latin poets and dramatists — and Chifellius belonged to both categories, as I just mentioned — and his curiosity was aroused even more by Belgian (not to say Antwerp) Neo-Latin authors working in Rome. His survey of the humanist's life and works is excellent. Since 1987, however, new evidence on the humanist's biography has come to light, and I was able to locate some overlooked poems issued by Chifellius. It might be useful to bring together these modest pieces of novel information, if only to provide an up to date chronological framework.

The first years of Chifellius's life are relatively well known. He was born in Antwerp in 1583, a son of the lawyer Bartholomaeus. He was soon entrusted to his uncle Georgius, who was partially responsible for the boy's earliest education.⁴ Thereafter, most probably from 1595 to 1601,

² Cp. Jozef IJsewijn, 'Supplementum *Phoenissis* seu *Thebaidi* Senecanae adiectum ab Henrico Chifellio Antverpiensi', in Freddy Decreus – Carl Deroux (eds.), *Hommages à Jozef Veremans*, Collection Latomus, 193 (Bruxelles: Latomus, 1986), pp. 161-174; IJsewijn with Sacré, *Companion*, 2, pp. 5 and 144; Saverio Franchi, *Drammaturgia romana. Repertorio bibliografico cronologico dei testi drammatici pubblicati a Roma e nel Lazio: secolo XVII*, Sussidi eruditi, 42 (Roma: Storia e Letteratura, 1988), p. 141; a detailed description of what Chifellius added one finds in Jozef IJsewijn, 'Latin Literature in 17th-century Rome', *Eranos*, 93 (1995), pp. 78-99 (pp. 89-90).

³ Jozef IJsewijn, 'Chifellius (Kieffel, van Kieffelt), Henricus', in *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, 12 (Brussel: Paleis der Academiën, 1987), 138-141. See also (to mention some works not adduced in IJsewijn's biographical sketch) Émile Van Arenbergh's entry in the *Biographie Nationale*, 10 (Bruxelles: Bruylant-Christophe & Cie, 1888-1889), 747-748; Jean-Noël Paquot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces des Pays-Bas* (...), 1 (Louvain: Imprimerie académique, 1765 = Bruxelles, 1998), pp. 578-579; Ioannes Franciscus Foppens, *Bibliotheca Belgica* (...), 1 (Bruxellis: Petrus Foppens, 1739), pp. 451-452; Valerius Andreas, *Bibliotheca Belgica* (...) (Lovanii: Iacobus Zegers, 1643²), p. 357 (under the name 'Henricus Kifelius'); Franciscus Sweertius, *Athenae Belgicae* (...) (Antverpiae: Gulielmus a Tungris, 1628), pp. 331-332 (also as 'Kifelius').

⁴ Possibly the 'Joris Kieffelt' who repeatedly was a secretary to the city of Antwerp in the years 1579-1613 (cp. Floris Prims, *Geschiedenis van Antwerpen*, VIII: *Met Spanje (1555-1715)*, 1 (Antwerpen: Standaard, 1941), pp. 298-299). To 'Ioannes Kieffel, i(uris)

he studied at the Jesuit College of his native city, where he must have enjoyed an excellent training in Latin under Carolus Scribani (1561-1629) as *praefectus studiorum* (1593-1598); later, as rector of the Antwerp college, Scribani used a rich and florid Latin to write pamphlets that were often polemical in nature.⁵

About the following years, many uncertainties subsist. According to some older biographers, Chifellius supposedly pursued his academic training at the universities of Leuven and Ingolstadt. In the present state of scholarship, it is impossible to ascertain this. For one thing, the Leuven matriculations for the period under question are lost; moreover there seems to be no trace of him in the correspondence of Justus Lipsius (1547-1606), at the time the most prominent humanist at Leuven university; as for his presence in Ingolstadt, hardly any information is available. Anyhow, his philosophical studies at either of these universities cannot have been pursued in depth, since Chifellius must have moved to Rome soon after his initial academic training, during the year 1604 at the latest. In the summer of that year he published a long poem on St Catherine (*Vitae S. Catharinae virginis et martyris libri sex* [Romae: Stephanus Paulinus, 1604]), the first of a series clearly purposed to establish his name as an erudite Catholic and a gifted Neo-Latin poet in the circles around the Roman Curia. The 1604 poem was dedicated to Cardinal Girolamo Bernieri (1540-1611),⁶ a Dominican who played an important role in the *Sant'Uffizio* and the *Congregazione dell'Indice*, and whose protégé Chifellius hoped to become, as the dedication states ('Supplico igitur, ut eadem qua paene infinitos protegis benignitate etiam ego sub protectionis tuae umbra, quin verius sub nominis tui clarissimo splendore recipi merear').⁷ By this time he was a *philosophiae licentiatius*, as the

u(triusque) l(icentiatius), s(enatus) p(opuli)q(ue) Antverp(iensis) a secretis' Franciscus Sweertius dedicated (1 May 1614) his edition of some works of Ioannes Bochijs (*Cl. V. Ioannis Bochii Bruxellensis SPQ Antverp. A secretis Panegyrici, Epigrammata et Poemata varia. A Francisco Sweertio F. Antverp. collecta* (...)) (Coloniae: Ioannes Kinckius, 1614).

⁵ Cp. Louis Brouwers, *Carolus Scribani S.J. 1561-1629. Een groot man van de Contra-Reformatie in de Nederlanden* (Antwerpen: Ruusbroecgenootschap, 1961), esp. pp. 49-52 and 93-110.

⁶ See the entry on him in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 9 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1967) [henceforth abbreviated as *DBI*, followed by the number of the volume and the year of edition], 360-362 (the name of the entry's author is omitted). The 'imprimatur' of Chifellius's poem dates from 31 May 1604, the dedication from 1 August.

⁷ And in fact, the dedication letter to Cardinal Bernieri seems to have been written in the latter's palace ('Dat. Romae in aedibus tuis, Kal. Augusti 1604').

poem's title page says. In the *Urbs*, he devoted himself to the study of law, becoming a *doctor utriusque iuris* before July 1607, for this qualification appears on a couple of further publications, the poetical lives of two martyrs both issued in Rome in 1607 (first *Vitae S. Laurentii martyris libri duo* [Romae: Stephanus Paulinus, 1607]; then *Vitae S. Pancratii martyris libri duo* [Romae: Stephanus Paulinus, 1607]);⁸ from the dedications of these booklets we learn that Chifellius now enjoyed the protection of Ludovico de Torres (1552-1609), Cardinal since September 1606, who had read (says the dedication) the poet's account of St. Catherine with pleasure; hence the poet's words in the introduction to his *Vita S. Laurentii martyris*: 'Reliquum est obsecrare [obsecrari *ed.*] me ut quem semel in sublimissimae dignitatis tuae praesidium recepisti, perpetuo tibi tutandum putes'. Chifellius no doubt hoped that De Torres's appointment as Cardinal-librarian of the *Vaticana* in July 1607⁹ would make possible an interesting employment for himself, but the Cardinal died not long after, on 8 July 1609. To add to his misfortune, Chifellius entirely lost his sight within a period of three weeks, early in 1610, probably as a consequence of uveitis;¹⁰ and in 1611 Cardinal Bernieri, his

⁸ The information on Chifellius's training seems to gain support from Andreas, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, p. 357: '(...) litterasque humaniores Antverpiae, philosophiam Lovanii, iurisprudentiam Ingolstadii apud Bavaros didicit, indeque Romam profectus doctor iuris utriusque an. MDCVII renuntiatus (...). Chifellius (or 'Kifelius') is absent from the first edition of Andreas's *Bibliotheca Belgica* (Lovanii: Henricus Hastenius, 1623) as well as from Aubertus Miraeus's *Elogia illustrium Belgii scriptorum* (...) (Antverpiae: vidua et heredes Ioannis Belleri, 1602) and Antonius Sanderus's *De scriptoribus Flandriae* (Antverpiae: Gulielmus a Tongris, 1624). Andreas's information corresponds to that of Sweertius, *Athenae Belgicae* (1628), pp. 331-332 and might come from that source; Sweertius's remark on his being informed by a correspondent about Chifellius's professorship in Rome while he was working on his bio-bibliography suggests first-hand information; so does the fact that Chifellius contributed a (forgotten) liminary poem to Sweertius's work; the *Athenae Belgicae* must have been ready by October 1626 (the work was approved by the censor on 28 October 1626).

⁹ The *Vitae S. Laurentii*, 1607 is dedicated to De Torres, whose librarianship of the *Vaticana* is not mentioned; thus the book was finished before 4 July 1607 (whereas the title page states that Chifellius is a *iuris utriusque doctor*); the *Vitae S. Pancratii*, 1607 adds 'S. Sed. Apost. Bibliothecar.' to the titles of De Torres and dates from after 4 July 1607 (the dedication and 'imprimatur' of the latter publication are not dated).

¹⁰ Even after he had become blind, he suffered from pain in the eyes. On 5 January 1619, Petrus Morus (Moro, + 1661), a member of the Somaschi, wrote to Iacobus Vectianus (Vezzani, 1580-1645) on the subject of Chifellius: 'Decumbit ille in lecto aeger et aeger oculis, ut hoc etiam ad caecitatem ne desit. Tuae ipsae litterae eum in lecto iacentem offenderunt; ad quas ille statim, ut est omnibus in rebus diligentissimus, rescripsisset, si tumor ille oculorum, qui eum multos dies vix quiescere sivit, permisisset. Nunc tandem surgit e lecto et desidere paulatim incipit tumor' (*Iacobi Vectiani Regiensis Selectarum*

first patron, died. These circumstances will have dealt his career prospects a severe blow. Different sources, however, hint at the support given to him in these years by the Venetian Monsignor Giovanni Battista Coccini (Coccinus, + 1641), who was an auditor and later a dean of the Roman Rota and a regent of another tribunal, the *Sacra Poenitentiaria*, and moreover an excellent canonist with one of the richest private libraries in Rome — it was bequeathed to the *Collegio romano* of the Jesuits.¹¹ Jozef IJsewijn was convinced that Chifellius entered the service of Coccinus only some years later, around 1616: he excluded the possibility that Chifellius had received the patronage of the Roman prelate as much as half a decade earlier because of the fact that Chifellius's *Lacippias* (Rome, 1615) was not dedicated to that patron, as it surely would have been if the poet were already in the *famiglia* of Coccinus; but the Leuven scholar noted the possibility that more light could be shed on these years if a copy of a poem issued by Chifellius in 1613 could be located and perused. Concerning the latter: a copy of the poem in question (*Pauli Quinti Pont. Opt. Max. temporum felicitas. Auctore Henrico Chifellio I.V.D. Antverpiensi. Iustitiae, Cereris, et Pacis colloquium* [Romae: Stephanus Paulinus, 1613]) is actually to be found in the Casanatense Library in Rome,¹² but it does not contain any liminary matter, whereas the verses themselves deal in a general and panegyrical way with the virtues of pope Paul V; it is possible that the poem was a first attempt at obtaining a professorship at the Sapienza: there were precedents for blind professors excelling in their academic job;¹³ one has only to think of the illustrious Muretus's student Marco Antonio Bonciari (1555-1616),

epistolarum pars prima (...) (Bononiae: heredes Bartholomaei Cocchii, 1626), pp. 487-488). More will be said about Vectianus below.

¹¹ Cp. Leo Allatius, *Apes Urbanae, sive de viris illustribus, qui ab anno MDCXXX. per totum MDCXXXIII. Romae adfuerunt, ac typis aliquid evulgarunt* (Romae: Ludovicus Grignanus, 1633), pp. 148-149; Jeanne Bignami-Odier, *La bibliothèque vaticane de Sixte IV à Pie XI* (...), *Studi e testi*, 272 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1973), p. 110. Coccinus wrote some works in Latin, i.e., under the reign of Urbanus VIII Barberini, *Beati Gregorii papae decimi Placentini vitae, virtutum ac miraculorum relatio facta* (...) *per Sacrae Rotae auditores Jo. Baptistam Coccinum decanum, Philippum Pirovanum et Clementem Merlinum. Ad effectum canonizationis eiusdem. Nunc primum in lucem prodiit* (Romae: Georgius Plachus, 1711); *De sanctitate vitae et miraculis servi Dei F. Petri Regalati auctoris regularis observ. S. Francisci in Hispania relatio* (...) *Ioannis Baptistae Coccini decani, Philippi Pirovani, Clementis Merlini Rotae auditorum* (...) (Romae: Ludovicus Grignanus, 1630).

¹² Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Misc. 762.20 (6 unnumbered pages).

¹³ And later examples as well, such as that of mathematician and Neo-Latin poet Stanislaus Vydra (1741-1804), who became blind while he was teaching in Prague and

who lost his sight in his thirties but remained a celebrated professor at Perugia.¹⁴ IJsewijn's other consideration is perhaps not so cogent as it may look at first sight: after all, the *Lacippias* was presented as a work in progress, only a sample of which (the first book) was printed, allegedly in order to probe the reactions of Roman readers. Now, such a partial imprint could hardly be considered a genuine and final edition, and this in my opinion explains why Chifellius decided not to dedicate this incomplete work to his patron. On the other hand, two strong arguments can be adduced in favour of Chifellius's employment at Coccinus's palace even before his being struck blind. Sweertius, whose 1628 *Athenae Belgicae* supplies first-hand information from Rome, comments thus on Chifellius's blindness: 'Sed non idcirca Maecenas hic consueta illum benevolentia prosecui destitit, verum pro innata [iuvata *ed.*] sibi magnanimitate apud se retinuit'. Even more conclusive is a manuscript letter written from Rome on 27 December 1614¹⁵ by Chifellius to Erycius Puteanus, Lipsius's successor at Leuven University (a letter now held in the Royal Library in Brussels): in this letter, which is obviously a first attempt by Chifellius at establishing contact with his compatriot, the humanist not only states that he is currently living at the palace of Coccinus, but also adds that he had been an assistant to the prelate before he was deprived of his sight: 'Commoror in palatio Ill(ustrissi)mi D(omini) Ioannis Baptistae Coccini, Rotae Romanae decani ac (ut Italico verbo dicam) Sacrae Poenitentiariae regentis, cui, dum viguere oculi, a studiis fui, et in hac orbitate mea liberalissimum Maecenatem habeo'. Therefore, we may safely conclude that soon after having obtained his degree in law and at the latest in 1609, Chifellius was employed by Coccinus. His blindness made it impossible to continue doing juridical and other preparatory research for his patron from 1610 on, and yet the latter did not abandon his assistant or protégé right away; Chifellius still refers to Coccinus as his current patron or Maecenas in 1620.¹⁶ However, Chifellius realized that it would be wise to look about for another employment. His résumé of Latin poetry, which comprised an epic poem on the Catholic

wrote Latin epigrams on his blindness: cp. Franciscus Palata, 'De Thoma Ceva et Stanislao Vydra', *Alma Roma*, 25 (1938), 183-187.

¹⁴ See the entry on him in *DBI*, 11 (1969), pp. 676-678 (by Renzo Negri).

¹⁵ The date 'VI Kal. Januar. MDCXIV' I interpret as 27 December 1614 and not 1613, because of Puteanus's answer from 23 January 1615 (cp. note 94).

¹⁶ Cp. the letter in Appendix, A, 3.

reconquista of Granada and some lives of saints,¹⁷ made him a good candidate for a chair of grammar, poetry or eloquence at the University; his former contacts with Cardinals Bernieri and de Torres, and with Monsignor Coccinus under Paul V (1605-1621), the pope to whom our humanist had addressed a panegyric poem in 1613, were additional assets. In the end Chifellius succeeded in this plan, but not under the pontificate of Paul V. In fact, the date at which his academic teaching at the Sapienza commenced is a matter of debate. Older biographers propose dates around 1625¹⁸; Jozef IJsewijn suggested 1619. In fact, however, Chifellius was appointed only under pope Gregorius XV (Alessandro Ludovisi, 1621-1623) from the academic year 1621-1622 on.¹⁹ That Chifellius did not teach before that date, is proven *e silentio* by Chifellius's last (manuscript) letter written to Puteanus on 17 October 1620, which on the one hand does not speak about any assignment as an academic, and on the other confirms that he was still being supported by Coccinus: 'Ill(ustrissi)mum Maecenatem meum Jo(annem) Bap(tis)tam Coccinum, Rotae decanum et Sacrae Poenitentiariae (ut vocant) regentem, iam tum nomine tuo consalutavi, cum litteris tuis iubebas; qui cum litteratorum omnium, tum vel maxime tuus est (qui inter illos excellis)'. This explains why Chifellius's poem for the marriage of Federico Della Rovere and Claudia de' Medici (*In nuptiis serenissimorum principum Friderici de Ruvere et Claudiae Medices. Henrici Chifellii Antverpiensis Carmen* [Romae: Alexander Zannettus, 1621]; dedication letter dated

¹⁷ The *Lacippias* came out late in 1615; the *imprimatur* dates from 1 December 1615; Chifellius's manuscript letter to Puteanus from 21 March 1615 makes clear that it was not a certainty at that point that the first book of the epic poem, which was planned to comprise twelve books like the Aeneid, would go to print: 'Maiora sane et maiora multo molior et in quibus (paulo superbius loquar) nec mihi displiceo nec aliis: poema id est heroicum in libros duodecim (Deo favente) producendum de bello Granatensi (ut recentiori nomine utar) per Ferdinandum Catholicum gesto, suasque fictiones et poetica pigmenta continet; cuius ego primum librum, si dare in lucem visum fuerit, propediem transmittam.'

¹⁸ Paquot, *Mémoires*, p. 578 ('obtint vers 1625 une chaire d'Eloquence au collège de la Sapience'); Van Arenbergh, 'Kieffelt (Henri van)', col. 747 ('en 1625').

¹⁹ Until 1620 the chair was occupied by Bernardus Guilielmus (Guglielmi, Monte Sabino, 1588 - Rome, 1623), says Filippo Maria Renazzi, *Storia dell'università degli studi di Roma* (...), 3 (Roma: Pagliarini, 1805 = Bologna: Forni, 1971), pp. 96-97, who adds 'a cui successe Errico Chiffel d'Aversa [*sic!*] (...)'. Giovanni Rita, 'Le discipline umanistiche da Sisto V a Clemente XII (1587-1740)', in Lidia Capo - Maria Rosa Di Simone (eds.), *Storia della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia de "La Sapienza"* (Roma: Viella, 2000), pp. 245-304, states that Guilielmus taught rhetoric from 1614 to 1620 and civil law in 1621-1623 (p. 252).

29 May 1621) does not breathe a word about the poet's professorship, whereas all his later works mention this title.²⁰ So, Chifellius's career as a professor of rhetoric at the Sapienza started in the Autumn of 1621, as the university sources show. The seniority stated in the *rotuli* is consistent with that year,²¹ at least during the first fourteen years; from 1636 on, it is bumped up by two years, from 1641 on by only one year, but reverts to the exact calculation in 1655. This source is interesting because it also mentions the professor's income²² and, now and then, the authors he interpreted during his lessons, which always took place in the morning: apart from Seneca (he taught on the *Medea* in 1630 and 1646) they included Horace's *Odes*, Virgil's *Aeneid*, Juvenal's and Persius's *Satires*, Velleius Paterculus's *History of Rome*, Suetonius's *Lives*, Tacitus's *Annals* and the anonymous *De viris illustribus*.²³

²⁰ This poem was composed for the wedding (in June 1621) of Federico Ubaldo della Rovere (1605-1623), duke of Urbino since May 1621, and Claudia de' Medici (1604-1648). With Federico Ubaldo della Rovere, who died two years later, the lineage came to an end; by testament of Francesco Maria II della Rovere, the duke's father, the duchy was bequeathed to the Papal states. For this wedding celebration another Latin poem was issued by a minor Flemish humanist from Ghent, L(a)evinus Hielius: *Inauguratio ad nuptias Principum Friderici Ubaldi de Ruvere et Claudiae Medices, carmen, cum ode in iisdem nuptiis* (Bracciani: Andreas Phaeus, 1621). Hielius was active in Rome in the first two decades of the 17th century; he must have been a relative of Petrus Hielius (1537(?)-1595) from Ghent, who worked as a lawyer in the Curia and was a member of 'Flemish' sodalities in Rome; Petrus's son Georgius, too, lived in Rome; he was a member of the confraternity of S. Giuliano dei Fiamminghi from 1599 on: see Johan Ickx – Leopold Winckelmans, 'Grafmonumenten in de kerk van Sint-Juliaan-der-Vlamingen te Rome, 1: Periode voor de Franse Revolutie', *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 67 (1997), 225-314 (pp. 303 and 281-282). I want to thank Dr. Giacomo Dalla Pietà (Venice) for sending me images of the Venetian copy of Chifellius's poem.

²¹ Cf. Emanuele Conte, *I maestri della Sapienza di Roma dal 1514 al 1787: i rotuli e altre fonti*, Studi e fonti per la storia dell'Università di Roma, n.s. 1 (Roma: Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo, 1991), pp. 191-332 (passim); Rita, 'Le discipline', pp. 253-255. A brief mention of Chifellius in Josephus Carafa, *De professoribus gymnasii Romani liber secundus* (...) (Romae: Antonius Fulgonius, 1751), p. 320.

²² Modest during the first years (30 scudi; at the end of his career some 230 scudi, a salary that was not bad at all). Cp. a letter written on 1 January 1624 by Iacobus Vectianus (Reggio Emilia) to Petrus Morus (Rome) – these two friends of Chifellius will be dealt with further on –: 'Chifellium nostrum in publico Romanae Sapientiae Gymnasio florere et rhetoris personam egregie sustinere valde laetor. Laetarer magis, id si munus profiteretur maiore aliquanto quam tu iudicare videris publico stipendio. (...) Regio Lepidi ipsis Kalendis Ianuarii anni MDCXXIV. Quas tibi faustas et fortunatas, Chifellio etiam nostro et communibus amicis felices precor et futuras nuntio, certe spero (saltem opto) cum mihi, tum vobis iucundas, anni et mensis duces auspicatissimas'. (Cp. *Iacobi Vectiani Selectarum ad amicos, & patronos epistolarum manipulus alter* (Genuae: Ioannes Maria Faronus, 1643), pp. 165-169).

²³ Furthermore we find some variants in the orthography of his name — if Conte's transcription is correct — (Ghifellius, Ghisellus, Ghisellius, Chiphellus, Chipill(i)us); as

Among the biographers of Chifellius, there is no agreement about the year of his death: Valerius Andreas's 1643 *Bibliotheca Belgica* suggests that he was dead by then or had at least brought his academic career to a close ('Romae eloquentiam publice professus est', p. 357); Paquot in 1765 knew not what had happened to Chifellius after 1635;²⁴ IJsewijn was aware of the existence of an occasional composition published by Chifellius in 1651 (*Vidmannae domus felicitas*, discussed below) but did not know how long the humanist lived after that publication. Here too the archives of the Sapienza can be of great help. From the *rotuli* it appears that Chifellius was still working as a professor of rhetoric at the start of the year 1656-1657. From 1657 on, however, the chair of eloquence was occupied by another figure with poetical merits in Latin, a person better known in the literate circles around Alexander VII Chigi: the Briton James Alban Gibbes (Ghibbesius, born ca. 1611), a future poet laureate (1667), whose career at the Sapienza would last until the academic year 1676-1677 — he died in June 1677.²⁵ The absence of any trace of Chifellius after 1656 makes it very probable that he died late in 1656 or in the early months of 1657. A conclusive confirmation of his death in that period we find in the work of his successor Ghibbesius, to whose *Carminum pars lyrica, ad exemplum Q. Horatii Flacci quamproxime concinnata* (Romae: Fabius de Falco, 1668) was added (on unnumbered pages) an 'auctoris vitae epitome' which states on Ghibbesius i.a. what follows: 'Verum regnantis Alexandri VII, summi pontificis in bonas artes propensissimi, munificentiam expertus est; cuius nutu, defuncto Henrico Chifellio, magni nominis viro, litteras politiores in Ro(mano) Sapientiae Lyceo per septem lustra professo, Ghibbesius ad viduatum suggestum anno 1657 evectus est'.

Thus our Antwerp humanist taught Latin eloquence for some thirty-four years under the reign of several popes (Gregorius XV Ludovisi, Urban

a rule, his Antwerp origin is added (mostly 'Antverpiensis', sometimes 'Antropiensis', if the transcription is correct).

²⁴ *Mémoires*, p. 578.

²⁵ Ghibbesius delivered his inaugural oration at the Sapienza on 18 October 1657: Iacobus Albanus Ghibbesius, *In solenni studiorum Romanae Sapientiae instauratione oratio (...) habita in aede D. Eustachii XV Kal. Novembr. M.DC.LVII* (Romae: Iacobus Dragonellus, 1657); a copy of this rare oration in the Vatican Library (Chigi IV 2231 ins. 20). There is some confusion about the year in which Ghibbesius started to teach at the Sapienza: it is 1657, but 1647 is indicated in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 22 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 2-4, *sub nom.* 'Gibbes, James Alban' (David K. Money). See also Rita, 'Le discipline', pp. 256-257.

VIII Barberini, Innocentius X Pamfili and Alexander VII Chigi). Some of his publications should be seen in relation to these pontiffs: his panegyric on Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi (1595-1632),²⁶ the *cardinal nipote* under Gregorius XV (1621-1623) and from these years on an important figure in the intellectual life of Rome, for instance, has to do with Chifellius's appointment by Gregorius XV; and a similar work on Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597-1679):²⁷ *Henrici Chifellii Antverpiensis, publici in Romana Academia eloquentiae professoris Panegyricus Eminentiss(imo) & reverendiss(imo) D(omino) Francisco Card(inali) Barberino S(anctae) R(omanae) E(cclesiae) vicecancellario* (Romae: Reverenda Camera Apostolica, 1635), has to do with Urban VIII and the humanist's acquaintance with Cardinal Barberini and the learned circles around him.

Chifellius was not the only professor of Rhetoric at the Sapienza. In 1628, Urban VIII, by a special pontifical brief, had another chair of rhetoric created for his protégé Agostino Mascardi (Augustinus Mascardus, 1590-1640),²⁸ who taught in the evening, whereas Chifellius gave his lessons in the morning. When Mascardus, an honorary chamberlain to the pope, a gifted Latin and Italian poet (his *Silvarum libri* had been issued by the *Officina Plantiniana* at Antwerp in 1622), and an Italian historiographer, was appointed, he immediately earned 500 scudi, whereas Chifellius after seven years of teaching had to be satisfied with one fifth of that salary.²⁹ Mascardus remained the holder of the second chair of rhetoric as long as his weak health enabled him to be so (it happened that he taught only four times a year), and in 1638 or 1639 he had to resign.³⁰ How the relationship between the two Latinists was, we do not know; on an academic level they did not poach on each other's territory — Mascardus limited himself to lectures on Aristotle's *Rhetoric*

²⁶ *Panegyricus illustriss(imo) et reverendiss(imo) Ludovico Card(inali) Ludovisio S(anctae) R(omanae) E(cclesiae) vicecancellario dictus* (Romae: Typis Vaticanis, 1628). Cp. the entry on this cardinal in *DBI*, 66 (2006), 460-467 (by Paolo Broggio and Sabina Brevaglieri).

²⁷ Cp. the entry in *DBI*, 6 (1964), 172-176 (by Alberto Merola).

²⁸ See Enrico Bellini, 'Mascardi, Agostino', in *DBI*, 71 (2008), 525-532; Rita, 'Le discipline', p. 255.

²⁹ Nevertheless, the Roman chair was still not enough for Mascardus, who also entered the service of Cardinal Carlo de' Medici (1595-1666) in 1631 and, on top of that, worked as a secretary to Cardinal Maurizio di Savoia (1593-1657) from 1635 on. Cardinal di Savoia resigned in 1642 and married his niece, but that was after Mascardus's death.

³⁰ Bellini, 'Mascardi', p. 528 (1638); Conte, *I maestri*, p. 265 (Mascardus was still occupying the chair in 1639-1640).

and often did not show up for those; but neither of them seems to have presented the other with a poem or a dedication. Perhaps Chifellius's audience was much more limited than that of Mascardus, an impressive performer, it seems;³¹ in the 1630s and 1640s the blind professor usually taught in front of some 10 to 12 students.³²

Although Chifellius probably did not possess the same prestige among Rome's *beau monde* as the omnipresent Mascardus or, later, the vainglorious Ghibbesius, he was a respected professor, a distinguished orator and an esteemed Neo-Latin poet. Quite normally, the annually recurring task of commemorating pope Leo X as the second founder of the Sapienza³³ with a commemorative speech was entrusted to him, not only in January 1624, as IJsewijn wrote,³⁴ but also for a certain period before and after that year;³⁵ moreover he was asked to deliver a panegyric on, and in the

³¹ Cp. *Iani Nicii Erithraei Pinacotheca imaginum illustrium* (...) (Coloniae: Cornelius ab Egmond [in fact Amsterdam: Blaeu], 1643), pp. 112-113 (p. 113): 'Atque utinam, sicut ingenii forma in eius scriptis elucet, ita etiam actionis eiusdem dignitas exprimi potuisset! Nihil profecto esset quod maiores sui amores excitaret: tantum in ea praestabat. Ita enim eam motu corporis, gestu, vultu, vocis moderatione ac varietate moderabatur, ut a Roscii vel Aesopi schola (...) profectus videretur (...)'.
³² Rita, 'Le discipline', pp. 253-254, note 23.

³³ For Leo's reformation of the Sapienza during the first years of his pontificate, see i.a. Maurizio Campanelli – Maria Agata Pincelli, 'La lettura dei classici nello *Studium Urbis* tra Umanesimo e Rinascimento', in Capo – Di Simone, *Storia della Facoltà*, pp. 93-195 (esp. pp. 115-116); Renazzi, *Storia dell'università*, 2, 1-78.

³⁴ See IJsewijn, 'Chifellius', col. 140. Chifellius's oration remained unpublished (Vatican Library, cod. Barb. Lat. 2012, ff. 52r-57v); I will publish it soon in the Brussels journal *Melissa*.

³⁵ The (anonymous) orations from 1623, 1625, 1632, 1628 (probably: due to an inkstain, the year is nearly illegible), 1627 and 1626, which are following the 1624 one in the manuscript, are not written in the same hand as the latter, but this does not mean that they were not Chifellius's work, as the blind professor had to work with secretaries. On the contrary, I am convinced that further study of the other orations will prove that the majority of these was also composed by Chifellius, as stylistic similarities and the recycling of ideas and expressions suggest. Furthermore some remarks hint at the task having been committed to the same orator (and the *professor eloquentiae* was the most appropriate person for it) during some years (see e.g. f. 72r (from 1632): 'Intermissum fuit a me laudationis officium, p(atres) a(mplissimi), non defectu laudis, quae in Leonis rebus gestis nova semper exsurgit, sed quia tot undique circumsonantibus fama loquacissima vocibus mea unius par esse lingua non poterat, et plane defatigabar dicendis iis, quibus ille faciendis non est defatigatus'; and f. 74r (from 1628): 'Multos iam annos magni huius Leonis gloriam oratione consecrans ceteras quidem eius virtutes, quae mea dicendi tenuitas est, utcumque vel expressi, vel adumbravi'). A striking example of recycling occurs at the start of the 1628 oration (ff. 74v-75r), where the words 'Selimus, crudelissimus idem ac bellicosissimus Turcharum tyrannus, velut procella formidabilis Christianorum cervicibus

presence of, Cardinal Francesco Barberini in 1635, in which he mainly expanded on the Cardinal's diplomatic efforts during his missions to France and Spain (1625-1626),³⁶ and on his courageous steps to keep an outbreak of the plague out of the city of Rome.

Seneca's *Phoenissae*, partially completed with Chifellius's choral songs and an entire fifth act, may indeed have been staged in the palace of Cardinal Barberini in 1625, as IJsewijn has written repeatedly. There is, however, an aspect to this work that has been overlooked hitherto: the supplement had been written by Chifellius many years before 1625, since it is already discussed in some letters Chifellius and his friend Ioannes Baptista Laurus (+ 1629)³⁷ exchanged in 1619. On 5 May 1619, Laurus asked Chifellius to send him his supplement to Seneca's *Phoenissae* which he knew his friend had finished, and of which he had at least heard or read some parts before leaving Rome some months before;³⁸ on 23 May, Chifellius answered that he would not send a manuscript of his supplement right away, since he intended to have it published, so that Laurus would have a nicer copy to read.³⁹ Why it took more than five

impendebat' are more than an echo of Chifellius's 1624 speech (f. 54v): 'Selimus, crudelissimus idem et bellicosissimus Turcharum imperator, armis late per Syriam Aegyptumque circumlatis victoriarumque successu ferox et iam de transferendo in Pannoniam bello cogitans, velut procella terribilis Christianorum cervicibus impendebat'.

³⁶ Cp. Clément Pieyre, 'La legation du cardinal Francesco Barberini en France en 1625, insuccès de la diplomatie du pape Urbain VIII', in Mochi Onori – Schütze – Solinas, *I Barberini*, pp. 87-94; José Louis Colomer, 'Arte per la riconciliazione: Francesco Barberini e la Corte di Filippo IV', *ibid.*, pp. 95-110 (esp. pp. 95-100). For the Roman culture in the time of Maffeo and Francesco Barberini, see also Peter Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome. Barberini Cultural Policies*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 135 (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2006).

³⁷ Laurus is discussed below.

³⁸ Cp. *Io. Baptistae Lauri Perusini Epistolarum centuria selecta nunc primum edita. Ad illustriss. Principem Cardinalem Ludovicum Ludovisium* (Romae: Andreas Phaeus, 1621), pp. 107-108 (Laurus (Todi) to Chifellius (Rome), 5 May 1619): 'Senecae tragœdias in id paro [he means to read these in his spare time]: in quibus quia post Medeam Thebais mire placet et moleste semper tuli ad posteros integram non pervenisse, eam autem cum tu elegantissime absolveris et ad gemmas illas contuleris facundiae tuae pretiosos uniones, vehementer cuperem illorum mihi exemplum carminum transmitti. Enimvero inerrat etiamnum auribus meis Iocastae atque Oedipi tui lacertosa oratio tuorumque quasi lusciniâ iamborum. Da quaeso operam, Henrice, ne haec frustra me spes habeat.'

³⁹ *Io. Baptistae Lauri Perusini Epistolarum centuria*, pp. 108-110 (Chifellius (Rome) to Laurus (Todi), 23 May 1619): 'Iocastae meae fletus non transmittio; cum enim propediem typis eos mandare cogitem, iucundiore adpectu leges'. By then, the same letter says, Laurus was already more than two months absent from Rome, so that Laurus must have read (parts of) the supplement before mid-March 1619 ('Tertium iam mensem te careo, vir doctissime, caret ipsa Roma, immo respublica litteraria tota'). Laurus's letter

years to have it actually printed, we do not know. This additional information is not unimportant, since it forces us to reconsider the traditional view that Seneca's drama would have been completed by Chifellius for a performance at Barberini's palace⁴⁰ in 1625; though the hypothesis of a performance remains possible, it now becomes clear that the supplement was originally conceived as an amusement by Chifellius, who shared a particular interest in Seneca's dramas with his friend Laurus, that it was written some years before Chifellius was involved in teaching at the Sapienza and before his connections with Francesco Barberini (who came to Rome in 1623); and it strikes one's notice that the dedication letter of the edition that followed in 1625 does not say a single word about an actual or imminent performance.

Apart from these works, Chifellius published hardly anything after 1635. An exception, and a peculiar work as well, is his *Vidmannae domus felicitas* (Romae: Franciscus Felix Mancinus, 1651): this is an *elogium* or *ellogium* in poetical prose, a type of inscriptional eulogy that baroque Rome favoured; it was printed in only a few copies, it seems,⁴¹ and contains one large folium, printed on one side. Chifellius eulogizes four brothers of the noble Vidmann or Widman family, four sons of Giovanni Paolo Vidmann, at least two of whom were connected with the Curia and more particularly with pope Innocentius X. He extensively praises Cardinal Cristoforo Vidmann (Venice, 1617 – near Viterbo, 1660) and surveys the career of this Cardinal (created in 1647)⁴²; he then lauds David Vidmann, a condottiere who was involved in the wars of Castro

was delivered to Chifellius by a common friend, 'Felix Contelorius' (p. 108), no doubt the Felice Contelori who was a friend of Giovanni Battista Coccini and who would become a 'custode detto del Registro di libreria' of the Vatican Library in 1626 (cp. Bignami-Odier, *La bibliothèque vaticane*, p. 110); the friendship between Laurus and Contelorius is confirmed by a poem of the latter which Laurus inserted in his own *Io. Baptistae Lauri Perusini, Urbano VIII. Pont. Max. ab intimo cubiculo Poemata* (Romae: Andreas Phaeus, 1624), pp. 83-84 ('Ad v.c. Io. Baptistam Laurum Perusinum Felix Contelorius').

⁴⁰ Obviously not the palace 'alle Quattro Fontane' which was built between 1629 and 1637 (see Jörg Martin Merz, 'Il cardinale Francesco Barberini mecenate di architettura', in Lorenza Mochi Onori – Sebastian Schütze – Francesco Solinas (eds.), *I Barberini e la cultura europea del Seicento* (Roma: De Luca, 2007), pp. 513-520; for the other residences of the Barberini, see Patricia Waddy, 'Barberini Cardinals need places to live', *ibid.*, pp. 487-500).

⁴¹ I want to thank Dr. Valerio Sanzotta (Rome), who transcribed for me the Vatican copy of this printed sheet (inserted in between the folia of cod. Ottob. Lat. 2445, I).

⁴² Since there is no mention of the Cardinal's appointment as a legate of Urbino (3 June 1651), the *elogium* was perhaps printed before June 1651.

(1639-1649) and belonged to the papal troops that razed the Latian city on 2 September 1649.⁴³ He adds a few words about Martinus and Ludovicus Vidmann.⁴⁴

In 1650, during the Cretan war (1645-1669) or the *guerra di Candia*, Chifellius had composed a much more accomplished, and hitherto overlooked, *elogium* to express his admiration for the victories the *Serenissima* had scored against the Turks, victories announcing (he hoped) the final triumph of the Venetian republic. The text was printed in Rome on a single sheet of yellow silk and sent to the doge; a perhaps unique copy of it is preserved in the *Archivio di stato di Venezia* among the manuscript documents dispatched by ambassador Giovanni Giustinian on 29 January 1650.⁴⁵ The *elogium* displays Chifellius's stylistic superiority; it combines conciseness, vigour of expression and abundance, uses an exquisite vocabulary, exploits the many possibilities of word order (with, i.a., inversions and hyperbata), serves the *argutezza* so typical of the genre by recurring to appropriate puns and images, and makes an impressive use of rhetorical means such as (increasing) tricolon, balanced phrase, alliteration and homoeoteleuton, hyperbole and opposition, etc.⁴⁶

⁴³ Cp. Niccolò Capponi, 'I bulli del quartiere: I Barberini e la guerra di Castro', in Mochi Onori – Schütze – Solinas, *I Barberini*, pp. 339-344.

⁴⁴ From the epitaph of Cardinal Vidmann in the San Marco in Rome, we learn that Martinus and Ludovicus were still alive in 1660; from Chifellius' *elogium* it is clear that their father was already dead in 1651.

⁴⁵ Cp. Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Archivio di stato di Venezia, *Aspetti e momenti della diplomazia veneziana. Mostra documentaria 26 giugno – 6 settembre 1982*, eds. Manuela Baroni Cicale – Pasquale Pezzano (Venezia: Archivio, 1982), p. 48, nr. 125: '1650. Roma. *Venetiae victrices*. Carme [sic!] latino in lode della repubblica e di auspicio alla sua vittoria sul Turco nella guerra di Candia, composto da Henrico Chifellius da Anversa, *publicus in Romana Academia eloquentiae professor*, Romae, typis Jo. Petri Colligni, 1650. Stampato su seta gialla. Insetto nel dispaccio 1650, 29 gennaio, n. 310 dell'ambasciatore Giovanni Giustinian cavalier. Senato, Dispacci Roma, filza 129'. See Appendix, C. On the Cretan war, see i.a. John Julius Norwich, *A History of Venice* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983), pp. 542-560; many literary compositions related to it are listed in Antonio Medin, *La storia della Repubblica di Venezia nella poesia* (Milano: Hoepli, 1904), pp. 315-379 (Chifellius's *elogium* is not mentioned).

⁴⁶ This type of texts originated from inscriptions; as real *tituli*, one finds them but rarely in 17th-century Rome: they were mostly bookish inscriptions, issued either separately (see e.g., from the same period, Dionysius Blancardus Mediolanensis, *Illustriss. et excellentiss. D.D. Roderico de Mendoza (...) elogium* (Romae: Iacobus Phaeus, 1651)) or in collections. For the genre, see John Sparrow, *Visible Words. A Study of Inscriptions in and as Books and Works of Art* (Cambridge: University Press, 1969), pp. 101-132; Thomas Neukirchen, *Inscriptio. Rhetorik und Poetik der Scharfsinnigen Inschrift im Zeitalter des Barock*, Studien zur Deutschen Literatur, 152 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1999); Florence Vuilleumier Laurens – Pierre Laurens, *L'âge de l'inscription. La rhétorique du*

To probe the impact of Chifellius on the literary scene in Rome would require further reading in the numerous, largely unstudied Neo-Latin production issued in Rome between roughly 1610 and 1655. Some indications, however, suggest that as a poet and later as an academic professor, he was not an insignificant figure. Around him we find a group of Italian humanists and Latin writers, and, quite understandably, a number of erudites from the Low Countries making a trip to, or living in, Rome; through these connections, Chifellius also established contacts, by means of the exchange of letters, with the world of learning in the native country he had left before his twentieth birthday.

Chifellius stood on good terms, it seems, with Ioannes Franciscus Bartholinus, a reputed jurist from Bologna, who was well established in Rome, where he served as a secretary to the philosopher Antonius Persius (1542-1612), a member of the *Lincei*, during the last years of the latter's life; in that context, he served as an intermediary between some Roman intellectuals and scholars living elsewhere in Italy, such as Tommaso Campanella and Galileo Galilei; he had also some influence among the Roman councillors. When Persius died in January 1612, Bartholinus's ties with the young *Accademia dei Lincei* became even closer; in 1612 he was employed by Cardinal Bartolomeo Cesi, the uncle of Federico who had founded the Academy; and in 1616, he became a secretary⁴⁷ to Cardinal Scipione Cobelluzzi (ca. 1564-1626)⁴⁸ (Cobelluzzi, who had worked under Cardinal Bernieri, became *cardinale bibliotecario* of the *Vaticana* in 1618 and was a supporter of the *Lincei*, and a respected patron of the learned, among them some humanists from the Low

monument en Europe du XVe au XVIIe siècle, Le Cabinet des images (Paris: Belles Lettres, 2010), pp. 171-220. Chifellius's second *elogium* is an outstanding example of what Christianus Weisius (1642-1708) called *poesis hodiernorum politicorum sive argutae inscriptiones* (cp. Sparrow, *Visible Words*, p. 107).

⁴⁷ Cp. a manuscript letter written by Justus Rycquius to Erycius Puteanus, 8 January 1617 (Brussels, Royal Library, cod. 19111), in which Rycquius tells that he has received a letter from their old friend Bartholinus, now a secretary to Cobelluzzi. Cp. also Jozef IJsewijn, 'Jacobus Zevecotius: Maria Stuarta/Maria Graeca, tragoedia. A Synoptic Edition of the Five Extant Versions', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 22 (1973), 256-319 (pp. 260-261). Cp. also the entry on Giovanni Bartolini (actually Giovanni Francesco Bartolini) in *DBI*, 6 (1964), 601-603 (by Paola Zambelli), which, however, does not contain much information; Uberto Motta, *Antonio Querenghi (1546-1633). Un letterato padovano nella Roma del tardo Rinascimento*, Biblioteca erudita, 12 (Milano: Vita e pensiero, 1997), pp. 249-250. For Bartholinus as a relation of Chifellius, see Appendix, A, 1 and 2.

⁴⁸ Cp. the entry on him in *DBI*, 26 (1982), 433-435 (by Franca Petrucci).

Countries).⁴⁹ Bartholinus, like many Italians of the early Seicento an admirer of Justus Lipsius,⁵⁰ had excellent connections with other humanists from the Low Countries: the painter Peter Paul Rubens's brother Philip (1574-1611) was a correspondent of his (in 1608);⁵¹ at the time, Bartholinus, teaching at the University of Bologna, was involved in the negotiations (1607-1608) to offer a chair at his university to the Leuven professor Erycius Puteanus (1574-1646).⁵² Caspar Scioppius (Schoppe, 1576-1649),

⁴⁹ Cp. *Iusti Rycquii Gandensis Epistolarum selectarum centuria altera, nova* (...) (Lovanii: Ioannes Christophorus Flavius, 1615), nr. 69 (Rycquius, Veurne, 24 June 1612, to Cobelluzzi): 'Numquam animo excidet meo, v(ir) a(mplissime), quam benignus in me Romae fueris'. Likewise, Cobelluzzi supported the Neo-Latin poet Iacobus Zevecotius (1596-1642) when the latter lived in Rome in the summer of 1616: cp. *P.F. Iacobi Zevecotii Gandensis ord. erem. S. Augustini Poemata* (...) (Gandavi: Iud. Dooms, 1622), *eleg.* II, 3 and 6, and IJsewijn, 'Jacobus Zevecotius', pp. 260-261.

⁵⁰ Cp. a letter (kept at the Royal Library of Brussels, cod. 19112/2) by Giambattista Sacco (Milan, 9 July 1608) to Erycius Puteanus at Leuven: 'Misi ad Bartholinum Lipsianam imagunculam'. Bartholinus had already obtained another portrait of Lipsius through Philip Rubens earlier that year (see Philippus Rubenius's letter to Bartholinus mentioned in the next footnote).

⁵¹ See Philip Rubens's letter to Bartholinus in Bologna, Antwerp 27 March 1608, in Charles Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens et documents épistolaires* (...), 1: 1600-1608 (Anvers: De Backer, 1887), pp. 423-426. Philip Rubens lived in Rome from the end of 1605 until the spring of 1607 (cp. Dirk Sacré, 'Filips Rubens aan Justus Lipsius: een onbekende brief (1603)', in Dirk Sacré – Marcus de Schepper (eds.), 'Et scholae et vitae'. *Acta selecta van twee colloquia van Orbis Neolatinus* (Leuven, 1998-2002) (Amersfoort: Florivallis, 2004), pp. 135-161); he was a favourite student of Lipsius. Though Bartholinus and Rycquius were acquaintances of both Rubens and Chifellius, the latter does not seem to have established contact with Rubens in Rome. This makes it even more improbable that Chifellius had been a student of Justus Lipsius at Leuven University.

⁵² Cp. Théophile Simar, *Étude sur Erycius Puteanus (1574-1646) considéré spécialement dans l'histoire de la philologie belge et dans son enseignement à l'université de Louvain*, Recueil de travaux publiés par les membres des Conférences d'histoire et de philologie, 23 (Louvain: Bureau du Recueil – Paris: A. Picard et Fils – Bruxelles: Albert Dewit, 1909), pp. 10-11; Bartholinus and Puteanus had been in touch with each other for some years (see e.g. Puteanus's letter to Bartholinus, Milan, 4 July 1606 in *Erycii Puteani Epistolarum bellaria, centuria III et nova* (Lovanii: Ioannes Christophorus Flavius, 1612), pp. 42-43). Bartholinus's endeavours to help Puteanus to become a professor in Bologna are also clear from the two letters written by the former to the latter, which are kept at the Royal Library at Brussels, cod. 19107 (a letter written by Bartholinus 'extremo anni M.DC.VI' from Bologna and another one from Urbino, 1 September 1607). In Maria Teresa Gerrini, 'Qui voluerit in iure promoveri ...'. *I dottori in diritto nello Studio di Bologna (1501-1597)*, *Voci di Clío*, 2 (Bologna: Clueb, 2005), p. 413 mention is made of a (Giovanni) Francesco Bartolini from Urbino, who matriculated at Bologna university in December 1605, apparently the same who obtained his doctorate *in utroque iure* on 8 May 1610; that would imply that Ioannes Franciscus Bart(h)olinus (perhaps the same person) who was engaged to teach law in Bologna in 1607-1608 did so before holding a doctorate (cp. Umberto Dallari, *I rotuli dei lettori legisti e artisti dello Studio Bolognese dal 1384 al 1799*, 2 (Bologna: Merlani, 1899), p. 295).

who admired Bartholinus's elegant Latin, and Justus Rycquius, too, were correspondents of Bartholinus.⁵³

The Rycquius (1587 -1627) in question was a scholar from Ghent, whose fame now relies upon his antiquarian work *De Capitolio Romano commentarius* (...) (Gandavi: Cornelius Marius, 1617), which would earn him the honorary title of *civis Romanus* (1620), as well as upon his many poems and elegant correspondence.⁵⁴ During his second stay in Italy (1624-1627), Rycquius would not only become a member (1625) of the first *Accademia dei Lincei* — already in 1614 he had been invited by Federico Cesi to return to Rome —,⁵⁵ but also hold the chair of history

⁵³ Cp. *Iusti Rycquii Gandensis Epistolarum selectarum*, pp. 114-118 (Rycquius (Rome), to Bartholinus (Urbino), 21 April 1611); Kaspar Schoppe, *Autobiographische Texte und Briefe*, 1: *Philoteca Scioppiana. Eine frühneuzeitliche Autobiographie 1576-1630*. In Zusammenarbeit mit Ursula Jaitner-Hahner und Johann Rammingen bearbeitet von Klaus Jaitner, Bayerische Gelehrtenkorrespondenz, 2 (München: Beck, 2004), p. 620 (in a list of Scioppius's friends): 'Franciscus Bartholinus, iurisconsultus, Latine et eleganter scribendi facultate cum paucis praeditus'. Bartholinus had a lively correspondence with Scioppius: see Kaspar Schoppe, *Autobiographische Texte und Briefe*, 2: *Briefe*. Bearbeitet von Klaus Jaitner, Bayerische Gelehrtenkorrespondenz, 2, 5 vols (München: Beck, 2012), passim. Cp. also Giuseppe Gabrieli, *Contributi alla storia della Accademia dei Lincei*, 2, *Storia dell'Accademia dei Lincei*, Studi, 1 (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1989), passim, and Id., *Il carteggio Linceo*, *Storia dell'Accademia dei Lincei*, Fonti, 1 (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1996), passim.

⁵⁴ On Rycquius, see now Roberta Ferro, 'Accademia dei Lincei e *Res publica litteraria*: Justus Rycquius, Erycius Puteanus e Federico Borromeo', in Andrea Battistini – Gilberto De Angelis – Giuseppe Olmi (eds.), *All'origine della scienza moderna: Federico Cesi e l'Accademia dei Lincei*, Percorsi (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2007), pp. 203-270. For the bibliography of this interesting figure Gabrieli, *Contributi*, remains fundamental (especially 'Giusto Ricchio Belga: i suoi scritti editi ed inediti', pp. 1133-1164, and 'Ancora di Josse Rycke (Giusto Ricchio) panegirista o encomiatore ufficiale dei Lincei defunti nella prima Accademia', pp. 1165-1175); see also Id., *Il carteggio*, passim, which contains extracts from the published and unpublished correspondence of Rycquius as far as these are important for the *Lincei*. For Rycquius's Latin biography of Virginius Caesarinus (Virginius Cesarini), a 'Lynceus', see Eraldo Bellini, *Umanisti e Lincei. Letteratura e scienza a Roma nell'età di Galileo*, *Miscellanea erudite*, 61 (Padova: Antenore, 1997), pp. 245-309; for his other works related to the *Lincei*, see Angela Gallottini – Marco Guardo, 'Le *Apes Dianiae* di Iustus Riquius. Poesia e antiquaria nella prima Accademia dei Lincei', *L'Ellisse*, 3 (2008), 51-83; Federico Cesi, *Apiarium. Testo e traduzione*, I. A cura di Luigi Guerrini. Traduzione di Marco Guardo, *Storia dell'Accademia dei Lincei*, Fonti, 3 (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2005), passim.

⁵⁵ Cp. Gabrieli, *Contributi*, passim. During the sessions of the Academy, Rycquius's name had been mentioned several times, especially by Ioannes Faber (p. 535) and the *Academiae princeps* Cesi himself (pp. 535-536, 541), who had no doubts about Rycquius's qualities (1621): '(...) et alter Justus Lipsius erit, cuius diligentissimus discipulus fuit'. Therefore, Faber, after a meeting of the *Lincei* (April 1621) in which Rycquius's name had been mentioned once more, wrote (Rome, 1 May 1621) to Galileo Galilei in Florence to ask the latter how he thought about this candidate, whom he introduced like this:

and eloquence at the University of Bologna (1626-1627) until his untimely death in December 1627.⁵⁶ His first sojourn in Italy, however, dated from the period immediately following his studies at Douai University, i.e. from the autumn of 1606, and would last until early 1612. For some time, Rycquius was employed by Ludovico (di) Sarego (1558-1625), a count who for some time worked as a vice-legate in Perugia for Cardinal Bonifacio Bevilacqua and who obviously had to reside for lengthy periods in Umbria.⁵⁷ Sarego and Rycquius, however, also spent much time in Rome.⁵⁸ Anyhow, the intermediary between Chifellius and Rycquius, a letter of the latter insinuates, was Bartholinus: thanks to a *testimonium*⁵⁹ delivered by Bartholinus, the young poet and scholar from Ghent was welcomed warmly by Chifellius. When exactly their first encounter took place, remains unclear; on account of the fact that both Chifellius's and Rycquius's names appear in a publication on the

'E finalmente Iusto Rykio, Belga, che quasi è un altro Lipsio; scrisse ultimamente una bellissima opera *De Capitolio*, et ha stampato molti versi et epistole. V.S. consideri questi soggetti, et ci dia il suo parere quanto prima' (cp. Gabrieli, *Il carteggio*, pp. 735-736). Contrary to what Gabrieli (*Contributi*, p. 978) and Bellini (*Umanisti e Lincei*, p. 277) wrote, Rycquius was not a pupil of Lipsius; both in his poetry and in his letters, however, he presented himself as an admirer (and correspondent) of the Leuven humanist (cp. Ferro, 'Accademia dei Lincei', pp. 215-216; Marc Laureys, 'A Newly Discovered Poem of Justus Rycquius', in Pol Defosse (ed.), *Hommages à Carl Deroux*, 5: *Christianisme et Moyen Âge. Néo-latin et survivance de la latinité*, Collection Latomus, 279 (Bruxelles: Latomus, 2004), pp. 453-465 (p. 455, note 9)). In Rome, as in the rest of Italy, Lipsius's writings were very popular in the first half of the *Seicento*. Cesi, the founding father of the *Lincei*, admired Lipsius's works (letter to Ioannes Faber, 6 November 1617: 'Quoad studia (...) recreor, et quandoque Lipsianis, praesertim Stoicis': Gabrieli, *Il carteggio*, pp. 617-618).

⁵⁶ For Rycquius's appointment there (and a good salary of 700 *aurei*), efforts had been done by Cardinal Cobelluzzi (cp. Gabrieli, *Contributi*, p. 462), Federico Cesi (cp. Gabrieli, *Il carteggio*, pp. 626-627) and Scioppius (cp. Gabrieli, *Contributi*, p. 1271; Jaitner, *Kaspar Schoppe*, I, 826). Both for Rycquius himself and for the prestige of the *Lincei*, of which the Ghent humanist had become a member, this position was much better than that of secretary to Federico Cesi (for the Latin and Italian correspondence), a job offered to Rycquius from at least January 1614 on (cp. Gabrieli, *Il carteggio*, pp. 409-410, 422-423, 446-447, 835-836).

⁵⁷ Ludovico (di) Sarego, a vice-legate and later the governor of Perugia; also bishop of Adria, 1612-1623; he died in 1625: see Henry Biaudet, *Les nonciatures apostoliques permanentes jusqu'en 1648*, *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*, B, II, 1 (Helsinki: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 1910), p. 285; Ferro, 'Accademia dei Lincei', pp. 226-227.

⁵⁸ Rycquius's correspondence suggests that he was certainly in Rome from January to September 1607, in April 1608, from February to October 1609, from February to early May and from late June to November 1610, from January to October 1611. Cp. *Iusti Rickii Gandensis Belgae Primitiae epistolicae* (...) (*Coloniae Agrippinae*: Bernardus Gualtherus, 1610) and *Iusti Rycquii Gandensis Epistolarum selectarum centuria altera*.

⁵⁹ See note 64.

occasion of the promotion of Franciscus Viverius, a Ghent physician who obtained his degree of *medicinae doctor* at the Sapienza in Rome,⁶⁰ one would be inclined to date it around March 1606, the more so because Rycquius afterwards alluded to their joint efforts to pay poetic homage to Viverius for his promotion;⁶¹ but this is utterly incredible, since Rycquius could impossibly be in Rome on 20 March 1606 — he did not

⁶⁰ Cp. *Disputatio medica de convulsione. Quam, favente Deo, consensu, et auctoritate, admodum illustris d(omini) rectoris, d(omini) Mutii Vellii, praeside clarissimo, expertissimoque viro, d(omino) Marsilio Cognato, med(icinae) doct(ore) eiusdemque facultatis profess(ore) primario, propugnabit, in amplissima orbis urbe, in Sapiencia, Franciscus Viverius, Belga, Gandavensis. Anno M.DCVI. Mense Martio. Die XX. Hora XXI* (Romae: Aloysius Zannettus, 1606). This booklet (a copy of which is held at the Biblioteca Alessandrina in Rome (XIII c 19.7)) contains some forgotten poems, written by not only Chifellius, but also the Ghent humanists Justus Rycquius, Maxaemilianus Vrientius and Ioannes Gambier; see Appendix, D. Justus Rycquius was a good friend of Franciscus Viverius, whose name already appears in the former's first collection of Latin poetry (*Iusti Ryckii Gandensis LL. Apud Catuacos stud. Praeludia poetica* (Duaci: Carolus Boscardus, 1606), in the section *Anagrammata*, p. 106: 'Franciscus Viiverius [sic]. Curre. Sic. Fis. Iuvans. Vi'); in the margin of that page Rycquius added 'Concivis meus, Medicinae baccalaureus ut vocant, nuper in Italiam profectus' (Rycquius's *Praeludia* were ready for the press in December 1605: the dedication letter dates from 22 December 1605, the *imprimatur* from 8 December 1605); therefore, Viverius must have travelled to Italy in the autumn of 1605 at the latest (he returned to Belgium in June 1608 at the latest); the poem, however, does not suggest that Viverius wanted to go to Rome, but insinuates that he wanted to take his doctor's degree in Bologna or in Padua. After Viverius's return to Ghent, Rycquius kept in touch with him: his name appears in *Iusti Ryckii Gandensis Belgae primitiae*, nr. 37, pp. 59-60 (Rycquius, Perugia, 9 September 1608, to Viverius in Ghent), where Rycquius complains about Viverius's silence, adding that the latter has left Italy more than three months earlier, and in *Iusti Ryckii Gandensis Epistolarum selectarum centuria*, pp. 265-267, nr. 96 (Rycquius, Leuven, 13 January [1615], to Franciscus Viverius in Ghent). This second letter mentions Franciscus's *reverendus frater*, no doubt the Jesuit Robertus Viverius (Ghent, 1580-1653), on whom see Willem Audenaert, *Prosopographia Iesuitica Belgica Antiqua* (PIBA). *A Biographical Dictionary of the Jesuits in the Low Countries 1542-1773*, 2 (Leuven – Heverlee: Filosofisch en Theologisch College S.J., 2000), p. 409. There is an anagrammatical poem on Robertus Viverius in Rycquius, *Praeludia*, pp. 101-102 and a letter (Rome, 23 August 1609) to the same in *Iusti Ryckii Gandensis Belgae Primitiae*, pp. 184-185, nr. 97 (mentioning also his brother). Probably at the Jesuit Robertus's request, Sidronius Hosschius SJ (1596-1653) in 1652 contributed a Latin poem and an epigram to the *Antidotarium Gandavense* (Gandavi: Balduinus Manilius, 1652) edited by Franciscus Viverius and two colleagues of his (cp. Dirk Sacré, 'Some Unexplored Editions of Sidronius Hosschius's (and of Becanus's) Poetry (with a Forgotten Poem)', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 47 (1998), 350-357 (pp. 355-357)). Vrientius, too, maintained a good rapport with Franciscus Viverius: among his epigrams, there is one entitled *Ad Franciscum Viverium medicum (Maxaemyliani Vrientii Gandensis Epigrammatum libri IX. Emendati, & plurimum aucti. Editio altera* (Brugis: Nicolaus Breygelius, 1627), p. 236).

⁶¹ Cp. note 64.

arrive there before the end of that year.⁶² Consequently, Rycquius's poem for Viverius's graduating was not written in Italy, but dispatched from the Low Countries to Rome in January or February 1606, just as Vrientius's congratulatory poem⁶³ was sent from Ghent. Furthermore, Viverius, who after his promotion stayed for some time in Rome, might have been the first person who told Chifellius about young Rycquius, before Bartholinus established a more solid connection between the two. Be that as it may, early in 1610 Rycquius was a personal witness of the disease that caused Chifellius's sudden blindness. Justus Rycquius remained a friend of his for many years. In a letter written to Chifellius from Leuven on 13 April 1615, Rycquius recalls the good old days spent in Rome, and remembers with sadness Chifellius's illness and the blindness it caused.⁶⁴

⁶² Rycquius was still in Douai on 22 February 1606, from where he wrote a (hitherto unpublished) letter to Justus Lipsius (cp. Aloïs Gerlo – Hendrik D.L. Vervliet, *Inventaire de la correspondance de Juste Lipse 1564-1606* (Anvers: Éditions Scientifiques Érasme, 1968), p. 400); another letter, dated 6 July 1606 and written to Gislenus Bultelius, was also composed in Douai (cp. *Iusti Rycquii Gandensis Epistolarum selectarum*, nr. 14). From a letter Rycquius wrote to Erycius Puteanus (*Iusti Ryckii Gandensis Belgae Primitiae*, nr. 43 (Perugia, 13 November 1608)) we learn that Rycquius, having crossed the Alps, arrived in Milan shortly after Puteanus had left Milan for Belgium ('Cum ad amplum illud et diffusum Mediolanum, permensis Rhaeticis Alpibus, paulo post tuam in Belgium profectionem venissem avidus, ut meus est mos, visendi Puteanum et eruditam eius manum deosculandi, nuntiatum mihi extemplo fuit te in patriam, ex qua recenter emerseram ego, rediisse et, quod magno mihi gaudio fuit, cl(arissimo) Iusto Lipsio suffectum Lovaniense Athenaeum petiisse'), i.e., shortly after 11 October 1606 (cp. Simar, *Étude sur Erycius Puteanus*, p. 7); therefore Rycquius cannot have reached Rome before November 1606. As far as I know, his first letter sent from Rome (*Iusti Ryckii Gandensis Belgae primitiae*, nr. 19) dates from 27 January 1607; by then he already enjoyed the 'familiaris congressus' of the humanist Iosephus Castalio who lived in Rome (on this very interesting, but hardly studied scholar, included in Nicius Erythraeus's *Pinacotheca*, see Javier Pizarro Sánchez, 'Notas críticas del humanista Iosephus Castalio a los *Aenigmata Symphosii*', *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios Latinos*, 17 (1999), 219-228); Castalio's talent as a young man was admired by Marcus Antonius Muretus (cp. *M. Antonii Mureti Opera omnia* (...), ed. Carolus Henricus Frotscher, 2 (Lipsiae, 1834 = Geneva: Slatkine, 1971), pp. 409-410; Jaitner, II, 2543 and passim).

⁶³ Besides, one can observe that Vrientius and Rycquius explicitly mentioned the fact that Viverius took his degree in Rome ('Francisco Viverio (...) doctoratum Romana in urbe adipiscenti (...) gratulatur Maxaemilianus Vrientius'; 'Francisco Viverio doctoralem medicinae laurum apud Romanos indipiscenti (...) adcinuit amicus et concivis Iustus Ryckius'), whereas Chifellius, who lived in Rome, did not ('Expertiss(imo) domino, d(omino) Francisco Viverio med(icinae) lauream adipiscenti, accinebat Henricus Kieffel Antverpiensis').

⁶⁴ Cp. *Iusti Rycquii Gandensis Epistolarum selectarum centuria*, pp. 275-277 (Rycquius to Henricus Chifellius, 'Musarum delictum' in Rome, 13 April 1615): 'Factum enim memini cum in urbe illa principe praesens agerem, ut pestilentis illius catarrhi defludio citius paene ad caecitatem pervenires, quam aegrotare te crederes. Quin et doloris, quem

Two years later, in 1617, Rycquius seems to have turned to Chifellius and the latter's Roman relations: they could help him, he hoped, to obtain a benefice in Antwerp.⁶⁵

When Rycquius's first stay in Rome had come to an end, he often asked his Roman friend Johannes Faber (1574-1629),⁶⁶ who by then was the closest collaborator of Federico Cesi in the *Accademia dei Lincei*, a physician at S. Spirito in Sassia and a professor in the Faculty of Medicine of the *Sapienza*, to greet Chifellius (until then not his colleague at the university).⁶⁷ Faber, who lived near the Pantheon, might have visited Chifellius now and then, and might have given him medical advice — Chifellius's health was poor.

Rycquius will have mentioned Chifellius's qualities also to his Umbrian friend Johannes Baptista Laurus (1579-1629)⁶⁸ and will have brought the two scholars in contact with each other. Laurus, born in

inde conceperamus, Viverius testis esse poterit, cuius doctoralem apicem communi carminum symbola honestavimus, Viverius, inquam, cuius memoria quin adhuc apud te vigeat plane non dubito. Nam Rycquium vidisse quidem Romae potes, sed ignorasse; quem tamen ne diutius ignorares et tua benevolentia et cl(arissimi) Bartholini testimonium effecit'.

⁶⁵ Cp. Gabrieli, *Il carteggio*, pp. 603-604 (Rycquius, 16 July 1617, to Iohannes Faber in Rome): 'Ho scritto ultimamente al Sig. Chiffelio per una vacanza di Anversa, et questo più per far piacer all'amici, che per volontà mia. Ma di questa lettera non ho mai visto risposta alcuna'.

⁶⁶ See on him i.a. Gabrieli, *Contributi*, passim; Id, *Il carteggio*, passim; Battistini – De Angelis – Olmi, *All'origine della scienza*, passim; *DBI*, 43 (1993), 686-689 (by Gabriella Belloni Speciale); Jaitner, *Kaspar Schoppe*, II, 2585-2586. Rycquius got in touch with Faber shortly after his arrival in Rome (1607); he already contributed a poem to Faber's *De nardo et epithymio adversus Josephum Scaligerum disputatio* (...) (Romae: Gullielmus Faciottus, 1607), p. 52 (Faber's work is dated 1 February 1607, and was printed in the summer of that year: the dedication letter bears the date 1 August 1607: Gabrieli, *Contributi*, p. 1188).

⁶⁷ Cp. Gabrieli, *Il carteggio*, pp. 631-634 (Rycquius to Faber from Flanders, 9 April 1618) ('delicio Musarum Chifelio'); p. 670 (Rycquius to Faber from Flanders, 7 November 1618) ('viris amicissimis (...) Bartholino, Chifellio, salutem meam, cum libuerit, offeres'; in a part of this letter Gabrieli did not publish (Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana, Fondo Faber, ms. 423, f. 424r), Chifellius is mentioned again: 'Et, per Deum immortalem, quem movere aut perturbare non potuit tam pertinax aliquot mensium in scribendo desidia tamque obfirmatum silentium tuum — tuum dico? Immo et Romanorum omnium, Gravii, Chifellii, Bartholini —, et eo maxime tempore, quo ingentes epistolarum acervos expectabam?'). In a letter Rycquius sent to his friend Henricus Gravius (Ghent, 15 July 1621), only part of which was published by Gabrieli, *Il carteggio*, pp. 740-741, he wrote in a postscript (Fondo Faber, ms. 423, f. 481r): '(...) et salveant amici D. Bartholinus, D. Kieffelius, etc.'

⁶⁸ On whom see Bignami Odier, *La bibliothèque vaticane*, pp. 110, 127 and (with some errors) 135; there is a nice literary portrait of him in *Iani Nicii Erithraei Pinacotheca*, pp. 254-255.

Perugia, was a former student of the famous Marcus Antonius Bonciarius (1555-1616), a priest, a Neo-Latin writer, and a lecturer at Perugia, who later on established himself in Rome and became a protégé, first of Cardinal Marcello Lante (1561-1652)⁶⁹, then of pope Urban VIII, to whom he was a *cubicularius intimus*; moreover he was appointed 'custode' of the new *Archivio consistoriale* in 1626 and Latin secretary to Cardinal Francesco Barberini.⁷⁰ Laurus and Rycquius must have made each other's acquaintance in Perugia, when the latter was in the service of Ludovico di Sarego and the former teaching philosophy and some related disciplines in that city from 1605 to 1611.⁷¹ We do not know when exactly Rycquius introduced Laurus to Chifellius; the first testimony of their friendship can be read in Laurus's *Theatri Romani orchestra*, a dialogue on erudite persons of his age, written in Rome in 1618 and published in 1625 by his friend Justus Rycquius. In it, Laurus praised Chifellius's poetry, above all his *Lacippias*: '(...) Henricus Ghifellius Antverpiensis, cuius ingenio valde fenerat (heu!) iuvenem adorta caecitas, levat tamen oculatas Musas Io(annis) Baptistae Coccini Veneti, iuris et artium consultissimi Romanae Rotae decani, liberalitas; cui gravissimi poematis de bello Granatensi per regem Ferdinandum gesto primitias debemus, a Ghiffellio in gustum et in tristi luminum orbitate ad famae fulgur et lucem datas'.⁷² From 1619 on, the Antwerp humanist shows up regularly in Laurus's correspondence. Thus in 1619, as I said before, Laurus was eager to read Chifellius's supplement to Seneca's play. A year later, Laurus mentioned Chifellius and Bartholinus as friends with who he discussed Puteanus's many new publications.⁷³ Furthermore, Laurus solicited the critical advice of Chifellius about his Latin letters when he was considering having these published — not surprisingly,

⁶⁹ On whom see the entry by Renato Sansa, in *DBI*, 63 (2004), 637-639.

⁷⁰ This last office is mentioned explicitly in a manuscript letter Laurus addressed to Puteanus on 23 September 1623 (kept at Brussels, Royal Library, cod. 19109): 'atque ineunte Septembri iussit esse Ill(ustrissi)mo Nepoti ab epistolis Latinis'. See also Jaitner, *Kaspar Schoppe*, II, 2657.

⁷¹ Cp. Giuseppe Ermini, *Storia dell'Università di Perugia*, I, Storia delle università italiane, 1 (Firenze: Olschki, 1971), p. 587; cp. also Ferro, 'Accademia dei Lincei', p. 229.

⁷² *Theatri Romani Orchestra Io. Baptistae Lauri Perusini dialogus de viris sui aevi doctrina illustribus, Romae MDCXVIII, opera et industria Iusti Riquii Belgae in lucem editus* (Romae: Andreas Phaeus, 1625), p. 36; cp. also p. 44, where he praises the 'suavissima poematia' Chifellius has written.

⁷³ *Io. Baptistae Lauri Perusini Epistolarum centuria selecta*, pp. 186-187 (Laurus from Rome to Puteanus in Leuven, no date, but inserted between letters dating from 1620).

Chifellius put in a good word for their publication.⁷⁴ With that purpose Laurus (probably in 1621) tried to recover two letters Chifellius had written to him in praise of that correspondence.⁷⁵

Furthermore, Chifellius was a good friend, it appears, of Iacobus Vectianus (Vezzani, 1580-1645), an interesting but barely-studied pedagogue and Neo-Latin writer, who came from Reggio Emilia but lived in Rome during the periods 1601-1606 and (with the exception of the school year 1618-1619) ca. 1617-1621. During his second period in Rome, he was teaching in the *Collegium Clementinum* of the Somaschi, a congregation with whose members he was on good terms, though in the end he did not become a Somascan himself, but remained a secular priest. As a Latin author, he enjoyed some standing, exchanging Latin poems with the learned abbot Antonius Qua(e)rengus (Querenghi, 1546-1633) and other erudite clerics connected to the Roman Curia.⁷⁶ Vectianus's correspondence informs us that Chifellius used to discuss his Latin poetry with some Somascan fathers, among them Petrus Morus (Moro), a teacher of eloquence at the Roman college of the Somaschi, and a certain Tasca;⁷⁷ these men introduced Vectianus to Chifellius in 1618. Thus Vectianus became a friend of Chifellius and an outspoken admirer of the latter's Latin poetry, especially of the epic poem on the reconquista of Granada; he urged the poet to pursue his labours on the poem, only the first book of which had been issued in 1615; he wanted to be informed about Chifellius's situation while he himself was working in the college of Amelia (1618-1619);⁷⁸ and Chifellius, on his side, recommended his

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 234-235 (Chifellius from Rome to Laurus, 4 June 1620).

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 259-260 (Laurus from Perugia to Gauco Gaukema in Rome, no date). One of these letters Chifellius would have written 'pridie Non. Iulii' — this seems to be an error for 'pridie Non. Iunii' because the content of the letter corresponds with that of the letter mentioned in the preceding note.

⁷⁶ On Vectianus, see Girolamo Tiraboschi, *Biblioteca modenese* (...), 5 (Modena: Società Tipografica, 1784), pp. 364-384, and 6 (*ibid.*, 1786), pp. 207-208. I want to thank Father Maurizio Brioli from the Archives of the Somaschi, who kindly transmitted to me important information on Vectianus. On Quaerengus, see Motta, *Antonio Querenghi*, and the long entry in Allatius, *Apes Urbanae*, pp. 44-50.

⁷⁷ Pietro Moro (+ 1661) and Tasca (most probably either Vincenzo, who died in 1627, or Stefano, who died in 1650) are mentioned in the 'Authority list' of Somascan Fathers (see the 'Lista CRS' on the website of the Archivio generalizio, Chierici Regolari Somaschi, on internet).

⁷⁸ Cp. *Iacobi Vectiani Regiensis Selectarum epistolarum*, pp. 485-486 (Vectianus from Amelia to Petrus Morus in Rome, December 1618): 'Mihi visus fuisset graviter peccare et amicitiae, quam cum Chifellio tuo nuperrime contraxi, insignem facere iniuriam, nisi

'amicus' even to Erycius Puteanus in Leuven in 1620.⁷⁹ Perhaps through Chifellius, Vectianus entered in contact with Laurus — from 1619 on, Vectianus's name appears in Laurus's correspondence.

It is unclear what circumstances caused Chifellius to write a liminary poem for an epic by the Franciscan friar Bonaventura Moronus (Morone, 1557-1621), issued in 1614.⁸⁰ Moronus lived in Rome for some years,

eum post duos propemodum menses, ex quo ab Urbe discessi, per litteras (quod eram pollicitus) salutassem. Eius Lacippiadem iterum legi attentius et magis per otium; mirum quantum rursus placuerit Stadiana illa rotunditas et numerus usquequaque plenus. Laudare volui — quid dico laudare? Indicare volui de ea quid sentirem nec tamen exprimere id quod est potui, etsi animo videor probe admodum tenere. (...) Re vera, quod monet Horatius, sumpsit materiam suis aequam viribus [cp. Hor., *ars*, 38-39]; nam si paulo inferiorem nacta esset illa carminis maiestas, merito aliquis reprehendere potuisset granditatem nimiam. Tu et Tasca noster, qui lateri adhaeretis, quos patitur hortatores atque interdum etiam suorum lucubrationum Aristarchos, urgete saepe eum ut pergat ad reliqua neque incohatam solum nobis relinquat istam Venerem. Ultro vestram illi operam offerte et re vera praestate in excipiendis, scribendis ac describendis quos Musae suo dictant Homero versibus tam cultis. De eius consuetudine vobis tantum invidio, quantum iis invideri solet, qui re aliqua suavissima et iucundissima sine rivali perfruuntur'; pp. 487-488 (Petrus Morus from Rome to Vectianus in Amelia, 5 January 1619): 'Quam multa Henrico Chifellio debeatur laus, sentio et ego tecum (...). Quod igitur tuis litteris adumbrasti, perforce et illius laudes iusto opere describe. Et quoniam in huius frequentem mentionem incidi, dole, Vectiane, et vehementer dole: decumbit ille in lecto aeger (...)'; pp. 489-490 (Vectianus from Amelia to Petrus Morus in Rome, 13 January 1619): 'Nam si Chifellii aegritudinem nuntiasses atque oculorum morbum neque ullam interea attulisses levationis spem, quali me doloris plaga sauciasses! Percussere certe illico animum verba illa tua: "Dole, Vectiane, dole"; at respiravi ubi illuc perveni paene exanimatus: "nunc tandem surgit e lecto et desiderare paulatim incipit tumor". Hominem quaeso move ut suae imprimis salutis rationem habeat, cetera sibi commode agenda putet'. There are also three letters written by Vectianus to Chifellius and published in *Iacobi Vectiani primus ad amicos & patronos selectarum epistolarum manipulus* (...). *Alter editio* (Genuae: Io. Maria Farronus, 1643). In the first one (written in Amelia on 14 December [1618], pp. 277-279), Vectianus praises Chifellius's epic poem, and notes i.a. 'Certe superioribus mensibus, Romae cum essem, ita me devinxisti praestantissimis animi tui dotibus, praesertim vero singulari humanitate, comitate atque eruditione tua, ut (si unum aut alterum excipiam) quibus primas in amicitia deferam, habeam neminem'. In the second one (written in Reggio on 27 August 1624, pp. 330-332), he states that he misses Rome and Chifellius's company ('quod tua qua iucundissime fruebar tuique similium consuetudine et suavissimis sermonibus careo, qui Romam decoratis vel ista privata vita') and hopes that he will soon receive Chifellius's epithalamium (meaning in all probability the 1621 poem for the wedding of Federico Della Rovere and Claudia de'Medici), 'quod leviter Romae degustatum devorare iam totum cupio'. In the third one, sent from Reggio (and dated 27 August 1522, which must be a misprint for a date posterior to 27 August 1624, pp. 332-334), he acknowledges the receipt of the epithalamium and praises it.

⁷⁹ Chifellius from Rome to Erycius Puteanus in Leuven, 17 October 1620: 'Salvere te iubeo nomine amici mei Iacobi Vectiani ex ordine Clericorum regularium, quos Somaschenses vocant, viri adprime literati et amicitia tua digni (...)': see Appendix, A, 3.

⁸⁰ See Appendix, B, 1.

but to date no documents offer evidence of a close relationship between the two poets. Not much more is known about the relation between Chifellius and the distinguished Franciscan Lucas Waddingus (1588-1657), an Irish scholar who had settled in Rome in December 1618, where the support of Cardinal Ludovisi, the official protector of Ireland, would enable him to found the Irish College of St. Isidore (1625).⁸¹ In 1623, Waddingus published the collected works of St. Francis of Assisi with introduction and commentary at the *Officina Plantiniana* in Antwerp. For the translation into Latin of two Italian songs of St. Francis, Waddingus made an appeal to Latinists who were working in Rome, the Jesuit Iacobus Lampugnano (1597-1654), who taught rhetoric at the *Collegio romano* of his order and rendered the third song in a variety of classical metres, and Chifellius, who translated the second song in rather unclassical Sapphic stanzas, the hendecasyllables of which are followed irregularly by adonean lines.⁸² The translation was finished before the autumn of 1621.⁸³ This Latin version was reissued time and again⁸⁴ and served as the basis of a translation into German verse.⁸⁵

⁸¹ Cp. e.g. Gregory Cleary, *Father Luke Wadding and St. Isidore's College Rome: biographical and historical notes and documents. A contribution to the tercentenary celebration 1625-1925* (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1925); Patrick J. Corish, 'The Beginnings of the Irish College, Rome', in *The Franciscan Fathers Dún Mhuire, Killiney* (eds.), *Father Luke Wadding. Commemorative volume* (Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds – London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1957), pp. 284-294; Paolo Broggio, 'Un teologo irlandese nella Roma del Seicento. Il francescano Luke Wadding', *Roma moderna e contemporanea*, 18 (2010), 151-178.

⁸² *B.P. Francisci Assisiatis Opuscula nunc primum collecta, tribus tomis distincta, notis et commentariis asceticis illustrata, per Fr. Lucam Waddingum* (...) (Antverpiae: Officina Plantiniana, 1623), pp. 402-405. On p. 402 Waddingus wrote: 'Latinum fecit Henricus Chifellius Antverpiensis, qui erudito et plane heroico carmine bellum Granatense descripsit'.

⁸³ The Italian approbations date from April to July 1621. Hence, no mention is made of Chifellius as a professor at the Sapienza.

⁸⁴ See e.g. *Sancti Francisci Assisiatis, Minorum patriarchae, nec non S. Antonii Paduani, eiusdem ordinis, Opera omnia* (...) *Opera et labore R.P. Ioannis de la Haye* (...) (Parisiis: Dionysius Bechet, 1641), pp. 57-58; *Sancti Francisci Assisiatis (...) nec non S. Antonii Paduani (...) Opera omnia* (Pedeponti: sumptibus Ioannis Gastl, 1739), pp. 57-58 (both editions also copy Waddingus's note on Chifellius).

⁸⁵ *Francisci Assisiatis Opera omnia secundum editionem Fr. Lucae Wadding Hiberni, fratris minoris, denuo edidit, cantica ejus a H. Chifellio et Jac. Lampugnano Latine et utraque a Frid. Schlossero Germanice reddita recepit, vitam a sancto Bonaventura concinnatam textu recognito adjecit Joh. Jos. Von der Burg* (...) (Coloniae, Bonnae et Bruxellis: J. Steven, 1849), pp. 155-165. To the German translation is added 'Nach dem lateinischen des Heinrich Chifellius'.

More than ten years later, no doubt via Rycquius, the Neo-Latin poet Lambertus Vossius (ca. 1602-1648),⁸⁶ a young scholar from Northern Brabant who lived in Italy in the years 1625-1627, visited Chifellius more than once, using him as a reference in 1627, when he wanted to offer his manuscript Latin poetry to Cardinal Francesco Barberini in order to obtain some support from the latter: 'Hortantur tamen et urgent cottidie ut etiam nunc A(mplitudini) V(estrae) haec poematia exhibeam amici mei, viri sane pereruditi, quorum consilio (cum alioquin imperare possent) salva illorum dignitate et mea, quam illis debeo, reverentia, non possum non obsecundare. Impellunt me viri clarissimi D(omini) Justus Riquius et Henricus Chifellius, ambo conterranei mei et ambo elegantiorum litterarum professores, Romae quidem hic, alter vero Bononiae'.⁸⁷

More intense might have been Chifellius's contacts with yet another poet from the Netherlands, who seems to have spent many years in Rome, Gauco Gaukema (1568 – after 1628). Gaukema, now a largely forgotten figure, came from Friesland, had studied at Cologne and Bologna, and was a protégé of Cardinal Antonio Carafa (1538-1591) and later of Urban VIII; he also wrote Neo-Latin poems. He had besides an employment as a clerk to the Sacred College of Cardinals.⁸⁸ A topic of a letter Laurus wrote to him in 1621 is the correspondence of Chifellius, called 'Chifellius noster'⁸⁹; and it was Gaukema who in the 1620s informed Franciscus Sweertius, then working on a bibliography of learned persons from the Low Countries, in Antwerp about Chifellius's appointment as a professor at the Sapienza.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Cp. Dirk Sacré, 'Lamberti Vossii Belgae (1602(?)-1648(?)) ode ad Fridericum Cardinalem Borromaeum inedita', *Melissa*, 57 (1993), 8-9 (with more literature on Vossius); id., 'An unknown letter to Hugo Grotius, 1627', *Lias*, 32 (2005), 59-66 (pp. 61-63); see also Gabrieli, *Contributi*, p. 934; *Il carteggio*, pp. 1132-1133.

⁸⁷ Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. Barb. Lat. 2088, f. Ilv (in the prefatory letter to Cardinal Barberini, Rome, 18 April 1627); the manuscript is a collection of poems in honour of that Cardinal. The words *etiam nunc* in the quote refer to the fact that the poems had been composed already the year before.

⁸⁸ Cp. Sweertius, *Athenae Belgicae*, p. 266; Paquot, *Mémoires*, 1, pp. 15-16; A.J. van der Aa, *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden* (...), 3 (Haarlem: J. van Brederorde, 1852 = Amsterdam: B.M. Israël, 1969), 15; Jaitner, II, 2608-2609.

⁸⁹ *Io. Baptistae Lauri Perusini Epistolarum centuria selecta*, pp. 259-262.

⁹⁰ Cp. Sweertius, *Athenae Belgicae*, pp. 331-332: 'Dum Athenas Belgicas adornamus, scribit ad me Roma Gauco Gaukema, canonicus Aquisgranensis, Kifelium nostrum Romae agere eloquentiae professorem. O magna laus Belgarum!'

Chifellius was mentioned with much respect by Leo Allatius (1586-1669)⁹¹ in the *Apes Urbanae*,⁹² the manifesto so to speak of international culture and learning in Barberinian Rome and to some extent a sequel to Laurus's *Theatri Romani orchestra* from 1618-1625.

Carolus de Comitibus, a lesser-known Latin poet in baroque Rome, who was on good terms with the members of *De propaganda fide*, writing in a Catullan vein and the author of a number of booklets published in the years 1650-1653, dedicated one of his poems to the Roman professor.⁹³

Furthermore Henricus Chifellius kept in contact with some humanists in Belgium both before and after his appointment as professor at the Sapienza. The occasion of his first epistle to Erycius Puteanus in December 1614 was the latter's essay on blindness (*Erycii Puteani Caecitatis consolatio* (...)) [Lovanii: Gerardus Rivius, 1609]) which had charmed Chifellius, himself a recent victim of a sudden blindness. From Rome, the emigré sent some of his recent Neo-Latin works to Puteanus in Leuven, including his epic book on the reconquista of Granada. Puteanus did not answer too enthusiastically and even omitted to comment on the epic; therefore Chifellius did not try to continue the correspondence with his Leuven colleague once he was at work at the Sapienza; and Puteanus published only one letter he had addressed to Chifellius and moreover was quite absent-minded while editing it, since he systematically misspelled his colleague's name, writing Kiesfelius instead of Chifellius or Kieffelius;⁹⁴ and yet, in 1643, he considered his Roman correspondent important enough to have him mentioned among his friends in his *De*

⁹¹ See the entry on him in *DBI*, 2 (1960), 467-471 (by Domenico Musti). He became a *scriptor* of the Vaticana when cardinal Cobelluzzi was in charge of the Library (1618-1626) and was largely responsible for the transfer of the *Bibliotheca Palatina* from Heidelberg to Rome in 1622-1623; he later became a librarian to Cardinal Francesco Barberini; in 1661 he succeeded to Lucas Holstenius as *primo custode* of the Vatican Library.

⁹² Pp. 128-129 (as 'Henricus Chiffellius'). Allatius also quotes from Laurus's *Theatri Romani orchestra*; on Chifellius's *Lacippias* (here called *Granateis*), he says that the humanist had finished five books of it; we know that Chifellius intended to compose twelve books (see his letter to Puteanus from 21 March 1615 in Appendix A, 2); only one book was published.

⁹³ Cp. Dirk Sacré, 'Caroli de Comitibus, poetae Romani qui Catullum saeculo XVII est imitatus, carmina edita atque inedita', *Melissa*, 132 (2006), 10-12 (on p. 12: de Comitibus's *Ad Henricum Chifellium*); 133 (2006), 10-13.

⁹⁴ Cp. Puteanus (Leuven) to Chifellius (Rome), 23 January 1615, in *Erycii Puteani Epistolarum Atticarum centuria singularis et nova* (Lovanii: Philippus Dormalius, 1625), p. 214. Rycquius might have told Chifellius about the Leuven professor Puteanus in the

Anagrammatismo (Bruxellae: Ioannes Mommartius, 1643), a collection of anagrams on friends and relations.⁹⁵

Another person whose endeavours Chifellius viewed positively, not only because the man came from Antwerp, Chifellius's native town, but also because he was going to include him in his bio-bibliographical work on learned persons from the Low Countries, was Franciscus Sweertius (1567-1629),⁹⁶ the learned Antwerp merchant and humanist; through Gaukema,⁹⁷ Sweertius will have heard about the promotion to professor of his fellow-citizen; he honoured Chifellius with a warm entry in his 1628 *Athenae Belgicae* (pp. 331-332).

In the appendix the reader will find three forgotten and unpublished letters written by Chifellius to the Leuven humanist Erycius Puteanus; they date from 1614, 1615 and 1620; the new elements they offer have been used in the portrait of Chifellius sketched out above; a summary of each letter precedes the edition. They are followed by four overlooked poems, taken from printed editions in which they appear as liminary poems in praise of the works they were attached to. There can be little doubt that more poems of the Belgo-Italian professor will show up in the largely unstudied Neo-Latin poetical production of 17th-century Italy. Furthermore, the appendix contains a reissue of Chifellius's extremely rare 1650 *elogium* in praise of the Venetian republic. Finally, it includes a new edition of overlooked poems written by Rycquius and Vrientius in 1606.⁹⁸

first place – Puteanus and Rycquius were in touch with each other since 1608: cp. Ferro, 'Accademia dei Lincei', p. 241.

⁹⁵ Cp. Andries Welkenhuysen, 'Scrabbling with Erycius Puteanus. The Album of his Friends and Correspondents in *De anagrammatismo*, 1643', in Dirk Sacré – Jan Papy (eds.), *Syntagmata. Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Honour of Monique Mund-Dopchie and Gilbert Tournoy*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, 26 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2009), pp. 639-677 (pp. 650-651: *Effelichius* as an anagram for *Chiffeleius*).

⁹⁶ Cp. the entry on him in *Nationaal biografisch woordenboek*, 14 (Brussel: Paleis der Academiën, 1992), cols. 664-672 (by Werner Waterschoot).

⁹⁷ For the regular contacts between Sweertius and Gaukema, see Laurus, *Epistolarum centuria selecta*, which contains a letter written by Sweertius (Antwerp) to Gaukema (Rome) in February 1619, stating i.a.: 'Amo tuam satis crebram scriptionem, satis, nimis non dicam, non si in dies me compelles. Suave semper a Gaukema aliquid et de reliquis amicis audire (...)'. Through Chifellius, Iacobus Vectianus, too, came in contact with Gaukema and Sweertius (cp. *Iacobi Vectiani primus ad amicus et patronos*, pp. 330-332 and 332-334); an unnoticed direct correspondence (two letters) between Vectianus and Sweertius one finds *ibid.*, pp. 284-287.

⁹⁸ I would like to thank Dr. William McCuaig, who corrected my English.

APPENDIX

A. Three unpublished letters by Chifellius to Erycius Puteanus (Brussels, Royal Library, cod. 19109)**1. Chifellius (Rome) to Puteanus (Leuven), 27 December 1614 (f. 194r)**

Chifellius expresses his admiration for Puteanus's work Consolatio caecitatis: it has helped the poet to overcome his sorrow over his own blindness. The work gives him the occasion to write to the renowned Leuven humanist who will hopefully deem him worthy of response. The Roman humanist tells about his former employment and about Ioannes Baptista Coccinus, his patron, in whose Roman palace he lives. He adds information on his Antwerp background. Greetings from Franciscus Bartholinus.

S(alutem) p(lurimam). Debeo virtuti tuae, vir doctissime, et hactenus quidem quia homo sum; hominum enim quicquid ubique est, debet tibi; nunc vero arctiore etiam nexu devincior. Incidi in libellum tuum de consolatione caecitatis et (fatebor ingenue) oculos, quos in corpore desiderabam, menti indidisti. O beatam amissionem, nobilem permutationem! Minime iam caecitatis piget, quae talem nacta sit consolatorem; nec amplius durum videtur quod disertissimae orationis tuae suavitas emoluit. Hoc mihi denique inter alia peropportunum accidit ut, quam diu ambiveram, tui consalutandi occasio nasceretur; ea est enim nominis tui claritudo, ut vel innotescere tibi magnificum sit ac gloriosum; quod ut felicius assequar, ne me sperato responso defraudes obnixè rogo. Commoror in palatio Ill(ustrissi)mi D(omini) Ioannis Baptistae Coccini, Rotae Romanae decani ac (ut Italico verbo dicam) Sacrae Poenitentiariae regentis, cui, dum viguere oculi, a studiis fui, et in hac orbitate mea liberalissimum Maecenatem habeo. Antverpiae natus sum educatusque; familiam non omnino tibi reor inauditam; sed et hoc ipsum, quod Belga sum, benevolentiae tuae aliquid promeretur. Unice te salvere iubet Franciscus Bartolinus, vir omnibus numeris absolutus, quicum familiarissime vivo. Vale et utinam ut te colo, sic me ames. Datae Romae VI Kal(endas) Januar(ii) MDCXIV.

Humillimus virtutum tuarum servus

Henricus Kieffel

2. Chifellius (Rome) to Puteanus (Leuven), 21 March 1615 (f. 195)⁹⁹

Chifellius thanks Puteanus for his most kind answer to his letter of 27 December 1614, which contained additional considerations about blindness. He has shown Puteanus's letter to his friend Bartholinus, since Puteanus had expressed his lasting feelings of friendship for Bartholinus. Chifellius wanted to thank Puteanus for his kindness and to articulate his admiration by sending a copy of his epic poem, which he hoped would issue from the press during the coming months; in the meantime however, on the advice of Bartholinus, he forwards another poem. His epic poem on the Spanish reconquista of Granada, of which the first book awaits its imprimatur, he intends to develop in twelve books. Coccinus returns the greetings he has received from Puteanus.

Ampliss(im)o doctissimoque viro Erycio Puteano D(omi)no suo plurima observ(anti)a colendo Henricus Kieffellius S(alutem) p(lurimam) d(icit).

Putaveram, vir ampliss(im)e, observantiae qua te prosequerbar adici non posse, sed (bone Deus!) quantum disertissimae tuae l(itte)rae ei addiderunt incrementum! Permulces profecto et animo suavissimus influis; atque adeo, quod pie suades, persuades doctissime efficisque ut quam prius caecitatem contemnebam solum, nunc amem quoque et ex infelicissimo, ut homines opinantur, infortunio ipsam eruam felicitatem. Tradidi Fran(cisc)o Bartolino tuas l(itte)ras, quas ille summo gaudio complexus est quod arguerent in veteris amicitiae memoriam nil intervalla terrarum, nil temporum iniuriam potuisse. Quisnam igitur tuam illam amicitiam non expetat, quae, ubi radices agit, alte agit, et semel actae 'non imbrum edacitate aut Aquilonis impotentia, non serie annorum aut fuga temporum extirpantur'?¹⁰⁰ Cum ergo de mittendo quopiam obser-

⁹⁹ To Chifellius's first letter, Puteanus answered with his letter from 23 January 1615 (published in 1625: see note 94); he thanks Chifellius for praising his *Caecitatis consolatio*; he pays his respect to Coccinus; he greets also Chifellius's friend Bartholinus ('praestantissimum Bartolinum meum, semper meum') — it was clearly Bartholinus who had told Chifellius about Puteanus and had encouraged him to write to the Leuven professor. A few months later, Rycquius (then living in Leuven) told Puteanus, *viva voce*, more about Chifellius: see Rycquius's letter to Chifellius (Leuven, 13 April 1615), in *Iusti Rycquii Gandensis Epistolarum selectarum centuria altera*, pp. 275-277. On Puteanus's *Caecitatis consolatio*, see Jeanine De Landtsheer, 'Erycius Puteanus's *Caecitatis consolatio* (1609) and Constantijn Huygens's *Ooghentroost* (1647)', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 49 (2000), 209-229.

¹⁰⁰ Cp. Hor., *carmin.*, 3, 30, 3-5.

vantiae meae signo cogitarem, placuerat quidem, uno adhuc alterove mense expectato, ardui cuiusdam longique heroici operis, quod prae manibus habeo, primum librum transmittere; sed consilium Bartolinus evertit utque interim breve ac tenue quod vides opusculum¹⁰¹ ostenderem plurimo hortatu vix tandem expressit; vereor enim ne scriptum in tenebris carmen ipsum quoque caliget vel, cum in manus tuas ceciderit, si quid exiguum lucis habet, solaribus tuis radiis obfuscetur, aut certe sublimioribus detentum operibus ludicrum istud meum vel offendat vel interrumpat; sed et quantumvis maximos minima quandoque delectant; et cum Statio meo dicam: 'Vaga cingitur astris luna et in Oceanum rivi cecidere minores'.¹⁰² Maiora sane et maiora multo molior et in quibus (paulo superbius loquar) nec mihi displiceo nec aliis; poema id est heroicum in libros duodecim (Deo favente) producendum de bello Granatensi (ut recentiori no(m)i(n)e utar) per Ferdinandum Catholicum gesto, suasque fictiones et poetica pigmenta continet; cuius ego primum librum, si dare in lucem visum fuerit, propediem transmittam.¹⁰³ Interim si quid sum et valeo, utere ut tuo: tuus enim et sum et esse gloriior. Salutavi, ut iussisti, ill(ustrissi)mum Maecenatem meum; qui vicissim prospera tibi omnia adprecatur, magnus pro-/ [f. 195v] -fecto virtutum tuarum admirator; cuius egregias laudes atque praestantiam et paene supra quam credibile est eximias animi dotes in aliud tempus tibi reservo plenius perscribendas. Vale. Dat(ae) Romae XII Kal(endas) April(is) M.D.C.XV.¹⁰⁴

3. Chifellius (Rome) to Puteanus (Leuven), 17 October 1620 (f. 196r)

It is almost five years since Chifellius received a letter from Puteanus. Recently, Ioannes Baptista Laurus read to Chifellius a letter, written by Puteanus, in which the latter mentioned Cardinal Maphaeus Barberinus; on this occasion, Laurus and Chifellius exchanged their praises of the Leuven humanist, from whom Chifellius now hopes to receive a letter in return. Coccinus, Chifellius's patron, possesses one of the richest libraries in Rome and Italy which is well provided with books in a variety of disciplines; it includes Puteanus's published correspondence. What a

¹⁰¹ Most probably his poem published in 1613: *Pauli Quinti Pont. Opt. Max. temporum felicitas* (...).

¹⁰² *Stat., silv.*, 1, 4, 36-37.

¹⁰³ The first book of the *Lacippias* must have been printed during the last days of 1615; the *imprimatur* dates from 1 December 1615.

¹⁰⁴ No answer from Puteanus to this letter seems to have survived.

pity that Chifellius is blind, so that he can become acquainted with only a small portion of the library's riches through a reader! A number of years ago, he entrusted a certain Goubautius with a copy of his epic poem; Goubautius must have forwarded it to Puteanus who, however, did not acknowledge receipt of it. On the title page, the name Chifellius is a rendering of his real name Kieffel; the 'K' was changed into 'Ch' for the sake of the Italian readers. Greetings from Vectianus, a good friend of Chifellius and an admirer of Puteanus.

Claris(sim)o doctissimoque viro D(omino) Erycio Puteano, Domino suo plurimum colendo Henricus Kifellius S(alutem) p(lurimam) d(icit).

Quid hoc rei est, vir doctissime, quatenam ista in tam longum silentium mutua nostra consensio? Effluxit Pythagorae biennium, immo paene quinquennium Apollonii: rumpendum ergo est, ne praescribatur.¹⁰⁵ Perlegit mihi nuper Jo(annes) Bap(tis)ta Laurus, tui observantissimus et egregie de repub(lic)a litteraria meritis, ep(istu)lam tuam in qua de ill(ustrissi)mo Barberino mentio est, ac tui desiderium velut ignem e superiniecto cinere denuo micantem accendit. Multi tunc mihi cum eo de te sermones. Mirabamur perspicax et indefessum ingenium nihil non indagans, enucleans, penetrans; felices vocabamus Lovanienses qui talem virum adspicerent, alloquerentur; nos vero non omnino infelices qui, lato licet terrarum intervallo dissiti, animis tamen tibi iungeremur et adspectu exclusi, iucundissimo saltem litterarum non prohiberemur alloquio - quo quidem ego iamdudum careo, sed tu ne diutius caream efficias. Ill(ustrissi-)mum Maecenatem meum Jo(annem) Bap(tis)tam Coccinum, Rotae decanum et Sacrae Paenitentiariae, ut vocant, regentem, iam tum nomine tuo consalutavi, cum litteris tuis iubebas; qui cum litteratorum omnium, tum vel maxime tuus est, qui inter illos excellis. Tuae Epistolarum centuriae¹⁰⁶ in bibliotheca eius sunt et magni sunt, in illa inquam bibliotheca qua nec in Urbe (Vaticanam excipio) nec Italia tota speciosius quicquam

¹⁰⁵ An allusion to the period of two or more years of silence the Pythagoreans had to observe. For the five years of Apollonius, see e.g. Philostratus's *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, 1, 14, 2.

¹⁰⁶ Prior to 1620, Puteanus published: *Epistolarum promulsis* (Francofurti, 1601; Lovanii, 1612); *Epistolarum fercula secunda* (Hanoviae, 1603; Lovanii, 1613); *Epistolarum bellaria* (Lovanii, 1612); *Epistolarum ap<op>horeta* (Lovanii, 1612); *Epistolarum reliquiae* (Lovanii, 1612); *Epistolarum Atticarum promulsis* (Coloniae, 1616); *Epistolarum Atticarum missus secundi* (Coloniae [but Leiden], 1617). There are no letters to Chifellius in these collections.

vel adfluentius.¹⁰⁷ Vigent in ea ac triumphant tot saeculorum labores, tot clarissimorum ingeniorum fecundi partus et non ad vulgarem, sed Epiceteti lucernam desudatae lucubrationes, nec in uno tantum vel altero scientiarum genere, sed universis. Dicam verbo: quicquid in re litteraria pretiosi tulit Europa huc congestum putes. Quo magis mihi indolendum est me in tam ubere scientiarum thesauro legendi facultate destitutum veluti Tantalum sitire inter undas, inter poma famere. Legitur mihi quidem subinde ab aliquo aliquid, sed (heu!) quota, quaeso, pars haec est illorum quae, si oculis vigerem, continue ipse lectione devorarem? Sic Deo visum, cuius resistere voluntati ἀδύνατον. Sic Domino placuit, qui et vulnerando medicat et atterendo confirmat et suaviter disponit omnia ad salutem. Ad me redeo. Tradidi ante aliquot annos, ni fallor, Jo(anni) Bap(tis)tae Goubautio¹⁰⁸ meum de bello Granatensi per Ferdinandum, regem Catholicum, gesto librum primum, tibi perferendum; credo pertulerit. Censuram tuam hactenus expecto. Cognomen meum, quod Belgice Kieffel, in hic editis Chifellium scripsi, cum apud Italos 'ch' idem valeat quod 'k'. Praestitisset forsitan 'k' reponere, ne aliter nostrates legant; sed cum Itali 'k' abhorreere soleant, regioni morem gessi.¹⁰⁹ Salvere te iubeo nomine amici mei Iacobi Vectiani ex ordine Clericorum regularium, quos

¹⁰⁷ Possibly no exaggeration, notwithstanding the fair number of important private libraries in Rome; cp. Bignami-Odier, *La bibliothèque*, p. 110. Later on in the Seicento the Barberini Library would become much more important, but at around this period it counted 'only' some 4000 books according to the 1623 inventory: see Sebastian Schütze, 'La biblioteca del cardinale Maffeo Barberini: prolegomena per una biografia culturale et intellettuale del Papa Poeta', in Mochi Onori – Schütze – Solinas, *I Barberini*, pp. 37–46.

¹⁰⁸ Unknown. Is he perhaps to be identified with the Ioannes Baptista Goubau (Goubavius) who appears in the correspondence of Puteanus? In the latter's *Epistolarum reliquiae, centuria V et postrema* (Lovanii: Christophorus Flavius, 1612), there is a letter written by Puteanus (Leuven, 29 November 1611) to Ioannes Baptista Goubavius Sr (Antwerp), from which it appears that Ioannes Baptista Jr was studying law and at the same time taking lessons from Puteanus, in whose house he lived as a *contubernalis*. He might have undertaken a *peregrinatio Romana* after his studies. That is what letter 97 of Puteanus's *Epistolarum Atticarum centuria singularis et nova* (Lovanii: Philippus Dormalius, 1625) suggests: in this letter from 24 April 1615, Puteanus writes to Goubavius i.a.: '(...) abi feliciter et in itinere amicos illos meos, quos nosti, adi ac saluta (...)'. The period too would fit perfectly, since Chifellius's *Lacippias* came out at Rome in the last days of 1615. An Antwerp citizen with the name Gaspar Goubau appears in 1608 in the archives of the Roman S. Maria dell'Anima (cp. G.J. Hoogewerff, *Bescheiden in Italië omtrent Nederlandsche kunstenaars en geleerden, 2: Rome. Archieven van bijzondere instellingen*, Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën, kleine serie, 12 ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1913), p. 568).

¹⁰⁹ In his first book (*Vitae S. Catharinae*, 1604) Chifellius still used the name 'Kieffel' on the title page (as in his first letter to Erycius Puteanus); from 1607 on 'Chifellius' was the form he preferred.

Somaschenses vocant, viri adprime litterati et amicitia tua digni, qui ob nominis tui celebritatem iamdudum tuus est et una mecum prospera tibi omnia adprecatur. Vale. Datae Romae XVI. Kal(endas) Novemb(ris) M.D.C.XX.¹¹⁰

B. Four overlooked poems of Chifellius

1. [1606] *Expertiss(imo) Domino D(omino) Francisco Viverio Med(icinae) lauream adipiscenti accinebat Henricus Kieffel Antverpiensis* (in *Disputatio medica de convulsione. Quam, favente Deo, consensu, et auctoritate, admodum illustris D(omini) Rectoris, D(omini) Mutii Vellii, praeside clarissimo, expertissimoque viro, D(omino) Marsilio Cognato, Med(icinae) doct(ore) eiusdemque facultatis profess(ore) primario, propugnabit, in amplissima orbis urbe, in Sapientia, Franciscus Viverius, Belga, Gandavensis. Anno M.DCVI. Mense Martio. Die XX. Hora XXI. Superiorum permissu* (Romae: apud Aloysium Zannettum, 1606), pp. 30-31)

Victory and Fame are delighted with Viverius's triumph. Apollo has instructed the young man in the art of medicine. Rome admires Viverius, just as his native Ghent is proud of him. May Viverius enjoy a long life and a lasting repute.

Chifellius recycled the general structure and some words, expressions and phrases of this poem in the second poem we reissue here (cp. e.g. ll. 1-4 with 2, 1-4).

Alma serenato ridens Victoria vultu	
Adstitit et niveas expandit laetior alas.	
Adstitit et patulas sese porrexit in auras	
Nescia longanimes frustrari Fama labores.	
Ipse diu merita circumdans tempora lauro	5
Ingenii miratus opes avidumque sciendi	
Pectus; et occultas investigantia rerum	
Naturaeque vices Patarae dominator Apollo	
Docta Machaonio tetigit praecordia suco	
Atque artes cognosse dedit, queis languida morbi	10
Segnities tristisque animi caligo dolentis	
Et staret mors ipsa procul, gnatumque tueri	
Iussit et in longos adstare Epidaurion annos.	
Macte animo! Iam Roma tuos mirata decores	

¹¹⁰ No answer from Puteanus seems to have survived.

In te oculos conversa stupet tamque alta laborum	15
Culmina victrici gaudet superata iuventa.	
Illa etiam triplici nexu spectanda fluenti	
Caesareis memoranda notis, memoranda triumphis	
Urbs generosa tuis, visu quae augusta superbo	
In pompam se pandit ovans et mole sua stat	20
Immense longoque ambit tecta incluta tractu	
Gandavum, patrio dignum te nomine clamat	
Et civem aethereas plaudens sustollit in auras.	
Illa potens, vasto iampridem cognita mundo	
Et populis celebrata suis, spectabile ducit	25
Te talem genuisse sibi, quo fama probetur,	
Extera quo patrios confirment arva valores.	
Vive diu meritumque tene per saecula nomen,	
Vivere, non alio poterat natura merentem	
Condecorare modo, fragilis seu tempora vitae,	30
Seu famae titulos, omnisque encomia gentis	
Et laudes spectasse libet: tua, Vivere, virtus	
Vivit et aeternum vivet vulgata per aevum.	

2. [1614] *Henrici Chifellii i(uris) u(triusque) d(octoris) Antverpiensis, poetae insignis, de auctore carmen* (in *Fr. Bonaventurae Moroni Tarentini ordinis Minorum arctioris observantiae, theologi, concionatoris, ac poenitentiarum Lateranensis Cataldiados ad cives suos libri sex. Accessit D. Cataldi vita a Bartholomaeo Morone fratre conscripta eiusdemque in singulos Cataldiados libros argumenta* (Romae: Ex typographia Iacobi Mascardi, 1614), p. XII)¹¹¹

Victory and Fame are delighted with this poem, written by a poet whose talent Apollo himself had recognized and fostered. The name of Moronus will be the unique and lasting glory of his native Taranto; the poet's work surpasses the epic poems of Statius, Lucan and Virgil. The realm of poetry sings the praises of this poet and Apollo prophesies the immortality of Moronus' Cataldias.

¹¹¹ Bonaventura Moronus (Cataldo Morone), born in Taranto in 1560, was a Franciscan friar and a Latin and Italian poet; he taught Greek to Maffeo and Francesco Barberini and died in 1621; his epic poem deals with the patron saint of his native Taranto. He lived in Rome around the years 1610-1614. Cp. Domenico De Angelis, *Le vite de' letterati salentini* (...), 2 (Napoli: Bernardo Michele Raillard, 1713), pp. 107-134; Camillo Minieri Riccio, *Memorie storiche degli scrittori nati nel Regno di Napoli* (Napoli: V. Puzeillo, 1844), p. 231; *DBI*, 77 (2012), p. 56, referring to the biographical entry by Marco Leoni, which can be consulted online only (www.treccani.it).

Alma serenato ridens Victoria vultu
 Adstitit et niveas expandit laetior alas;
 Adstitit et patulas sese porrexit in auras
 Nescia constantes frustrari Fama labores.
 Ipse animi miratur opes et nata Camenis 5
 Pectora Castalio Phoebus praecordia suco
 Imbuit et casta doctum sudare palaestra
 In Pindi sublime tulit, devotaque iunxit
 Foedera et Aonias iussit parere sorores.
 Vive Phalanteis qua te pulcherrima muris 10
 Ionii regina freti Spartana Tarentus
 In pompam diffundis ovans; mirare decores
 Et titulos agnosce tuos, veterumque per orbem
 Supprime gesta virum doctaeque encomia linguae:
 Moronum genuisse sat est; stant proxima caelo 15
 Nomina et antiquos egressa est fama triumphos.
 Cessit et Argivum reticet fera funera regum
 Parthenope, Emathias oblita est Corduba pugnas
 Et facilis dominas proiecit Mantua lauros.
 Applausere hilares redimitae tempora Musae 20
 Virgineusque Helicon celsique cacumina Pindi
 Parnassique iuga et gaudens clangore Cithaeron.
 Exiluit capitique diem formosus Apollo
 Addidit et puros circumtulit aureos ignes;
 Tum duo Pieriis insculpsit carmina fastis: 25
 "Vivat inextincta Moroni gloria luce;
 Duret in aeternos invicta Cataldias annos".

3. [1621] *De eiusdem v(iri) c(larissimi) Io(annis) Baptistae Lauri epistolis Henrici Ghifellii i(uris) u(triusque) d(octoris) Antverpiensis epigramma (in Io. Baptistae Lauri Perusini Epistolarum centuria selecta, n.p.)*¹¹²

*Ingenious and beautiful, written in an excellent style: such are these letters of Laurus. No wonder that because of their brilliant and acute style they surpass the prose of Pericles*¹¹³, *Cicero and Seneca: Laurus' s name refers to the laurels due to him.*

Quisquis es Aonia multum sudata palaestra
 Divitis ingenii qui monumenta legis,

¹¹² Laurus's letters were issued in Rome (Andreas Phaeus) in 1621; the dedication to cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi dates from 1 July 1621. The book went to print before Chiffellius was appointed at the Sapienza in the autumn of 1621, since his title as a professor does not accompany his name.

¹¹³ Pericles's eloquence, as known from Thucydides and Plutarch.

En tibi congestos Suadae melioris honores
 Scriptaque longaeua non moritura die.
 Hic fluit arguto sublimis epistula ductu, 5
 Usque Pericleo non minor eloquio;
 Invidus Arpinas dolet hic sua nomina vinci
 Proicit et palmas Corduba maesta suas.
 Nec mirum: nam Palladii assueta triumphis
 Semper adest Lauro laurus amico suo. 10

4. [1628] *In Francisci Sweertii Antverpiensis Athenas Belgicas Henricus Kiefelius Antverpiensis, lumine captus, Romae eloquentiae professor* (in *Sweertius, Athenae Belgicae*, f. *3)

The Low Countries should be delighted with, and proud of, this work. Hitherto, the country has been confronted with wars and achieved some fame through some of its military victories and commanders. Now it can boast the happier laurels of Apollo and literary victories: Sweertius, indeed, laboriously gathered the bio- and bibliographies of its famous men of letters and learning, and thus assembled the trophies won by the national champions of literature.

Incluta, sidereo celsum caput infer Olympo,
 Belgica, et in titulos cresce superba novos.
 Hactenus armisono strepitans Bellona tumultu
 Per tua sanguineis arva cucurrit equis
 Et sua fulmineis rutilans Gradivus in armis 5
 Praetulit infaustis signa cruenta notis.
 Clara ducum decora et dura Mavortis honores
 Atque triumphalis nomina laudis habes.
 At nunc Phoebeas fausto magis omine lauros
 Nectis honoratis, altera sarta, comis. 10
 Dignius Aonia sudasti, Belgica, lucta
 Et viruit palma nobiliore manus.
 Alma serenati diffundunt lumina vultus
 Et mage formoso sidere fulget apex.
 Sweertius haec tibi sarta tuus, tibi tempora gemmis 15
 Cinxit et augusti verticis auxit opes,
 Dum solerte nota scriptorum clara tuorum
 Nomina longaeua non moritura die
 Et genus et patriam signat, titulosque laborum
 Partaque Pieriis celsa tropaea iugis. 20
 Defuit una tuis nimirum, Belgica, palmis,
 Colligeret palmas ut tua Musa tuas.

**C. An *elogium* for the Venetians' victories over the Turks, 1650
(*Venetiae victrices* (Romae: Typis Io. Petri Colligni, 1650))**

This text is discussed above, p. 456. The elogium was accompanied by a manuscript letter written by Chifellius to the doge of Venice (Francesco Molino), dated 29 January 1650.

Serenissime Princeps,

Mitto ad Serenitatem tuam inclusum hoc elogium, non alia de causa a me compositum quam admiratione Venetae virtutis: clara ea et invicta perque tot saecula terrarum orbi manifesta confirmavit nuperrime in hoc Turcico bello magnitudinem famae suae docuitque mortales posse se vel solam et principum omnium auxiliis destitutam potentissimum hostem contemnere et mole sua stare. Rogo Serenitatem tuam boni consulat affectum hunc et observantiam, qua serenissimae reipublicae nomen venerabundus suspicio. Romae 4. Kal(endas) Febr(uarii) 1650.

Serenitatis tuae humillimus servus

Henricus Chifellius Antverpiensis,

publicus in Rom(ana) Academia eloquentiae professor

VENETIAE VICTRICES

VIDEN.VIATOR.REGINAM MARIS SVBLIME GRADIENTEM
CVI.SVB.PEDIBVS.EXVVIAE.DVCVM.SIGNA.EXERCITVVM.MACHINAE.
SVSPICIAS.OPORTET.VT.ASPICIAS [BELLATORVM?
ALTE.ILLA.EXTAT.GLORIA.QVAE.CAPITA.CALCAT.REGVM
LACESSIVIT.HANC.NVPER.IBRAHIMVS.MONARCHA.MAGNVS
AMENS.CETEROQVI.SED.VEL.MAXIME.TACTV.LEONIS
CRETAM.INSVLAM.INVASERAT.CAEDES.INCENDIA.VASTITATEM.
ET.FECERAT.NISI.INCIDISSET.IN.VIROS [FACTVRVS
MARIA.VT.VIDEBATVR.SAEPSERAT
AT.QVO.PACTO.AQVARVM.DOMINIS.AQVA.INTERDICERETVR?
CONCVRSVM.EST.CLASSIBVS.PROFLIGATVS.INGENTI.PRAELIO.
QVOD.AQVIS.SVPERFVIT.IGNES.HAVSERE [BARBARVS
VRBEM.CRETAM.VALIDA.OBSIDIONE.VALLAVERAT
nesciebat.HOSTIVM.SVORVM.PECTORA.VALLO.VALIDIORA
SAGITTARVM.IMBRIBVS.FERRATA.GRANDINE.ET.AENEORVM.
FVLMINIBVS.INGRVEBAT [TORMENTORVM
QVID.ADVERSVS.TOT.VICTORIARVM.LAVRIS.REDIMITOS.FVLMINA.
INSTABAT.VRGEBAT.OMNI.VIA.OMNI.TEMPORE [VALERENT?
NON.LABORE.FESSVS.NEQVE.SVORVM.STRAGE.DETERRITVS
ITA.PRAEPARAVERANT.ANIMOS.CVM.FORTIBVS.PVGNAVRI

AT.OBSESSI.QVAMQVAM.ASSIDVE.VICTORES.VINCENDO.TAMEN.
[DECRESCEBANT
CVM.INTERIM.VIRTVTI.ACCEDERET.QVOD.NVMERO.DETRAHE-
TANDEM.ERVPERE.COLLECTI.IN.VIRES [RETVR
ET.VIGINTI.MILLIVM.CAEDE.PROBATA.STRENVITAS
EXCVSSVS.OBSIDIONE.BARBARVS.CETERA.SOLO.AEQVATA
SED.NEQVE.CONTINENTIS.INTERIM.RES.QVIEVERE
DALMATIA.BELLI.MOTIBVS.AGITATA
MAGNIS.VTRIMQVE.EXERCITIBVS.TOTA.DIV.PVG NATVM.PROVINCIA
PLVRIMVM.TERRARVM.VENETA.E.DICIONI.ADIECTVM
VRBES.HOSTIVM.MVNITISSIMAE.CAPTAE
TVNC.IN.OMNEM.PLANE.PARTEM.VENETA.SE.FORTITVDO.VERSAVIT
LABORIBVS.EXERCITA.PERICVLIS.VEXATA.PERCVSSA.TEMPESTA-
[TIBVS
IN.MEDIIS.SAEVISSIMI.BELLI.TVRBINIBVS.MOLE.SVA.STABILIS.
[INVICTA
PRORSVS.VELVT.EXPERIRI.VOLENTE.DEO.AN.VENETA.VIRTVS.
[IMPERIVM.ORBIS.MERERETVR

Henrici Chifellii Antverpiensis

Publ(ici) in Rom(ana) Academia eloquentiae professoris

D. Newly discovered poems by Justus Rycquius and Maxaemilianus Vrientius

Rycquius's and Vrientius's verses for the promotion of Viverius (1606)
(in *Disputatio medica* (Rome, 1606), pp. 24-26 and 20-23)

a. Rycquius: *Eruditiss(imo) viro D(omino) Francisco Viverio doctorem medicinae laurum apud Romanos indispicenti syncharisticon hoc epos in maxima Flandriae l(ubens) m(erito) accinuit amicus et concivis Iustus Ryckius Gand(ensis)*¹¹⁴

Can the Muse keep mute? Should she not sing the praises of Viverius, one of the best physicians of his country, now that he has concluded his long studies and will be admitted to the degree of doctor of medicine in Rome? In these circumstances, the Muse cannot keep silent and must

¹¹⁴ The poem is not mentioned in the bibliographical surveys mentioned in note 54 or in the older survey by R. Van Den Berghe, 'Justus Rycquius', *Messenger des sciences historiques*, 1880, 12-32; 189-208; 1881, 160-185; 457-477.

*eulogize the doctor, whose promotion will also benefit to his native Ghent.*¹¹⁵

Quid, Musa, ravae sicut obtutu lupae Defixa vel quinquennii Silentis orbem sub sopho luens sene, Desueta linquis nablia	
Rubiginoso prostituta carceri Araneique nexiles	5
Induta textus, quos scaber vestit situs Oblivii ludibria, Ignavitatis et putris socordiae Infame testimonium?	10
Viveriano et hinc et inde nomine Pigra oricilla vellitur, Nec excitaris? Pessime tuus moras Franciscus odit Italīs	
Mixtus Galenis, patrio procul lare Et patria Ganda colens, Franciscus ille, quem suum Machaones Dixere Belgae corculum,	15
Franciscus ille, quem probatum in aurea Virtutis ante fornice Abinde magnis additum Podaliriis, Laboris et constantiae	20
Sudore fotum et dulcamara mammula, Honoris adsertor Deus Excipuum ad alta praestite evehit manu, Immo parem summis locat.	25
Testis superba septimontium novos Olli triumphos praeparans, Quando, recluso divitis linguae penu Cataeque mentis gemmulis,	30
Suffragiorum diditus faventia et Frequentia Quiritium Stipatus, altum vinciet lauru caput Doctorque Romanus cluet.	
Quid? An resumptae perstrepunt blandum cheles	35

¹¹⁵ The sophisticated language of the poem is characteristic of young Rycquius. In this poem, one will notice, for instance, the adjective *dulcamarus* (22), still present in *Roberti Stephani Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, ed. Antonius Birrius (Basileae, 1740) but now rejected; the adjective *excipuus* (25), meaning 'exceptionally good' (though Festus must have considered *excipuum* as a substantive); the plural form *cheles* (35) from *chelys*; the adjective *novensilis* (37) used in singular, *novensilis senatus* referring to the Muses, whereas in ancient Rome only the plural (*novensiles di*, interpreted in various ways by Renaissance and later scholars) was customary.

An tinnulae canunt fides,
 Novensilis pulsae senatus pectine?
 Interque molles Gratias
 Phoebumque Phoeboque editum Aesculapium
 Arguta consonat lyra? 40
 Sic est. Vocata confluunt huc numina
 Viveriumque grandibus
 Suos amores evehunt praeconiis.
 Macte aetheris favoribus,
 Francisce, quod tibi tuaeque patriae 45
 Et commodum et felix siet.

b. Vrientius: *Clariss(imo) iuveni Francisco Viverio Belgae Gandavensi, medicinae doctoratum Romana in urbe adipiscenti, l(ubens) m(erito) gratulatur Maxaemilianus Vrientius S(enatus) p(opuli)q(ue) Gand(ensis) a secretis*¹¹⁶

May Apollo and Aesculapius look with favour on the new doctor Viverius, who since many years fervidly studies nature and medicine. This knowledge comes from Apollo and, through Aesculapius, Hippocrates, Galenus and many others, was handed over to the physicians of our age, enabling them to cure people and keep them alive. Viverius studied the art to help mankind, not to acquire wealth. The city of Ghent will benefit from his practice of medicine; there he had done his first studies, which he now rounds off in Rome. May Rome with all its riches not hold off Viverius from his native city, which has its own assets. May Viverius soon return to Ghent.

Phoebe, fave! Novus ingreditur tua limina mystes.
 Huc age, sed nato te comitante veni
 Viveriumque tuas cupidum procumbere ad aras
 Concedas adytis posse subire sacris,
 Et caput ornatum lauri frondente corona 5
 Iam tum promissis accipe muneribus,
 Cum sese ignoto mentem percussus amore
 Artibus est ausus dedere, dive, tuis,

¹¹⁶ The poem is not present in the main editions of Vrientius's poetry I could consult (*Urbes Flandriae et Brabantiae* [Lovanii: Gerardus Rivius, 1614]; *Sacrorum carminum libri II* [Lovanii: Ioa. Christophorus Flavius, 1614]; *Epigrammatum libri IX* [Ingolstadii: Andreas Angermarius, 1607]; *Epigrammatum libri IX. Emendati, & plurimum aucti* [Brugis: Nicolaus Breygelius, 1627] or in his smaller publications as mentioned in the entry on him in *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, 6 (Brussel: Paleis der Academiën, 1974), 996-1001 (by G. Merlevede).

Mire avidus rerum certas cognoscere causas	
Quaeque homini noceant pharmaca quaeque iuvent;	10
Quid tepidi veris surgentia sidera prodant,	
Quid canis aestivi fervida signa ferant,	
Quid pater autumnus spumantibus obsitus uvis,	
Quid fera nimbo vertex portet hiems;	
Quid mare, quid venti, quid sol, quid menstrua luna	15
Hic vario influxu temperieque gerant.	
Omnia quae quondam natum pater ipse docebas,	
Natus at Hippocratem Pergameumque senem.	
Illi porro aliis aliisque, sequentibus annis,	
Explicuere artis dia [die <i>ed.</i>] reperta novae,	20
Ut male quem morbis Pandora repleverat orbem	
Pallenti antidoton mite levaret ope	
Grassantesque necesse fatique inhiheret habenas	
Et vitam invito tenderet exitio,	
Frustra Erebo, frustra nauta indignante severo,	25
Dum solitum pondus sentit abesse rati.	
Felix, quem studii facilis labor et brevis aetas,	
Artis opus tantae discere posse dedit,	
Non ut opes aurumque animo venetur avaro	
(quamlibet et iustas fas quoque quaerere opes),	30
Sed mage se similem dis aequet ut ille, iuvando	
Res hominum miseras difficilesque lues.	
Qualem laeta dedit laeto te, Vivere, partu	
Victura auxilio Iulia Ganda tuo.	
Illa tibi cunasque rudes atque aetheris haustus	35
Et cultum et studii semina prima dedit.	
Sed translata velut nonnulla feracior arbor	
Surgit et effusas prodiga pandit opes	
Usuramque soli grato ceu fenore pendit,	
Talis et ingenii planta benigna tui	40
Orbe procul patrio Latios transmissa per agros	
Altius a medica sustulit arte caput.	
Ubere proventu tantum ditata vel ipsa,	
Ipsa prope ut stirpem te velit esse suam	
Alma parens studiorum, orbis caput incluta Roma,	45
Quae bene pro meritis fertilibusque bonis	
Iam tibi docturae celebrem decernit honorem	
Et tumet a titulis ambitiosa tuis,	
Rivali patria dubio expallente timore	
Te sibi ut archiatrum vindicet illa suum.	50
Illice nodatum pretio et praedivite sostro, ¹¹⁷	

¹¹⁷ *Sostrum* (not in ancient Latin, frequent since the Middle Ages): payment for a doctor's cure.

Sordeat ut Belgi iam tibi cura soli.	
At tu, docte, cave nec sint tibi praemia tanti,	
Ut Tiberim Scaldi praeposuisse velis.	
Ille quidem magnus Romaque beante superbus,	55
Ganda sed et nutrix quod tua iactet habet:	
Ganda decus Flandrum, divum domus incluta Ganda,	
Pulchra situ, felix aere, dives aquis,	
Concilio illustris, bello horrida, florida pace,	
Scilicet et nato Caesare virgo parens.	60
Haec domus, haec patria est, qua si tibi vivere cordi est,	
Huc age posthabitis omnibus ipse veni.	
Sic formosa salus, sic dia Lubentia amorque	
Et vigor atque hilari saepta iuventa ioco	
Huc tua festivo comitent vestigia passu;	65
At timor et luctus tabificusque dolor	
Et mors et Libitina procul, nigra turba, facessant	
Et Styga regna suis stragibus aucta petant.	
Sic eat, o divi, medicae sic artis uterque	
Praesul, et alma Salus, tuque, Hygieia [<i>Higyaea ed.</i>], velis.	70

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LA REPRESENTACIÓN *SECUNDUM NATURAM* Y
EL *INGENIUM* COMO FACULTAD INVENTIVA
EN LA *GRAPHICE* DE JOHANNES SCHEFFERUS

1. Perfil de Schefferus y su *Graphice*, *id est de arte pingendi*

Pasada la mitad del siglo XVII, el moderno cultivo de la *Kunstliteratur* en latín cuenta con una tradición de no desdeñable valor, desde las obras fundadoras en el siglo XV de Leon Battista Alberti y sus diversos continuadores como Pomponio Gaurico o Demontiosius. A esta tradición vino a sumarse Johannes Schefferus [Scheffer] (1621-1679), filólogo germano-sueco formado en la Universidad de su natal Straßbourg y que substituyó a Johannes Freinshemius como *professor Skytteanus* (de retórica antigua y ciencia política) en la Universidad de Uppsala desde 1648 hasta su muerte, donde cumplió una significativa labor cultural llegando a ser acaso la figura de mayor relieve en el mundo letrado sueco de su tiempo.¹ Debe su fama a diversas investigaciones eruditas, destacando sus trabajos sobre topografía e historia de Suecia (su estudio etnográfico sobre el pueblo sami)², manuales de estilística latina³ y diversas obras sobre el

¹ Para una panorámica del horizonte literario de Schefferus y algunas de sus características véanse: Hans Aili, 'Sweden', en *A History of Nordic Neo-Latin Literature*, ed. Minna Skafte Jensen, Odense University Studies in Scandinavian Languages and Literature, 32 (Odense: Odense UP, 1995), pp. 129-158 (pp. 144-145); Hans Helander, *Neo-Latin Literature in Sweden in the Period 1620-1720: Stylistics, Vocabulary and Characteristic Ideas*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Latina Upsaliensia, 29 (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2004).

² Joannes Schefferus Argenteratensis, *Lapponia. Id est, regionis Lapponum et gentis nova et verissima descriptio* (Frankfurt: Christianus Wolffius, 1673).

³ Joannes Schefferus Argenteratensis, *De Stylo illiusque exercitiis Ad veterum consuetudinem liber* (Uppsala: Johannes Pauli, 1653); publicado con *Gymnasium styli, seu de vario scribendi exercitio liber singularis* (Uppsala: Johannes Pauli, 1657), con varias ediciones. Vid. Nils Ekedahl, 'Att skriva sig till klokhet: Johannes Schefferus, progymnasmata och politisk humanism i 1600-talets Sverige', en *Progymnasmata. Retorikens bortglömda text- och tankeform. Uppsatsantologi från Riksbanksprojektet 'Från antikens*

Mundo Antiguo y sus autores⁴ que gozaron de reconocimiento. Algunos de ellos aparecieron ilustrados con grabados realizados a partir de sus diseños; pues, en efecto, su afición artística se plasmó en diversos ejercicios, entre los que sobreviven un autorretrato y varios dibujos e ilustraciones a sus textos. Pero este interés por la plástica quedó sobre todo expresado en su *Graphice, id est de arte pingendi* (1669)⁵, cuya escritura el autor justificó, con algún énfasis hiperbólico, a través de motivaciones ancladas en su biografía: ‘Initio ars ipsa, inde a prima pueritia instinctu naturæ solius amata mihi plurimum, & exercita. Dein tempus, quod in ea collocavi non profectò minus, si non majius, quàm in litteris’ (‘Lectori benivolo, S.’, s.p.; ‘De inicio, el arte misma, desde la primera infancia con el impulso de la sola naturaleza por mí grandemente amada y ejercitada. Luego, el tiempo que en ella he empleado, seguramente no menor

progymnasmata till den moderna "skrivprocessen". Grundläggande retorik som text- och tankeform, ed. Stina Hansson (Åstorp: Rhetor, 2003), pp. 138-172; Janika Päll, ‘The Practice of *chreia* at the *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* (1690–1710) in Dorpat (Tartu)’, en *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Upsaliensis. Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies (Uppsala 2009)*, ed. Astrid Steiner-Weber (Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2012), pp. 789-800.

⁴ Joannes Schefferus Argentoratensis, *De militia navali veterum libri quatuor ad historiam Graecam Latinamque utiles* (Uppsala: Joannes Janssonius, 1654); *De re vehiculari veterum libri duo. Accedit Pyrrhi Ligorii. V. C. De vehiculis fragmentum. Nunquam ante publicatum* (Frankfurt: Officina Zunneriana, 1671); *Cl. Æliani Variæ historiæ, cum notis Ioannis Schefferi* (Straßbourg: Fridericus Spoor, 1647); *T. Petronii Arbitri Fragmentum, Nuper Tragurii Dalmatiæ repertum, cum annotationibus Joannis Schefferi Argentoratensis* (Uppsala: Henricus Curio, 1665); *Hygini Quæ hodie extant, adcurante Joanne Scheffero* (Hamburg: Gothofredus Schultzen, 1674); etcétera.

⁵ Joannes Schefferus Argentoratensis, *Graphice, id est, de arte pingendi liber singularis* (Nürnberg: Officina Endteriana, 1669). Sobre este ámbito particular de las labores de Schefferus, son de destacar los estudios que le ha dedicado el profesor Allan Ellenius: ‘Johannes Schefferus and Swedish Antiquity’, *Journal of the Warburg and the Courtauld Institutes*, 20 (1957), 59-74; *De arte pingendi. Latin Art Literature in Seventeenth-Century Sweden and Its International Background* (Uppsala y Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1960) (un estudio completo del manual de Schefferus, sus singularidades y aportaciones y un valioso esfuerzo tanto de contextualización en el ámbito de la literatura pictórica europea en latín como en su marco inmediato de la cultura áulica y universitaria de la Suecia del XVII); y el más recientemente traducido ‘Johannes Schefferus, Christina Minerva and *Fortuna Audax*: A Study in Political Emblems’, en *The Emblem in Scandinavia and the Baltic*, eds. Simon McKeown y Mara R. Wade, *Glasgow Emblem Studies*, 11 (Genève / Glasgow: Droz / University of Glasgow, 2006), pp. 75-102 (el artículo sueco original apareció en la revista *Lychnos* [1954-1955], 165-195). Asimismo: Gustaf Hamberg, ‘Johannes Schefferus als Sammler und Zeichner: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Illustration’, en *Contributions to the History and Theory of Art*, ed. Per Bjurström (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1967), pp. 68-98; Björge Magnusson, *Svenska teckningar 1600-talet: en konstbok från Nationalmuseum* (Stockholm: Rabén & Sjögren, 1980), pp. 21-26.

sino mayor que en las letras'). De tales empeños resultó un libro de temática innovadora en la Suecia del siglo XVII⁶ que gozó de cierta difusión europea⁷, como muestra en España a inicios del XVIII Antonio Palomino, quien a menudo cita en su tratado el libro de Schefferus, 'muy dogmático y erudito'.⁸

Dicho opúsculo es uno de los más sobrios compendios sobre 'artes gráficas'⁹ escritos en el horizonte renacentista-barroco.¹⁰ Como inmediatos antecedentes cuenta, en la literatura artística en latín, con la obra del jesuita francés Julius Caesar Bulengerus [Jules-César Boulenger] (1558-1628)¹¹, prolija en aspectos 'técnicos' abordados desde una perspectiva filológico-anticuaria; y, sobre todo, con el gran tratado de Franciscus Junius [François du Jon] (1591-1677) *De pictura veterum*¹², así como la sección 'De graphice, sive arte pingendi' incluida en un libro de Gerhard Johannes Vossius¹³ cuyo título claramente fue retomado por Schefferus.

⁶ Es la primera obra de historia y teoría de la pintura escrita en Suecia. Ellenius, *De arte pingendi*, p. 19.

⁷ Sobre su temprana recepción: *ibid.*, pp. 262-263.

⁸ Antonio Palomino, *El museo pictórico y escala óptica*, prol. Juan de Ceán y Bermúdez (Madrid: M. Aguilar, 1947), p. 257a. Al grado de parecer su tratadista 'predilecto', por el empleo directo y frecuente que hace de él, según apuntaba Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España*, 5 tomos en 9 vols (Madrid: A. Pérez Dubrull, 1883-1891), III, 2 (1886), 377.

⁹ En la misma advertencia al lector apunta la claridad expositiva que busca cultivar, 'sine ulla verborum pompa vel prolixitate' (*Graphice*, s.p.).

¹⁰ De esta forma genérica se nombra aquí, en sentido histórico-estilístico, el amplio período que va del siglo XV al XVII. El término 'Barroco' es el más problemático y tiene evidentes divergencias en sus valores nacionales e individuales (e.g. el contraste entre el sosegado Schefferus y su contemporáneo Lars Johansson Lucidor), pero tiene suficiencia conceptual; en Suecia suele empatarse con la llamada 'Era de gran poder' (*Stormaktstiden*). Puede mirarse por ejemplo una panorámica y reciente contextualización literaria en el medio sueco en Mats Malm, *Voluptuous Language and Poetic Ambivalence: The Example of Swedish Baroque*, trad. Alan Crozier (Frankfurt am Main e.a.: Peter Lang, 2011), pp. 11-18, 221-254.

¹¹ Julius Caesar Bulengerus, *De pictura, plastice, statuaria libri duo* (Lyon: Sumptibus Ludovicus Prost, 1627).

¹² Franciscus Junius, *De pictura veterum libri tres*, The Printed Sources of Western Art, 25 (Amsterdam: Johannes Blaeu, 1637; Portland, Oregon: Collegium Graphicum, 1972). Vid. Philipp P. Fehl (colab. Keith Aldrich y Maria Raina Fehl), 'Franciscus Junius and the Defense of Art', *Artibus et Historiae*, II/3 (1981), 9-55; Colette Nativel, 'Suspendit picta uolunt mentemque tabella: dire l'évidence en peinture selon le *De pictura veterum* de Franciscus Junius', en *Dire l'évidence (Philosophie et rhétorique antiques)*, eds. Carlos Lévy y Laurent Pernot (Paris - Montréal: L'Harmattan, 1997), pp. 265-283.

¹³ Gerardus Joannes Vossius, *De quatuor artibus popularibus, grammaticis, gymnasticis, musicae, & graphice, liber*, en *De quatuor artibus popularibus, De philologia, et Scientiis mathematicis, cui Operi subjungitur, Chronologia mathematicorum, libri tres*

El manual de éste comparte un enfoque similar dentro de la misma vertiente de erudición en el tardío Humanismo barroco que, sin embargo, intenta atemperar las inclinaciones más ‘filosóficas’ del *De pictura veterum*¹⁴, presentando una tendencia más comprometida con la dimensión práctica del arte¹⁵ y con vistas a un público menos restringido (no sólo eruditos, sino aficionados-profesionales a la pintura y como texto auxiliar para la formación de *connaisseurs* entre los círculos cultos).¹⁶ Con todo, el sesgo filológico y arqueológico sigue siendo en la *Graphice* el más definido y consistente, como corresponde al perfil de su autor, un humanista *amateur* de la pintura. En cierta medida, su obra constituye una nueva conciliación, nunca del todo fundada y en el futuro cada vez más problemática, del gabinete libresco y el taller (con sus precursores renacentistas como Alberti y, de modo quizás más semejante a Schefferus, Gaurico y su estudio / ‘escultorio’).¹⁷

Desde Alberti, y aun desde el texto de transición de Cennini, las pioneras exploraciones sobre artes plásticas buscaron inquirir la ‘dimensión interior’ de la producción artística; motivaciones diversas sirvieron de pábulo para ello, tanto sociales — el lugar de la pintura como arte mecánica y/o liberal — como propiamente ‘técnicas’, en la determinación de su dimensión intelectual, la capacidad del arte de ‘imitar’ la realidad o ‘crear’ nuevas formas y la cuestión de sus posibilidades normativas y

(Amsterdam: Joannes Blaeu, 1650), pp. 61-92 (‘De graphice, sive arte pingendi’). Sobre las aportaciones de Vossius, véase el apartado correspondiente en el libro de Ellenius, *De arte pingendi*, pp. 55-59; la sección ‘De graphice’ — como a su modo el tratado de Junius — ‘was exclusively a matter for the learned world’ (*ibid.*, p. 96), sin apenas atender los aspectos prácticos del arte. Véase también: C. S. M. Rademaker, *Life and Work of Gerardus Joannes Vossius (1577-1649)*, Respublica Literaria Neerlandica, 5 (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press — Assen: Van Gorcum, 1981), pp. 322-325.

¹⁴ Es sostenida la tendencia de Schefferus a buscar la mayor claridad expositiva posible y a ‘de-philosophize art theory’. Ellenius, *De arte pingendi*, p. 196.

¹⁵ Ellenius ha enfatizado esta particularidad de la obra de Schefferus. Aporta como ejemplo ilustrativo de su saber aplicado una opinión rectificadora, testimoniada por el viajero danés Corfitz Braem (*Dagbok under en resa i Sverige åren 1671 och 1672*, ed. B. Möller [1916], p. 42) sobre una supuesta imagen antigua del dios Thor en la catedral de Uppsala, cuya identificación refutó el erudito por la presencia de pintura al óleo en la pieza. *Ibid.*, 120.

¹⁶ Es obra adecuada para *artis studiosi* y *litterarum amatores*, un texto ‘académico’ que posee también la condición de un ‘manual cortesano’ (al modo de otros libros prácticos de corte, acostumbrados en el entorno contemporáneo, sobre caballería, manejo de armas, etcétera). *Ibid.*, pp. 223 y 261.

¹⁷ Su ἀγαλματοουργίον, según el término implementado por Gaurico (1, 1). Pomponio Gaurico, *De sculptura*, ed. Paolo Cutolo, *Le arti sorelle*, 1 (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1999), p. 124.

pedagógicas que siguieron siendo indagadas en el tardío Renacimiento y, más allá, en el academicismo francés. Figuras tutelares de este amplio horizonte ahondaron en esa esfera con semejantes énfasis: Alberti y los *lineamenta* producidos *ab ingenio*¹⁸, Leonardo y el arte como fruto del *senso comune-ingegno-fantasia*¹⁹, Dürer y la *Sinnreichigkeit* del artista que ‘ist inwendig voller Figur’²⁰, Michelangelo y el escultor cuya mano ‘ubbidisce all’intelletto’;²¹ apercepciones que acreditan un interés constante por explicar el arte como fruto de complejas operaciones anímicas que preceden y acompañan el proceso creativo de las obras. Se trata sin duda de una temática abordada en la literatura artística de los siglos XVI y XVII con una vasta difusión europea, desde el rico venero italiano a las diversas contribuciones alemanas (Dürer, Sandrart), ibéricas (Francisco de Holanda, Pacheco), neerlandesas (Van Mander, Junius) o francesas (Félibien, Roger de Piles). En muchos de esos autores se plantea y se ahonda, desde diversas perspectivas, el tema de las facultades interiores (*ingenium-phantasia*) y sus relaciones con la invención del arte, despliegue reflexivo que tiene el no insustancial sentido histórico de acompañar e iluminar un período de gran esplendor artístico y constituir por sí mismo un capítulo significativo en el pensamiento estético occidental.²² Esta vasta tradición fue válidamente continuada por Schefferus,

¹⁸ Leon Battista Alberti, *L'architettura [De re aedificatoria]*, eds. Giovanni Orlandi y Paolo Portoghesi, 2 vols (Milano: Il Polifilo), I, 15.

¹⁹ Vid. Martin Kemp, ‘From “Mimesis” to “Fantasia”: The Quattrocento Vocabulary of Creation, Inspiration and Genius in the Visual Arts’, *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 8 (1977), 347-398 (pp. 376-382).

²⁰ Albrecht Dürer, *Dürers Schriftlicher Nachlass, auf Grund der Originalhandschriften und theilweise neu entdeckter alter Abschriften*, eds. K. Lange y F. Fuhse (Halle a.S.: Max Niemeyer, 1893), pp. 297-298.

²¹ Michelangiolo Buonarroti, *Rime*, ed. Enzo Noè Girardi (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1960), p. 82.

²² Sobre este amplio ámbito textual y temático y sus diversas implicaciones teóricas valga mencionar, además del precitado artículo de Kemp, algunos célebres estudios: Julius Schlosser, *Die Kunstliteratur. Ein Handbuch zur Quellenkunde der neueren Kunstgeschichte* (Wien: Anton Schroll & Co., 1924); Erwin Panofsky, *Idea. Ein Beitrag zur Begriffsgeschichte der älteren Kunsttheorie* (Berlin: Bruno Hessling, 1960²); Anthony Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy. 1450-1600* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1962); Rensselaer W. Lee, *Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting* (New York: Norton, 1967); Michael Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators. Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition (1350-1450)*, Oxford-Warburg Studies (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971); David Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art* (Princeton: University, 1981). Asimismo: Jacqueline Lichtenstein, *La couleur éloquente. Rhétorique et peinture à l'Âge Classique* (Paris: Flammarion, 1989); Walter S. Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon. Karel van Mander's 'Schilder-Boeck'* (Chicago / London: University of Chicago, 1991);

él mismo puente entre los ámbitos alemán y sueco y que desde su posición ‘marginal’ nórdica testimonia su amplia resonancia europea; con base en su saber y experiencia personales, desarrolló sus propias síntesis y reflexiones que, en dicha dimensión teórica, son examinadas en las páginas siguientes para destacar sus aportaciones y apreciar el valor de ellas en el rico contexto histórico y cultural en el que se insertan.

2. Definiciones primarias de la pintura

La modalidad filológica y anticuaria del libro queda a la vista desde sus observaciones iniciales, e incluso, anunciada ya en la elección, secundando el ejemplo de Vossius, del helenismo *graphice*²³, asimilado por Schefferus plenamente con *pingere*²⁴ (sin adentrarse en el deslinde teórico-nominal entre dibujo / pintura), y que tópicamente relaciona, aunque de modo conjetural, en su sentido griego de γράφειν con la escritura ‘in tabulis ceratis, stylo ferreo’ (1, p. 1) de los antiguos²⁵ (también con el

Maria Jacomina Eurydice van den Doel, *Ficino en het voorstellingsvermogen. Phantasia en imaginatio in kunst en theorie van de Renaissance* (Amsterdam: St. Hoofd-Hart-Handen, 2008).

²³ Por ejemplo, recurre al gramático Julio Pólux para fundamentar su sentido como *ars*: Καὶ μὴν καὶ γραφικὴ τέχνη μία τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ τεχνῶν (Jul. Poll., *Onom.*, 7, 126, ‘Y en verdad también el arte pictórica es una en el orden de las artes’; *Graphice*, 2, p. 5). Cf. su empleo en el *Panepistemon*: Angelo Poliziano, *Omnia opera Angeli Politiani, et alia quaedam lectu digna, quorum nomina in sequenti indice uidere licet* (Venezia: Aldus Romanus, 1498), h. sig. Z_{iii}r.

²⁴ ‘Cæterum à γράφειν, quod pro *pingere* usurpant Græci, γραφικὴ ars ipsa dicta est’ (1, p. 3). El valor general de *pictura* lo ratifica en otros pasajes, implicando, de varios modos, al *diseño*: ‘Nam alia pictura linearis est, alia colorata’ (19, p. 64). Trata sobre la ‘pictura linearis’ el apartado siguiente (20, p. 66), ‘unde & Philander eo loco: *Graphis, linearis deformatio, sive designatio*’; la admiración con respecto no a los colores de los pintores antiguos sino a las *formae et lineamenta* (Cic., *Brut.*, 18, 70), etcétera.

²⁵ Señalado ya por Pomponio Gaurico, *De sculptura* (1, 2), p. 126; Francisco de Holanda, *Vier Gespräche über die Malerei. Geführt zu Rom 1538. Originaltext mit Übersetzung, Einleitung, Beilagen und Erläuterungen* (2), ed. Joaquim de Vasconcellos (Wien: Carl Graeser, 1899), p. 64; Gabriele Paleotti, *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane* (1, 5), en *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento*, ed. Paola Barocchi, 3 vols (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1960-1962), II (1961), 142; Romano Alberti, *Trattato della nobiltà della pittura. Composto ad istanzia della venerabil Compagnia di San Luca e nobil Academia* (1), en *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento, fra Manierismo e Controriforma*, III (1962), 213; Bulengerus, *De pictura* (1, 3), p. 7; Junius, *De pictura veterum* (1, 4, 2), pp. 29-30; etcétera.

alemán *graben*).²⁶ A partir de esto, hace un recuento, no sin cierta distancia crítica, de términos afines, que incluyen *ingere* (con base en san Isidoro)²⁷ y el propio *ingere* que, en esa común unidad con el ‘grabado’ escritural y en las elucubraciones de Johannes Goropius — famoso por ellas —, resulta emparentado con *pinna* (= *penna*, ‘pluma’).²⁸ Con una perspectiva semejante se recurre al recuerdo tópico de los hieroglifos, siendo los egipcios, ‘qui primi per figuras animantium sensus mentis effingebant’²⁹ (5, p. 21; ‘los primeros que a través de figuras de animales representaban los significados de la mente’), a cuyo propósito ha sido frecuente establecer la superioridad de este modo de representación de las cosas sobre la propia escritura, como ha afirmado Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, ‘quòd ipsæ picturæ vel imagines clariùs & veriùs earum formas imprimant, quàm quæ per literas fiunt’³⁰ (5, p. 22; ‘porque las propias pinturas o imágenes más clara y verazmente imprimen las formas de ellas que las que se producen a través de letras’). De manera armónica, no deja

²⁶ Así ‘apud Germanos meos verbum *graben*’ (1, p. 1), destacando su coincidencia fonética y semántica.

²⁷ ‘Pictura autem dicta quasi fictura, est enim imago ficta, non veritas’ (*Etym.*, 19, 16, 1 / *Graphice*, 1, p. 2).

²⁸ ‘PIN item Pingo dedit Latinis, à PINT / quod est Pinna vtor, vel primam concinno; eo quòd pictores & pinnis vtantur, & eas continuò in acumen concinnent’. Johannes Goropius, *Hermathena* (7) (Antwerpen: Christophorus Plantinus, 1580), p. 152. Lo recuerda Palomino, *El museo pictórico* (1, 1, 3, 4), p. 67. Registra además, a partir de san Isidoro, el sentido de *pennus* / *acutus* (‘Penum autem antiqui acutum dicebant; unde et avium pinnae, quia acutae’, *Etym.*, 19, 19, 11; *Graphice*, 1, p. 3). ‘Sed non puto convenire rationi, ut ab instrumentis, artis derivetur nomen, quando nulla, quæ non prior ipsis sit, instrumentaq; tum excogitentur, cum ars debet exerceri’ (1, p. 3).

²⁹ ‘Primi per figuras animalium Aegyptii sensus mentis effingebant’ (*Tac., ann.*, 11, 14).

³⁰ La cita de Giraldi: ‘quod eæ ipsæ picturæ vel imagines clarius & verius rerum formas imprimant, quàm quæ per literas fiunt’. Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, *Progymnasma adversus literas et literatos, ad Joannem Franc. Picum Mirandulan. Principem*, en *Opera omnia*, 2 vols (Leiden: Hackius, Boutesteyn, Vivie, Vander Aa, & Luchtmans, 1696), II, 588c. Del límite de ese prestigio que gozaron los hieroglifos en la afición anticuaria del Renacimiento y el Barroco da cuenta la obra de John Wilkins, contemporánea del libro de Schefferus, que registra la creencia de ver en ellos una forma de escritura secreta (‘whereby they were wont to conceal from the vulgar the Mysteries of their Religion’), pero imprimiendo al respecto una valoración más bien negativa (apoyada con el ejemplo más reciente de la escritura ‘hieroglífica’ mesoamericana) como modalidad primitiva y deficitaria: ‘They seem to be but a slight, imperfect invention, suitable to those first and ruder Ages; much of the same nature with that Mexican way of writing by Picture, which was a mere shift they were put to for want of the knowledge of Letters. And it seems to me questionable, whether the Egyptians did not at first use their Hieroglyphicks upon the same account, namely, for the want of Letters’. John Wilkins, *An Essay Towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language* (Londres: Sa. Gellibrand y John Martyn, 1668; repr. Bristol: Thoemmes, 2002), p. 12.

de consignarse el *argumentum antiquitatis* que establece a la pintura como modalidad ‘originaria’ de las artes.³¹

En primer término, Schefferus asume la cualidad representativa de la realidad sensible como característica básica de la pintura, que queda asentada en su definición: ‘Quæ pictoria nil aliud, quàm ars, similitudinem cujusq; rei lineis in plano coloratis exprimendi, sicut in eodem vestigio stantis oculo comprehendi potest’ (2, p. 5; ‘Que la pintura no es otra cosa que el arte de representar la semejanza de alguna cosa en un plano con líneas coloreadas, del modo en que puede ser captada por el ojo en el mismo lugar en que está’). Por ello la equipara con los espejos para resaltar su singularidad; en éstos, la representación de las cosas es ‘transitoria y momentánea’: ‘At pictoria suas chartis tabulisvè imagines infigit, opereque durabili ad quoscunque, posteros etiam, transmittit’ (2, p. 7; ‘Por el contrario, la pintura fija sus imágenes en los papeles y las tablas, y las transmite en una obra perdurable a todos los hombres, también los venideros’). Su primer misión es, de esta forma, reproducir las cosas anclándolas a una representación permanente; ello corresponde a una visión ‘temporal’ que circunda al proceso artístico y al hecho cultural en general, dentro de una tendencia historicista que va condicionando la reflexión del arte en la incipiente modernidad — como muestran ya a su modo los textos de Ghiberti o Filarete —, donde frente al implacable ser-pasado de las cosas se contrapone la constancia de la consciencia arqueológica, que proclama su advenir como permanencia de la memoria. Ahora bien, si por un lado la μίμησις se asume como el salvoconducto de la realidad fugaz hacia el futuro, esto no obsta para que ésta se considere de varias formas, según habrá de verse, como instrumentable por el hombre en tanto que operatividad abierta por y para la fenomenología de la consciencia, que puede expresarse también a través suyo. Preparando explicaciones más amplias sobre esta capacidad, evoca a Vitruvio: ‘Pictura ... est imago ejus, quod est, seu potest

³¹ Recordando para ello unas líneas de san Epifanio (*Graphice*, 3, p. 12), en un contexto adverso sobre el origen de la idolatría: οὕτω δὲ ἐν ξοάνοις καὶ ἐν τορεΐαις λίθων ἢ ξύλων ἢ ἀργυροτεύκτων ἢ <ἐκ> χρυσοῦ ἢ ἄλλης τινὸς ὕλης πεποιημέναις [πεποιημένων], μόνον δὲ διὰ χρωμάτων καὶ εἰκόνων ἢ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου διάνοια ἐαυτῇ ἐφηύρατο [ἠῦρισε] τὴν κακίαν (Ep., *Pan.*, 1, 177, 13-16; ‘Y aún no en estatuas y en relieves de piedras o maderas o hechos de plata o de oro o de cualquier otro material que se hubieran fabricado, pues sólo a través de colores e imágenes el pensamiento del hombre para sí mismo encontró la maldad...’; entre corchetes, las variantes usadas por Schefferus).

esse'³² (4, p. 15; 'la pintura es imagen de aquello que es, o puede ser'); en su explicación: 'Vult, imaginem referre, non existentis nusquam rei, sed quæ existat jam, vel extiterit olim, vel existere aliquando possit' (4, p. 15; 'Significa que reproduce la imagen, no de la cosa que en ningún lugar existe, sino de la que exista ya, o haya existido alguna vez, o algún día puede existir'). Queda por tanto comprendida, de manera armónica con las antiguas indicaciones aristotélicas, la esfera de 'lo posible' (τὸ δυνατόν) como adecuada (o incluso como *modus proprius*) para la representación artística.

3. El naturalismo y el problema de la representación *ab ingenio*

De cardinal interés para Schefferus es subrayar la dependencia de la pintura respecto del *modus sensibilis* de la realidad, es decir, la forma en que se presenta ésta a los ojos como principio fundamental que debe normar toda empresa del arte. Por ello evoca a Filóstrato (el Mayor), '*Pictura veritatem colit. Ubi veritatem eam intelligit, quæ in ipsa rerum est natura, cujus unius exemplum ars pictoria sibi proponit sequendum*'³³ (4, p. 15; "La pintura respeta la verdad". Donde entiende aquella verdad que esté en la propia naturaleza de las cosas, cuyo modelo único el arte pictórica se ha propuesto seguir'). Con base en esta total concepción naturalista, tiene que plantearse como problemático el otro aspecto inherente al arte antes mencionado, el de 'lo posible', en la medida en que involucra figuras 'nunca vistas'; sobre ello discurre de la siguiente manera:

Dicat quispiam, & hodiè laudari opera pictorum, celebrataq; esse apud veteres, earum rerum argumenta continentia, quæ nec fuerunt umquam, nec futura sunt. Hujusmodi centaurus fœmina, uberibus puellum admovent, cujus inter tabulas & opera antiqua summam Plinius apud veteres fuisse scribit admirationem. Sed notandum, non hanc intelligere nos oportere veritatem, quæ opposita sit fabulis; sic enim nec Pegasi, nec Medusæ, nec Atlantis, Cerberivè, aut similibus ullo modo laudem mererentur picturæ; verùm eam, quæ naturæ rerum adversatur. [...] Ut, si pedes bovis formet ungulis solidis, aut equi ex adverso bisulcis: si feli leporivè caput tribuat oblongum, asino aut cervo rotundum. Quod si quis in cunctis partibus id

³² Vitruvio: 'namque pictura imago fit eius, quod est seu potest esse' (Vitr., *De arch.*, 7, 5, 1).

³³ La frase de Filóstrato no es una afirmación general sino específica, sobre algunos detalles de realismo en una pintura de Narciso: τιμῶσα δὲ ἡ γραφή τὴν ἀλήθειαν (Philostr., *Im.*, 1, 23, 2; 'Y la pintura, respetando a la verdad...').

exprimit, quod natura requirit, licet illas deinde inter se componat, quas ipsa non consuevit, arti satis fecit. Nec immeritò laudatus est Centauri pictor, quia ubi hominis repræsentare voluit partes, convenienter naturæ humanæ, ubi equi, equinæ delineavit, atq; ita in his omnibus secutus veritatem est, quam ostendimus velut spiritum picturam omnem animare. (4, pp. 16-17)

[Dirá alguno: también son alabadas las obras de los pintores y celebradas entre los antiguos cuyos argumentos contienen aquellas cosas que nunca fueron ni serán. Así la mujer centauro, que da sus ubres a un niño, que entre las pinturas y obras pretéritas Plinio ha escrito que tuvo entre los antiguos suma admiración. Pero se ha de notar que no nos es necesario entender aquella verdad que sea opuesta a las fábulas (pues así ni del Pegaso, ni de la Medusa, ni de Atlante, ni Cerbero o alguno similar, en modo alguno serían merecedoras de elogio las pinturas); sino en verdad aquella que es enemiga de la naturaleza de las cosas. Como si alguno las patas de un buey las forma solípedas, o del caballo bifurcadas enfrente; o si la cabeza del gato y de la liebre la presenta alargada, y en el asno o el ciervo redonda. Por lo que, si alguien representa en todas sus partes lo que demanda la naturaleza, ha obrado bien para el arte, aunque además combine entre sí aquellas que ella misma no tiene usado. Y no inmerecidamente ha sido alabado el pintor del Centauro, porque donde ha querido representar las partes del hombre, las ha dibujado de modo conveniente con la naturaleza humana, y donde las del caballo, con la equina, y así ha seguido en todas estas cosas a la verdad que declaramos que como un espíritu anima a toda la pintura].

En efecto, refutar la viabilidad de la representación de formas inexistentes supondría, por ejemplo, rechazar no pocas figuras mitológicas, legado grecolatino prolongado por el Renacimiento. El ejemplo que evoca Schefferus, entre los irreprochables modelos antiguos, resulta emblemático: la mujer centauro (ya de la famosa pintura *La familia de los Centauros* de Zeuxis descrita y alabada en el opúsculo de Luciano que lleva el nombre del pintor, ya las ‘Centauras’ [Κενταυρίδες] de las que se ocupa Filóstrato el Mayor [Philostr., *Im.*, 2, 3]).³⁴ ¿Cómo justificar su pertinencia? Schefferus apunta ya su solución al ‘problema’ artístico de los ‘*entia ficta et impossibilia*’, a partir del celo ‘realista’ antes apuntado que permita presentar tales figuraciones — para usar la termi-

³⁴ Cabe advertir que Plinio no hace referencia a esta obra; la noticia tampoco parece provenir aquí de Luciano, pues Schefferus omite mencionar al celeberrimo Zeuxis. Parecería, en todo caso, derivar de Filóstrato (en ambas pinturas se incluye el detalle del amamantamiento), aunque la cuestión de su principalía en el arte antiguo corresponde más bien a la obra descrita en el opúsculo lucianesco; parece por tanto un dato o bien tomado a partir de fuentes indirectas inexactas o una confusión del autor.

nología aristotélica — como ἀδύνατα εἰκότα (Ar., *Po.*, 1460a27), ‘imposibles verosímiles’. Las imágenes, aunque no correspondan de modo unitario a un ser natural en las partes con que son compuestas, están tomadas de la propia naturaleza (no son en modo alguno ‘*creationes ex nihilo*’)³⁵, y deben por tanto respetar con fidelidad imitativa los objetos de donde parten. Retomando a Aristóteles, podría decirse que toda figuración plástica tiene que ser realizada ‘verosímelmente’ (εἰκότως); el artista debe ‘combinar / componer’ (συνιστάναι) ‘la fábula a través de cosas verosímiles’ (*Po.*, 1451b12-13: τὸν μῦθον διὰ τῶν εἰκότων); la fábula misma es entendida como una ‘composición de los hechos’ (1450a5: σύνθεσις τῶν πραγμάτων), que es ‘como el alma’ (1450a38: οἷον ψυχῇ) de la tragedia, conceptos que parecen condicionar, aunque no de modo explícito, la exposición de un experto en literatura y retórica como Schefferus.

En cualquier caso, recurre a una probatoria ‘filológica’, recordando cómo fue utilizada la palabra *imago* (en tanto que, como *imitor*, implicaría de modo básico la ‘re-presentación’ de un objeto)³⁶ para aludir entidades no directamente reproducidas de la realidad, como en el celeberrimo ejemplo de Cicerón al hablar de Zeuxis, ‘qui pinxit Helenam nunquam à se visam, nec ad exemplum unum, verum multiplex ex diversis puellis captum, qualis neq; extitit, nec existere ulla unquam potuit, & tamen *imaginem* illius ait Tullius pinxisse’³⁷ (4, p. 17; ‘quien pintó a

³⁵ Ya lo comentaba hacia inicios del siglo XII un autor como Odo Tornacensis, en un contexto lógico-ontológico (citará el *locus communis* más socorrido sobre las ‘figuras compuestas’: Hor., *AP.*, 9-10): ‘Ecce cum multa fingimus cogitatione, figurae quidem formantur in mente, sed res non inveniuntur pro quibus formantur; figuras quidem cogitatio de existentibus sumit, sed ea non existunt pro quibus assumit, nec potest mens cogitare quod non est, nisi formasumat de eo quod est, ut per formas eorum quae sunt, cogitet de his quae non sunt’ (*De peccato originali* I; *PL*, CLX, col. 1076C). Piénsese, en el siglo XVII, en un célebre apunte de Descartes, enmarcado en el mundo onírico y sus ‘pinturas’ interiores (*Meditationes*, 1): ‘Nam sane pictores ipsi, ne tum quidem, cum Sirenas & Satyris maxime inusitatis formis fingere student, naturas omni ex parte novas iis possunt assignare, sed tantummodo diversorum animalium membra permiscunt’. René Descartes, *Œuvres de Descartes*, eds. Charles Adam y Paul Tannery, 11 vols (París: J. Vrin, 1996), VII, 19-20. Cabe notar que inmediatamente el filósofo supone la aparición anímica de algo ‘nuevo’, ‘ut nihil omnino ei simile fuerit visum’, sin dar ejemplo concreto pero para el que afirma el reducto ‘realista’ de los colores.

³⁶ Pomponio Porfirión: ‘imago autem dicitur, quasi imitago’ (Pomp. Porph., *Comm. in Hor. Carm.*, 1, 12, 3, 4).

³⁷ La famosa anécdota sobre Zeuxis: Cic., *Inv.*, 2, 1, 1; D. H., *Imit.* 31, 1, 1; Val. Max., *Fact. et Dict. Mem.*, 3, 7, 3; Plin. *H.N.*, 35, 64; Mar. Vict., *Expl. Cic.*, 2, 1. Alberti, *De pictura*, 3, 56; y *De Statua*, 17: Leon Battista Alberti, *Das Standbild, Die Malkunst, Grundlagen der Malerei*, eds. Oskar Bätschmann y Christoph Schaublin (Darmstadt:

Helena, nunca por él vista, ni con un solo modelo, sino múltiple, tomado de diversas muchachas, tal como nunca fue visible ni jamás puede existir, y sin embargo Tulio afirma que ha pintado *la imagen* de ella'). De nuevo, tanto la *mímesis* idealista como las figuraciones mitológicas son susceptibles de concurrir por su condición de *imagines compositae* sin desplazar una visión naturalista; ello puede remitirnos, en la literatura artística anterior, a los apuntes de Leonardo al respecto (la fórmula para crear un 'animale finto')³⁸, o de Vincenzo Danti³⁹, en la propia cualidad de las *grottesche* como elaboraciones tomadas de la naturaleza: 'composte parte di questa e parte di quella cosa naturale, facendo un tutto nuovo per sé stesso'.⁴⁰ Asimismo, Schefferus invoca la voz griega εἰκόν ('imagen', 'semejanza' / εἰκῶς: 'que parece semejante', 'verosímil'), a través de Julio Pólux (como término adecuado para la obra del pintor)⁴¹, la cual refiere también creaciones no copiadas a partir de un modelo presente sino realizadas *ex ingenio*: 'Sic εἰκόνα Sextus Philosophus appellat equum spumantem ab Apelle pictum ex ingenio' (4, p. 17; 'Así Sexto el filósofo llama εἰκόν al caballo que espumea pintado por Apeles a partir de su ingenio');⁴² tales usos comprueban cómo la 'verosimilitud' es inhe-

Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2000), pp. 300 y 168; Gaurico, *De sculptura* (5), p. 222; etcétera.

³⁸ Leonardo da Vinci 1996, *Libro di Pittura. Codice Urbinatense lat. 1270 nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, ed. Carlo Pedretti, transcr. Carlo Vecce, 2 vols (Florenia: Giunti, 1995), I, 228 (Codex A 109 / Richter 585).

³⁹ Cf. Vincenzo Danti, *Il primo libro del trattato delle perfette proporzioni*, en *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento*, I (1960), 235-236 y 239.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 235.

⁴¹ καὶ μὴν καὶ εἰκόνα εἴποις ἂν τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ εἰκασίαν καὶ εἴκασμα (Jul. Poll., *Onom.*, 7, 127, 3-4; 'y en verdad nombraras *imagen* a la obra y también *representación* y *semejanza*'; *Graphice*, 4, p. 17, corrig. εἰκασίαν).

⁴² Aparece en efecto la referencia de Apeles en Sexto Empírico, como comparación del don inesperado de la *ataraxía* en el pensador escéptico: ὅπερ οὖν περὶ Ἀπελλοῦ τοῦ ζωγράφου λέγεται, τοῦτο ὑπῆρξε τῷ σκεπτικῷ. φασὶ γάρ ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ἵππον γράφων καὶ τὸν ἄφρον τῷ ἵππου μιμήσασθαι τῇ γραφῇ βουλευθεὶς οὕτως ἀπετύγχανεν ὥς ἀπειπεῖν καὶ τὴν σπογγίαν εἰς ἣν ἀπέμασσε τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ γραφείου χρώματα προσρῖψαι τῇ εἰκόνι· τὴν δὲ προσασαμένην ἵππου ἀφροῦ ποιῆσαι μίμημα (S. E., *P.*, 1, 28; 'Lo que en efecto se dice de Apeles el pintor, esto acaeció al escéptico. Se cuenta pues que aquél pintando a un caballo y habiendo querido imitar la espuma del caballo en la pintura entonces erraba hasta renunciar y arrojó la esponja, en la que limpiaba los colores del pincel, al cuadro; y al haberlo tocado produjo la imitación de la espuma del caballo'). Aunque Schefferus pudo querer deducir en su contexto la operación general involucrada en la hechura del cuadro (sin modelo presente), es notorio que el relato de Sexto corresponde a un hallazgo no *ex ingenio* sino *ex casu*.

rente a la pintura y, si se quiere, de modo particular en su propia condición de '*fictura*'.⁴³

Sobre esta teoría del *decorum* naturalista volverá a extenderse en otras secciones de su texto. En sus consideraciones sobre los asuntos convenientes a ser representados por la pintura, Schefferus comenta: '*Versatur autem circa omnia, & Naturalia & Artificialia, imò ea etiam, quæ excogitantur solo ab ingenio humano, verùm quatenus spectari possunt oculis, aut posse videntur*' (8, p. 36; 'Pero además se ocupa [la pintura] de todas las cosas, tanto naturales como artificiales, y aun también de aquellas que sólo son ideadas por el ingenio humano, de cierto en el modo en que pueden ser observadas por los ojos, o parece que puedan ser'). Es decir, tiene competencia para ocuparse de todas las cosas sensibles, tanto las creadas por la naturaleza como las producidas por el hombre (*artificialia*); pero a ello se añaden las que son concebidas 'solo ab ingenio humano' sin un referente fenoménico concreto, para las cuales vuelve a apuntarse la necesidad de su presentación de acuerdo con lo que es conveniente a la vista según los límites propios a la fenomenicidad. En ello pueden incluirse entidades no-sensibles, o al menos, no-visibles en términos directamente figurativos; así '*Inventi quidem sunt jam olim, qui & ea, quæ non possunt cerni, pinxere, ut spiritus, ventos, sermones, & id genus*' (8, p. 37; 'Se han encontrado ya en el pasado quienes pintaron aquellas cosas que no pueden ser percibidas, como espíritus, vientos, discursos, y de ese tipo'); para estos se prescribe la misma recomendación sobre el *decorum* visual: '*Sed tamen & hæc pinxerunt, non ut sunt, sed ut quandam speciem eorum animo formarunt, putaruntq; futuram, si obiicienda foret oculis*' (8, p. 37; 'Pero con todo también estas cosas fueron pintadas, no como son, sino del modo en que se formaron alguna apariencia de ellas en el alma y estimaron que habría de ser, si hubiera de ser expuesta a los ojos'). En este sentido, la preocupación primaria del artista es de índole 'práctica' más que filosófica (como se muestra ya en la preceptiva de Alberti);⁴⁴ no se ocupa propiamente del *ser* sino del

⁴³ Dentro del orbe de la *fictio*, según indica la poética desprendida también de las consideraciones de Aristóteles. En el siglo XVII, Vossius indica cómo '*Praecipuum Poëtae officium est imitari, ac fingere*', asentándose la dupla verdad / verosimilitud para una y otra acción, de modo que '*Vera est actio, quam imitantur: veræ similis est actio, quam fingunt*' (1, 2, 1). Gerardus Joannes Vossius, *Poeticarum institutionum libri tres* (Amsterdam: Ludovicus Elzevirius, 1647), p. 6.

⁴⁴ Al contrastar el saber que compete a los pintores con el de los matemáticos: '*Illi enim solo ingenio, omni seiuncta materia, species et formas rerum metiuntur. Nos vero, quod sub aspectu rem positam esse volumus, pinguiore idcirco, ut aiunt, Minerva*

aparecer de aquellas figuraciones que se ha propuesto ‘poner ante los ojos’, y que deben condicionarse a esta *causa finalis* de su propio operar, que es su presentación visible.

Esta norma de oro se aplica de nuevo a las criaturas mitológicas (tras citar el pasaje de la *Vida de Apolonio de Tiana* de Flavio Filóstrato sobre *phantasia* / *mimesis*: 8, p. 37)⁴⁵, cuyas figuras son de hecho *composita phantasmata*:

Atq; ita quidem pingunt, quæ non possunt cerni, licet existant. Neq; aliter versantur in cæteris, quæ non existunt. Nam & Chymæram formant, & Pegasos, & Sirenas, & id genus alia, quæ naturæ ignorantur. Secundum naturam tamen, ut si existere deberent, aliter, non videantur posse formari. Nempe omni arti est propositum, imitari naturam, ut ostendit Aristoteles II. Physi. Ausc. & quod deest ipsi, supplere, ut is idem docet VII. Polit. Quare quod naturæ penitus repugnat, arte exprimi nec potest, nec conveniens sanumve est. (8, pp. 37-38)

[E incluso así pintan las cosas que no pueden ser percibidas, aunque existan. Y no distintamente se ocupan en las demás cosas que no existen. Pues forman a la Quimera, Pegasos, Sirenas y otras cosas de ese género que son desconocidas en la naturaleza. Sin embargo según la naturaleza, como si debieran existir; de otro modo, no parece que puedan ser formadas. Sin duda es propósito de toda arte imitar a la naturaleza, como expone Aristóteles, *Física*, II., y suplir lo que le falta, como él mismo enseña en la *Política*, VII. Por consiguiente, lo que por completo repugna a la naturaleza no puede ser expresado por el arte, ni es conveniente ni correcto].

En efecto, Schefferus invoca esta vez la autoridad de Aristóteles; en primer lugar, en sus indicaciones sobre la condición recíproca del arte y la naturaleza y su mutua complementariedad:

οἶον εἰ οἰκία τῶν φύσει γιγνομένων ἦν, οὕτως ἂν ἐγίγνετο ὥς νῦν ὑπὸ τῆς τέχνης· εἰ δὲ τὰ φύσει μὴ μόνον φύσει ἀλλὰ καὶ τέχνῃ γίγνοιτο, ὡσαύτως ἂν γίγνοιτο ἢ πέφυκεν. ἔνεκα ἅρα θατέρου θάτερον. ὅλως δὲ ἡ τέχνη τὰ μὲν ἐπιτελεῖ ἃ ἡ φύσις ἀδυνατεῖ ἀπεργάσασθαι, τὰ δὲ μιμεῖται. (Arist., *Ph.*, 2, 8, 199a12-17)

[Por ejemplo, si existiera una casa entre las cosas generadas por la naturaleza, en tal caso fuera generada como ahora por el arte; y si las cosas por naturaleza no sólo fueran generadas por la naturaleza sino también por el arte, de igual modo fueran generadas como las que son producidas naturalmente. Luego cada una corresponde a la otra. En general, el arte realiza las cosas que la naturaleza no es capaz de producir, o las imita].

scribendo utemur’ (*De pictura* 1, 1). Alberti, *Das Standbild, Die Malkunst, Grundlagen der Malerei*, p. 194.

⁴⁵ Cf. Junius, *De pictura veterum*, p. 11.

‘Ars imitatur naturam’.⁴⁶ Además, la capacidad de suplir y completar a la naturaleza — formulada aquí —, la comenta también, en un contexto pedagógico, en la *Política*: πᾶσα γὰρ τέχνη καὶ παιδεία τὸ προσ-
 λεῖπον βούλεται τῆς φύσεως ἀναπληροῦν (Arist., *Po.*, 7, 17, 1337a1-3; ‘pues toda arte y educación aspira a suplir lo faltante en la naturaleza’). Por supuesto, Aristóteles se refiere en estos casos a aspectos ontológicos o bien ‘pragmáticos’ del arte en general como ‘imitador’ y complemento causal de la naturaleza; Schefferus hace tales observaciones extensivas a su modalidad representativa, que incluye las formas ‘inexistentes’ pero que, sin despegarse de la naturaleza, la combinatoria del arte puede llevar a cabo extendiendo de modo válido el orbe de las *res visibiles*.

En ese mismo apartado, Schefferus cita un fragmento de un significativo pasaje de Vitruvio sobre cierta modalidad ornamental, incluido en el séptimo libro del *De architectura*. El tratadista latino habla ahí de las decoraciones antiguas, que representaban ‘quod est seu potest esse’ (*De arch.*, 7, 2, 1; ‘lo que es o puede ser’), hombres, edificios, naves, etcétera, ‘e quibus finitis certisque corporibus figurata similitudine sumuntur exempla’ (‘a partir de cuyos cuerpos definidos y ciertos se sacaban con semejanza los modelos figurados’); ello incluye no sólo motivos ornamentales de la naturaleza o humanos (‘tragico more aut comico seu satyrico’), sino las *fabulae*, los mitos, que no se contraponen por entero a lo ‘verídico’ para la mentalidad antigua, admitiéndose, al menos parcialmente, como pertinentes *res gestae*, ‘históricas’ (por ejemplo, los hechos de la guerra de Troya o las andanzas de Odiseo), y demás asuntos ‘quae sunt eorum similibus rationibus ab rerum natura procreata’ (‘que con similares razones a éstos han sido creados desde la naturaleza de las cosas’). Frente a esta modalidad, sin embargo, se contrastan de modo negativo ciertas soluciones contemporáneas al autor:

sed haec, quae ex veris rebus exempla sumebantur, nunc iniquis moribus improbantur. nam pinguntur tectoriis monstra potius quam ex rebus finitis imagines certae: pro columnis enim struuntur calami striati cum crispis foliis et volutis, pro fastigiis appagineculi, item candelabra aedicularum sustinentia figuras, supra fastigia eorum surgentes ex radicibus cum volutis teneri flores habentes in se sine ratione sedentia sigilla, non minus coliculi dimidiata habentes sigilla alia humanis, alia bestiarum capitibus. haec autem

⁴⁶ *Physica auscultatio*, II, 194a21. Cf. *Commentarium in octo libros Physicorum* II, 4, 170: santo Tomás de Aquino, *Comento alla Fisica di Aristotele*, ed. Battista Mondin (Bologna: Edizioni Studio Domenicano), I (2004), 292.

nec sunt nec fieri possunt nec fuerunt. quemadmodum enim potest calamus vere sustinere tectum aut candelabrum ornamenta fastigii, seu coliculus tam tenuis et mollis sustinere sedens sigillum, aut de radicibus et coliculis ex parte flores dimidiataque sigilla procreari? at haec falsa videntes homines non reprehendunt sed delectantur, neque animadvertunt, si quid eorum fieri potest necne. ergo ita novi mores coegerunt, uti inertiae mali iudices convincerent artium virtutes; iudiciis autem infirmis obscuratae mentes non valent probare, quod potest esse cum auctoritate et ratione decoris. neque enim picturae probari debent, quae non sunt similes veritati, nec, si factae sunt elegantes ab arte, ideo de his statim debet 'recte' iudicari, nisi argumentationis certas rationes habuerint sine offensionibus explicatas.⁴⁷ (Vitr., *De arch.*, 7, 5, 3-5)

El pasaje es interpretado por Schefferus del siguiente modo:

Putant Serlius Castilioniusq; agere de eo genere picturae, quod ab Italīs à gryptis subterraneis, in quibus usitatum fuit, nominari, *Grottesca* consuevit. Mihi aliter est visum. Non enim de imaginibus deformiter ac monstrosè fictis agit, sed de rebus naturalibus aut artificialibus, sic inter se compositis, ut naturae, etiamsi fingere velimus, penitus repugnent. Nempè non adversum est naturae, vultus existere deformes, aut ex herbis, oleribus, frugibus compositis effigiem rei alterius alicujus concinnare redderéque. At verò in arundine stabiliri aedes integras, molesq; supra tecta domus eminere, id cum natura rerum convenire nunquam potest. Igitur conveniens naturae quidem esse pictura omnis debet, etiamsi non existat in natura, quod pictura continet. Id quod evenit, si est talis, qualem ea res, si quando per naturam existere deberet, sese, neq; aliter, spectandam nostris oculis videtur praebitura. (8, pp. 38-39)

⁴⁷ 'Pero estas cosas, cuyos modelos eran tomados de las cosas verdaderas, ahora son despreciadas por mal gusto. Pues en los estucados se pintan más monstruos que imágenes ciertas de cosas definidas; por columnas, por ejemplo, se fabrican tallos estriados con hojas y volutas, por techos menudos arpeos ornamentales [*appagineculi*], de igual modo candelabros que sustentan figuras de pequeños edificios, sobre cuyo frontón surgen flores que son sostenidas desde las raíces con volutas teniendo en sí sin razón figurillas que ahí se asientan; sus tallitos no menos tienen figurillas partidas unas con cabezas humanas y otras de bestias. Estas cosas, sin embargo, no son ni fueron ni pueden existir. Pues ¿de qué manera puede una caña en verdad sostener el techo o el candelabro las ornamentaciones del frontón, o tallitos tan delgados y blandos sostener una figurilla sobrepuesta, o ser creadas desde raíces y tallitos de una parte flores y figurillas partidas? Y estas cosas falsas viéndolas los hombres no las reprenden, sino que se deleitan, y no consideran lo que en ellas puede existir o no. Luego así los nuevos usos han impelido a que por inercia los malos jueces confundiesen las virtudes de las artes; y además con endeblés juicios las oscurecidas mentes no son capaces de verificar lo que puede ser con autoridad y razón del decoro. Pues no deben ser aprobadas las pinturas que no son semejantes a la verdad, e incluso si elegantes han sido hechas con arte, no por esto al punto se debe juzgar sobre ellas que son "correctas", a menos que hubiese seguras razones de prueba explicadas sin tropiezos'. Valga la traducción del hapax *appagineculi*; sobre éste como derivado de *pangere* / *appingere*, cf. Guy Serbat, *Les Dérivés nominaux du latin à suffixe médiatif*, Sorbonne Série 'NS Recherches', 11 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1975), pp. 274-275.

[Opinan Serlio y Philander que [Vitruvio] discute sobre aquel género de pintura que entre los italianos, a partir de las grutas subterráneas en las que se ha usado con frecuencia, ha dado en ser llamado *grottesca*. Yo le veo de un modo distinto. Puesto que no trata sobre imágenes figuradas deforme o monstruosamente, sino sobre cosas naturales o artificiales de tal manera entre sí combinadas que a la naturaleza, aunque queramos inventar, son contrarias del todo. Sin duda no es hostil a la naturaleza que existan rostros deformes, o a partir de hierbas, verduras o frutos compuestos ajustar y reproducir la figura de alguna otra cosa. Por el contrario, en verdad, en una caña ser sostenidas las habitaciones todas, y hacer sobresalir grandes volúmenes sobre los techos de una casa, ello nunca puede convenir con la naturaleza de las cosas. Por consiguiente sin duda debe toda pintura estar en armonía con la naturaleza, aunque lo que contenga la pintura no exista en la naturaleza. Lo que ocurre, si tal cual es la cosa, si alguna vez hubiera de existir por naturaleza, parece mostrarse, y no de otro modo, a nuestros ojos para ser apreciada].

Aunque discutible, esta lectura es sutil y razonable. De la manera más obvia, según atribuye a los intérpretes que contradice (Sebastiano Serlio⁴⁸ y su discípulo Gulielmus Philander Castilionius [Guillaume Philandrier]⁴⁹,

⁴⁸ Por lo que toca a Serlio, presenta sobre este tema una actitud más bien permisiva — como corresponde a la propia labor del arquitecto manierista — frente a las *figure mescolate* que acepta como válidas y en principio apelando a una amplia licencia, sin establecer un posicionamiento explícito respecto de la censura de Vitruvio: 'Ornate dunque che saranno le mura, se si vorranno ornare i Cieli voltati in diversi modi; sarà da seguitare le vestigie de gli antichi Romani, liquali costumarono di far diversi scompartimenti, secondo i soggetti, & secondo anco il modo delle volte, & in quelli facevano diverse bizzarrie, che si dicono grottesche: lequai cose tornano molto bene, & commode, per la licentia che s'ha di far ciò che si vuole, come sariano fogliami, frondi, fiori, animali, uccelli, figure di qualunque sorte, mescolate però con animali, & fogliami tal volta separati in diverse attitudini, facevano alcuni panni tenuti da esse figure, tal volta separati in diverse attitudini, facevano alcuni panni tenuti da esse figure, tal volta attaccati ad altre cose, & in quelli dipingevano quel che gli piaceva qualche fiata si può fare una figurina finta di cameo, o altra cosa di simile materia, qualche tempietto, & altre architetture si posson mescolare con queste, lequali tutte si potran fare ne i Cieli, o di pittura colorite, o di stucco, o di chiaro & scuro, a volontà del pittore, & queste saranno senza riprensione alcuna, che così hanno usato i buoni antichi' (*Architettura*, 4 [Regole generali di architettura], 11). Sebastiano Serlio, *Tutte l'Opere d'Architettura di Sebastiano Serlio bolognese. Doue si trattano in disegno, quelle cose, che sono più necessarie all'Architetto* (Venecia: Francesco de' Franceschi Senese, 1584), fol. 192^r. Seguidamente, Serlio no deja de advertir la necesidad de que el pintor se someta a convenientes modalidades en la representación, al modo de Mantegna, siguiendo 'l'arte della prospettiva, accompagnate dalla discretion del giudicio, che certamente rappresentano il vero', siendo en todo caso dirigido y autorizado en sus trabajos por el arquitecto 'come superiore a tutti gli artefici' *Ibid.*, fol. 192^v. Francisco de Holanda — quien cuenta que el propio Serlio le dio en Venecia una copia de su obra — señalaba en su tratado: 'O pintar do grutesco é tachado de M. Vetrúvio porque é pintura imposível e fingida' (44). Francisco de Holanda, *Da pintura antiga*, ed. Joaquim de Vasconcellos (Porto: Renascença portuguesa, 1930²), p. 166.

⁴⁹ En su anotación al pasaje, Philander trae a cuento el célebre inicio del *Arts* horaciana y las *grottesche* señalando en general su impertinencia, aunque deja para otro texto la

editor de Vitruvio), es fácil entender un ataque genérico en contra de las *grottesche* (al modo en que hicieron también, por ejemplo, Daniele Barbaro en su comentario⁵⁰, o bien, Gilio⁵¹ y Paleotti⁵²). Pero, en su perspectiva, no se debe sobrentender implícito un denuesto general contra formas alteradas o compuestas, pues hay ejemplos tanto de deformación en la naturaleza como de composición en el arte (a la manera de Arcimboldi) que muestran por sí mismos su pertinencia. Sin embargo, los casos aludidos por Vitruvio corresponden en efecto, como precisa con tino Schefferus, a la mezcla de *naturalia* y *artificialia* funcionalmente impropia; pues en este contexto específico, el del espacio arquitectónico, las figuraciones censuradas involucran una imposible coalescencia entre objeto y representación. Ese tipo de motivos ornamentales superpuestos a elementos con un oficio constructivo específico, en tanto que resultan fácticamente inoperantes del todo para tal labor, provocan una disonancia, intolerable para el *decorum*, entre lo funcional y lo decorativo. Luego, ello no autoriza a censurar del todo los *figmenta impossibilia* — incluidos de

discusión puntual sobre temas pictóricos: '*Nanque pictura imago fit eius quod est, seu esse potest. Vulgò iactari solet Horatianum illud ex Epistola ad Pisones, quæ falsò liber de arte poëtica inscribitur. – Pictoribus atque poëtis Quidlibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas. At non sine risu spectari posse initio eius libelli ait pictorem, qui humano capiti velit iungere equinam ceruicem, & varias inducere formas. Ea demum pingenda existimabat, quæ à natura non abhorrerent. Nec mihi obijcias antiquorum eiusmodi opera etiam nunc Romæ & Puteolis ostendi, & quod picturæ genus mox reprehendit, Italis dictas grottescas, credò quòd in terra obrutis veterum ædificiorum fornicibus, quas grottas quasi cryptas vocant, primum inuenerint. Non possunt veræ dici picturæ, quæ sunt à veritate alienæ, etiam si autores nactæ sint egregios. Sed de pictura scribemus aliquando, & colorum compositione (proprio dicato ei rei opere) quod nullus tentauit, & pictoribus ipsis vsu magis, quàm ratione cognitum. Quod autem ad reliquorum colorum rationem spectat (quandoquidem vitrarijs, figulis, infectoribus sua est & colorum ratio) id nos in hyalurgia, plasticæ, & baphicæ, libris trademus' (De Architec. lib VII., In caput V. annotat.). M. Vitruvius Pollio, De Architectura libri decem, ad Caesarem Augustum, omnibus omnium editionibus longè emendatioribus, collatis veteribus exemplis. Accesserunt, Gulielmi Philandri Castilioni, cuius Romani annotationes castigatioribus, & plus tertia parte locupletiores (Lyon: Joannes Tornaesius, 1552), pp. 280-281.*

⁵⁰ Quien consigna la identidad con las *grottesche* en su comentario al pasaje de Vitruvio, vinculándolas de modo negativo con la *phantasia* y sus 'pinturas oníricas'; vid. M. Vitruvius Pollio, De architectura libri decem, cum commentariis Danielis Barbari, electi patriarchæ Aquileiensis (Venezia: Franciscus Franciscus Senensis & Ioannes Crugher Germanus, 1567), p. 243.

⁵¹ Vid. Giovanni Andrea Gilio, Dialogo, nel quale si ragiona degli errori e degli abusi de' pittori circa l'istorie, en Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento, fra Manierismo e Controriforma, II (1961), 18.

⁵² En su ampliamente argumentada censura contra las *grottesche*; vid. Gabriele Paleotti, Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane, en Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento, II (1961), 444.

hecho entre los motivos clásicos fabulísticos alabados anteriormente por el arquitecto latino —; sino que dichas observaciones sirven, en este caso, para apuntalar la teoría del *decorum* naturalista de Schefferus, donde habría de entenderse la viabilidad particular tanto operativa como representativa de cada imagen, que en ningún caso debe implicar una total contradicción con el *ordo rerum* natural.

4. El *argumentum* como invención del *ingenium*

Entre las ocho partes que el autor distingue de la pintura, en primer término figura el ‘argumento’ de la obra: ‘Primum argumentum est, quod appello rem pingendam, ingenio iudicioq; pictoris decenter inventam aut dispositam’ (28, pp. 99-100; ‘En primer lugar está el argumento, como llamo a la cosa a pintar, inventada o dispuesta con el ingenio y el juicio del pintor de modo conveniente’). Esto corresponde, en efecto, a la ‘argumentorum inventio’ de la poética.⁵³ Señala luego para éstos dos modalidades distintas:

Observandum ergò, duo esse genera argumentorum, quæ pingenda veniunt; aliud, quod pendet totum ab ingenio pictoris; aliud, quod ad certa constrictum est exemplaria. Illud, cùm exempli gratia historiæ aut fabulæ pinguntur, aut imagines Deorum Dearumvè, aut figuræ emblematicæ: Hoc, cùm imitandæ res naturales artificialesvè certæ, ac *iconicæ picturæ*, sicut Plinius appellat, vulgus *contrafacturas* nominare solet, faciendæ. In primo genere admodum necessarium ingenium pictoris esse ac iudicium, quis ambigat?⁵⁴ (28, pp. 100-101)

[Luego se ha de observar que son dos los géneros de los argumentos que llegan a ser pintados: uno, que depende todo del ingenio del pintor; el otro, que se ha constreñido a ciertos modelos. Aquél, cuando por ejemplo se

⁵³ Véase por ejemplo el texto de Vossius, *Poeticarum institutionum libri tres* (1, 1, 1), p. 1.

⁵⁴ Para Ellenius (*De arte pingendi*, p. 154), esta división doble de los *argumenta* ‘should thus be seen above all as a criticism of the position of priority that since the Renaissance had been accorded to literary invention by practically all theoreticians’. Es en efecto la supremacía de, en términos de Alberti, la *historia* en tanto que *inventio litteraria* lo que predomina como asunto argumental considerado por los teóricos como óptimo en el Renacimiento. En este punto Schefferus ratificaría su postura ‘abierto’ a diversas expresiones artísticas, tanto las que corresponden a ‘artes menores’ como a los géneros de limitado prestigio en la tradición (como el paisaje o la naturaleza muerta; *ibid.*, p. 293), que ya antes fueron considerados por Francisco Pacheco y que, en general, gozaron de mayor aprecio en el medio del Norte europeo (como muestra bien Van Mander).

pintan historias o fábulas, o imágenes de los dioses y diosas o figuras emblemáticas; éste, cuando son imitadas ciertas cosas naturales y artificiales, y haciéndose sobre todo *pinturas icónicas*, como las llama Plinio, y el vulgo suele nombrarlas *contrafacturas*. Que en el primer género sea del todo necesario el ingenio y también el juicio del pintor, ¿quién lo duda?].

Este deslinde no carece de interés teórico, y adquiere relieve y pertinencia contrastado con las consideraciones de orden teológico de Gilio o Comanini. Pues, dentro del primer conjunto de asuntos, cuyo argumento depende *totum ab ingenio*, Schefferus incluye un amplio conjunto de temas, que abarcan *res gestae* lo mismo que fábulas, imágenes de divinidades y *figurae emblematicae*, es decir, las figuraciones de la estirpe imaginaria de Alciati.⁵⁵ ¿Cómo pueden igualarse, en un mismo plano, los *facta* de la ‘historia’ y las creaciones de la *phantasia*? La respuesta está, de nueva cuenta, en que no se trata de una clasificación basada en consideraciones ontológicas, sino referida a una fenomenología ‘presencial’ y respecto de las posibilidades operativas del artista. Ello lo clarifica el segundo *modus* propuesto, que corresponde a la imitación directa de entidades presentes a la vista del pintor; así lo puede corroborar el aludido pasaje de Plinio donde hace mención de *statuae* — o bien pinturas — *iconicae* que conmemoraban a los triunfadores de los juegos o héroes próximos en el tiempo (es decir, hombres ‘presentes’);⁵⁶ también vale para ello el término, en uso en el siglo XVII, de *contrafactura*, con el sentido general de ‘imitación pictórica’ o ‘retrato’.⁵⁷ En contrapartida,

⁵⁵ Los ejemplos que ofrece (28, pp. 101-102) son, por supuesto, antiguos: las pinturas de Timantes, paradigmático por su *ingenium*, sobre Ifigenia y un Cíclope dormido (Plin., *H.N.*, 35, 73-74); y sobre la batalla entre persas y egipcios en el Nilo y el problema de la representación de éste como río, resuelto por el también *ingeniosus et sollers* Nealcés (Plin., *H.N.*, 35, 141-142); a ellos añade el caso modélico de Zeuxis y la pintura de ‘Venus’, que, aunque basada en modelos presentes, supone la formación interior de una figura compuesta a partir de ellos.

⁵⁶ ‘effigies hominum non solebant exprimi nisi aliqua inlustri causa perpetuitatem merentium, primo sacrorum certaminum victoria maximeque Olympiae, ubi omnium, qui vicissent, statuas dicari mos erat, eorum vero, qui ter ibi superavissent, ex membris ipsorum similitudine expressa, quas iconicas vocant’ (Plin., *H.N.*, 35, 16). Aplicado también a la pintura conmemorativa de personajes históricos de Maratón: ‘Panaenus quidem frater Phidiae etiam proelium Atheniensium adversus Persas apud Marathona factum pinxit. adeo iam colorum usus increbuerat adeoque ars perfecta erat, ut in eo proelio iconicos duces pinxisse tradatur, Atheniensium Miltiadem, Callimachum, Cynaegirum, barbarorum Datim, Artaphernen’ (*H.N.*, 35, 57).

⁵⁷ *Contrafacere*: ‘to portray’; *contrafactura*: ‘portrait’; vid. Richard J. Schoeck, Marina Rütt y H.-W. Bartz, ‘A Step Towards a Neo-Latin Lexicon: A First Word-List Drawn from “Humanistica Lovaniensia”’, *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 39 (1990), 340-365

todos los otros temas incluidos en la primera categoría carecen, en términos estrictos, de modelo exterior accesible al artista. Esto es evidente en el caso de los mitos o las creaciones alegóricas; pero, a su manera, no es menos pertinente para los diversos temas antiguos, pues, a partir sobre todo de referencias indirectas, escritas, el pintor debe reconstruir *ab ingenio* lo ya ausente y volverlo visible de un modo verosímil a los ojos en la representación plástica.⁵⁸

(p. 353). De *contrafacere*, 'reproducir imitando', proviene la voz francesa *contrefaire* (de donde el inglés 'counterfait'), y reviste de este modo el sentido primario de 'realizar una copia en semejanza de algo'. Usó el término Villard de Honnecourt en el siglo XIII en su *Livre de portraiture* para nombrar representaciones no sólo de seres humanos sino también de animales; en el XVII tiene el sentido general de 'imitación pictórica', del mismo modo que 'portraiture' (antes de que Félibien sugiriese restringir este vocablo para la representación de seres humanos); vid. Norbert Schneider, *The Art of the Portrait: Masterpieces of European Portrait-Painting 1420-1670* (Colonia: Benedikt Taschen, 1999), p. 10. Los derivados de *contrafacere* adquieren, como es sabido, un sentido más bien peyorativo en su uso posterior en las lenguas modernas (como 'copia fraudulenta' o paródica).

⁵⁸ Cabe apuntar que la división propuesta por Schefferus sugiere ser la base de otra señalada por Félibien: 'On peut considerer l'invention d'un tableau en deux manières; sçavoir, celle qui vient purement de l'esprit du Peintre, & celle qu'il emprunte de quelqu'un. La première est, quand il invente lui-même quelque sujet, qui n'a lieu ni dans la fable, ni dans l'histoire, & qu'il dispose entierement à sa fantaisie. La seconde, est celle qui'il emprunte de quelqu'un, & qui n'est pas un entier effet de son imagination, comme la representation de choses allégoriques, historiques, ou fabuleuses; & encore de celles qui sont mixtes, c'est-à-dire, où la fable, l'histoire & l'allégorie sont mêlées' (3). André Félibien, *Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres anciens et modernes*, 6 vols (París: A. Trévoux, 1725; repr. Farnborough: Gregg, 1967), II, 172. Pareciere que Félibien ha tomado de Schefferus las premisas fundamentales del deslinde de dos formas de invención, una a partir del *ingenium-esprit*, la otra sobre la base de algo preexistente; sin embargo, en los *Entretiens* aparece interpretado de manera bien distinta, pues el crítico francés considera como 'preexistentes' los mismos 'argumentos' que Schefferus expresamente señala como figuraciones de *ingenium-phantasia*: las 'historias', los mitos y las alegorías (que más o menos equivaldrían a las '*figurae emblematicae*' en la *Graphice*). Es interesante notar las distintas posturas que posibilitan esta clasificación contrapuesta: por un lado, la de Schefferus es 'presencial' y estima la posibilidad de la visión directa del asunto representado como criterio diferencial primario; por el otro, las consideraciones de Félibien son más bien 'convencionales' y, por tanto, normativas, circunscribiendo tanto los temas mitológicos e históricos, y aun los alegóricos, dentro de una esfera de conocimientos y prácticas iconográficas sobre las cuales el artista debe partir y respetar para hacer su trabajo, punto en el que se manifiesta la tendencia del academicismo a instituir un 'imaginario colectivo' que acote la imaginación individual. Cabe añadir además que en el siglo XVIII Palomino, quien a diferencia de Félibien remite de modo abierto a Schefferus, utilizó su distingo de un modo diferente del erudito germano-sueco, más cercano al enfoque del francés, pero deslindando lo 'alegórico' o metafórico de la 'historia' (que comprende también lo 'fabuloso' entendido de modo 'evemerístico'); cf. Palomino, *El museo pictórico*, p. 100-101 (1, 1, 7, 2 y 4).

De acuerdo con este criterio, quedaría más que justificada una equipolencia al modo de Gaurico entre *litterati* e *ingeniosi*;⁵⁹ sólo quien posea el conocimiento está propiamente capacitado para realizar ese tipo de argumentos como fruto de un trabajo interior — basado en el recto saber que permite el ser fiel a un *decorum* histórico⁶⁰ — para el que algunos se encuentran mejor dotados.⁶¹ En general, se asume que existen artistas más aptos para una u otra modalidad, la *ingeniosa* y la *iconica*; no es extraño que para ilustrarlo cite las siguientes líneas de ‘Platón’: “‘Artificum”, inquit, “hi quidem alia imitari accuratè possunt, illi verò potestatem habent fingendi aliquid cum summa admiratione”” (66, p. 197; “‘Entre los artistas”, dice, “algunos de cierto pueden imitar algunas cosas con precisión, otros en verdad tienen la capacidad de inventar algo con admiración suma”). Este texto no corresponde, como pretende Schefferus, al *Sofista*. Su equívoco parte muy probablemente de una lectura errónea del *De pictura veterum* de Junius, donde éste recuerda el distingo platónico — ya aplicado a este propósito por Comanini —⁶² entre las ‘dos ... formas del [arte] creador de imágenes, la icástica [copiadora] y la fantástica [hacedora de simulacros]’ (Pl., *Sph.*, 236c6-7; δύο ... εἶδη τῆς εἰδωλοποιικῆς, εἰκαστικὴν καὶ φανταστικὴν), que el filósofo utilizó para caracterizar de modo negativo al sofista y que, como ya es habitual desde las décadas finales del siglo XVI, se cita de modo descontextualizado para ilustrar formas del arte verbal y plástico. En el mismo pasaje, de modo inmediato, Junius copia un texto que pertenece, no al *Sofista*, sino al *Comentario al Timeo* de Proclo (explicando los procesos de la creación demiúrgica del cosmos):⁶³

⁵⁹ Para Gaurico hay una coalescencia indisoluble entre ambos órdenes, en su esfera ‘conceptual’ o ‘ideal’; por ello literalmente despiden a ‘qui non censent oportere sculptores litteratos, hoc est ingeniosos, esse. Etenim quum nihil plane quicquam effici possit quod notione prius atque idea cognitum non fuerit’ (I, 10). Gaurico, *De sculptura*, p. 144.

⁶⁰ Que implica también el *intellectus rerum* en su esfera correspondiente al que exige la representación naturalista; según apunta Schefferus: ‘Usus vitæ humanæ positus est in intellectu rerum, actionum, motuum, cujusq; pro ratione temporis, loci, personæ, legum, consuetudinum convenientium: Ne quid præposterè, abhorrensè vel à moribus publicis privatisq; pingatur. Ut si Romanus in pallio, Græcus in toga, hi imberbes, illi barbati formantur. Consequetur pictor hoc diligenti observatione antiquitatis, monumentorum, lapidum, nummorum, gemmarum, & similium’ (29, pp. 108-109).

⁶¹ Tanto para la pintura ‘ingeniosa’ como para la ‘icónica’ se asume que hay pintores más o menos dotados: ‘Nam alij ad iconicas picturas, alij ad historias sunt aptiores; & ex ipsis iconicis, alij homines, alij alia rectiùs feliciùsq; pingunt’ (28, p. 103).

⁶² Vid. Gregorio Comanini, *Il Figino, overo del fine della pittura*, en *Trattati d’arte del Cinquecento*, III (1962), 256.

⁶³ El pasaje de Junius se lee como sigue: ‘Cæterùm hanc fœcundissimorum animorum vim εἰδωλοποιικὴν vel εἰδωλοποιητικὴν vel εἰδωλουργικὴν dixit Plato in Sophistâ;

ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα δημιουργῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλα, μιμῆσθαι ἀκριβῶς δύνανται, οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ δύναμιν ἀναπλαστικὴν ἔχουσι μορφωμάτων θαυμαστῶν <καὶ> ἔργων ἀναγκαίων πρὸς τὰς χρεῖας, ὥς ὁ πρῶτος ναῦν ποιήσας τὸ παράδειγμα τῆς νεῶς ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἀνέπλασε φανταστικῶς. (Procl., in Ti., 1, 320, 5-10)

[Tal como también en este mundo entre los artesanos por un lado, en verdad, están los que pueden imitar con exactitud, y por el otro quienes por sí mismos tienen la capacidad compositiva de formas maravillosas y obras necesarias por sus funciones, como quien primero al haber hecho una nave plasmó el paradigma de ella en sí mismo imaginariamente].

En cualquier caso, el ejemplo es útil al intento del tratadista y su deslinde de ambas modalidades de pinturas, por un lado ‘icónica’, ‘icástica’ o ‘mimética’, y, por el otro, ‘ingeniosa’ o ‘fantástica’. Cabe aquí de modo añadido indicar que, entre Comanini y Junius, también Bulengerus retomó el distingo platónico de las imitaciones εἰκαστική καὶ φανταστική, una que expresa *formae*, la otra *phantasmata* y que se explica así: ‘Fantasticken vocat, quando non secundum quod est, sed secundum quod animo concipit, licet à vero aberret, imaginem effingit’⁶⁴ (1, 16; ‘Llama fantástica cuando figura la imagen, no según lo que es, sino según lo que se concibe con el alma, aunque se aparte de lo verdadero’).

5. El *ingenium-phantasia* como fuente de la invención artística

Sobre el *ingenium*, Schefferus continúa varias de las antiguas concepciones en torno a esta proteica ‘potencia’ del alma, aplicada ya desde el temprano Renacimiento para los artistas plásticos.⁶⁵ En primer término

atque ejus duas facit species, εἰκαστικὴν & φανταστικὴν, quarum illa, vivas rerum formas coràm intuens, imitatur; hæc, res imaginatione tantum repræsentatas, describit. τῶν δημιουργῶν οἱ μὲν, ἄλλα μιμῆσθαι ἀκριβῶς δύνανται, οἱ δὲ, αὐτοὶ δύναμιν ἀναπλαστικὴν ἔχουσι θαυμαστῶν ἔργων πρὸς τὰς χρεῖας, ὥς ὁ πρῶτος τὴν ναῦν ποιήσας, ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸ παράδειγμα τῆς νεῶς ἀνέπλασε φανταστικῶς. *Artificum hi quidem alia imitari accurate possunt, illi vero & potestatem habent fingendi mirabilia opera quæ ad usum spectant. Quemadmodum qui primus in navi conficienda laboravit, exemplum navis imaginando excogitavit.* Proclus lib. II in Timæum Platonis’ (1, 2, 2). Junius, *De pictura veterum*, pp. 9-10. Schefferus copia en lo fundamental a Junius excepto por la modificación laudatoria al final (‘aliquid cum summa admiratione’) que se aparta del texto griego.

⁶⁴ Bulengerus, *De pictura, plastice, statuaria libri duo*, p. 49.

⁶⁵ Valga recordar que Petrarca elogió a Giotto y sus frescos napolitanos (capilla de Santa Bárbara, en Castel Nuovo) en términos de *manus et ingenium*: Franciscus Petrarcha, *Itinerarium Syriacum*, en *Opera quæ extant omnia*, 3 vols (Basel: Henrichus Petri, 1554), I, 621-622; o bien, un apunte de Piccolomini: ‘Ingenium pictura expetit’ (*Epistola* 119).

asume su valor a modo de condición indispensable para éstos, a semejanza de los poetas: ‘Atq; de natura quidem dubium vix potest esse, cùm præsertim quæ poëtæ, ea etiam pictores faciant. Poëtæ verò nunquam fiunt, sed nascuntur, ceu Horati, de ipsis loquitur’ (65, p. 194; ‘Y sin duda también sobre la naturaleza apenas puede ser dudoso que, como de modo especial convienen estas cosas a los poetas, convengan también a los pintores. Los poetas en verdad nunca se hacen, sino que nacen, como dice de ellos Horacio’). Según éste, el título del poeta puede ser sólo del *ingeniosus*:

ingenium, cui sit, cui mens divinior atque os
magna sonaturum, des nominis huius honorem.⁶⁶ (Hor., S., 1, 4, 43-44)

[a quien tenga ingenio, mente más divina y boca
que haga sonar cosas grandes, da el honor de este nombre].

Asimismo, de acuerdo con la paridad establecida al inicio del *Ars poetica*, podría esto aplicarse al pintor; así lo ha supuesto también Bulengerus, adaptando la misma frase proverbial: ‘Vterque nascitur artifex, non fit, & minus studio quàm natura valet’⁶⁷ (1, 1; ‘Uno y otro artista nace, no se hace, y tiene menos capacidad por el estudio que por la naturaleza’). Por lo tanto, el *ingenium* innato es el fundamento indispensable del operar: ‘Tantùm valet bonam indolem naturamq; velut fundamentum industriæ futuræ accepisse’ (65, p. 194; ‘Sólo puede tenerse a la buena disposición y naturaleza como fundamento de la laboriosidad futura’); de modo semejante ha matizado: “Consequitur hanc artem pictor, partim bonitate ingenij ac naturæ, partim rerum variarum contemplatione studiosâ, vitæq; humanæ usu” (29, p. 106; ‘El pintor alcanza esta arte, en parte por la bondad del ingenio y la naturaleza, en parte por la estudiosa contemplación de muchas cosas y la experiencia de la vida humana’). De manera ostensible, Schefferus deja ver que se trata de la *bona indoles* y *bona natura*, de la *bonitas ingenii* como cualidad necesaria en este caso; es decir, la εὐφυΐα⁶⁸, la ‘buena disposición natural’, que muestra de

Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomineus Senensis, *Opera quae extant omnia* (Basel: Henricpetri, 1571), p. 646. Vid. Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators*, pp. 15-17, 74-75.

⁶⁶ Cf. Hor., A.P., 295-297, 408-411.

⁶⁷ Bulengerus, *De pictura, plastice, statuaria libri duo*, p. 2.

⁶⁸ Así la entrada εὐφυΐα en el *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* de Joannes Scapula: ‘naturalis ingenii ad omnia dexteritas, bona indoles’. Joannes Scapula, *Lexicon Graeco-Latino*, ed. J. Bailey (Londres: J. F. Dove, 1820), col. 715b. Morhofius registra una coincidente precisión sobre εὐφυΐα / *ingenium* con base en Alessandro Piccolomini: ‘Ingenium requirimus, quæ vox ab aliquibus pro ipsa εὐφυΐα accipitur: quanquam in eo Piccolomineus

modo abierto el vocablo griego (εὖ), frente a la mayor ambigüedad del término latino, que, si bien posee una muy frecuente connotación positiva, puede también referir de un modo general la ‘buena o mala índole’ de una persona.⁶⁹

En qué consiste el ingenio, Schefferus lo explica del modo siguiente: ‘Per ingenij ac naturæ bonitatem, phantasix vim intelligo ad invenendum, & judicij ad ordinandum, quod est in pictura elegans & decorum. Nam revera sine his duobus argumentum nullum proponi ritè potest’ (29, p. 106; ‘Por ingenio y bondad de naturaleza entiendo a la potencia fantástica para inventar y la del juicio para ordenar lo que es refinado y conveniente en la pintura. Pues realmente sin estos dos ningún argumento puede ser presentado correctamente’). Según esto, el *ingenium* resulta de la conjunción de la *phantasia* y el *iudicium*⁷⁰, donde la una inventa y el otro ordena.⁷¹ El nexo de ambos en el *ingenium* puede resultar, hasta cierto punto, anómalo; sobre todo a la luz de la oposición de *ingenium* / *iudicium* como capacidades diversas y complementarias en el creador; así aparece, por ejemplo, en Quintiliano, al apuntar cómo el ingenio sin juicio puede producir κακόζηλον, ‘mal gusto, afectación’.⁷² Tales consideraciones han pasado de la retórica al ámbito de la pintura, como muestra Vossius, señalando que, en el terreno de la *inventio*, ‘non ingenium modò, sed etiam iudicium intenderit’⁷³ (24; ‘habrá de atenderse no sólo al ingenio, sino también al juicio’). El *ingenium*, como facultad

dissentit, cum ingenium de omni ingenio, quocunque se habeat modo, dicatur; εὐφυῖα vero de bono tantum intelligatur’. Daniel Georgius Morhofius, *Polyhistor, literarius, philosophicus et practicus*, 4ª ed., 2 vols (Lübeck: Petrus Boeckmannus, 1747), I, 324.

⁶⁹ Por ejemplo: ‘Hominem ab stirpe ipsa neque absolute / malum nec bonum nasci, sed ad utrumque proclive / ingenium eius esse’ (App., *Dogm. Plat.*, 2, 3, 1-3). En el *Quijote* se apunta ‘como naturalmente tiene la mujer ingenio presto para el bien y para el mal’ (1, 34). O bien, en el propio Schefferus (a partir de Thomas Freigius): ‘In loco de Natura, *indoles bona, ingenium, virtutes naturales*. item. *indoles mala, ingenium obtusum, &c*’ (12, 2). Joannes Schefferus, *De Stylo*, p. 126.

⁷⁰ Aún Novalis: ‘Wo Phantasie und Urteilstkraft sich berühren entsteht Witz’ (*Vermischte Bemerkungen* (*‘Blütenstaub’*) 1797-1798, 30). Novalis, *Werke*, ed. Gerhard Schulz (München: C. H. Beck, 2001), p. 330. Aunque, insertado en un comentario sobre *Humor*, sugiere un desplazamiento semántico característico en tiempos postbarrocos.

⁷¹ Así también el ingenio es facultad retórica central en sus fases constitutivas: ‘Atque ex suo ingenio invenire suptilius, ordinare convenientius, eloqui splendidius, donec ad summum eloquentia perducatur’ (13, 3). Schefferus, *De Stylo*, pp. 151-152.

⁷² ‘Cacozelon, <id> est mala adfectatio, per omne dicendi genus peccat; nam et tumida et pusilla et praedulcia et abundantia et arcessita et exultantia sub idem nomen cadunt. Denique cacozelon uocatur quidquid est ultra uirtutem, quotiens ingenium iudicio caret et specie boni fallitur, omnium in eloquentia uitiorum pessimum’ (Quint., *Inst.*, 8, 3, 56).

⁷³ Vossius, *De quatuor artibus popularibus*, p. 72.

especialmente creadora, sería más bien identificable con la *phantasia*, de conformidad con el propio distingo que Schefferus señala para aquél; y aun: corresponde de modo concreto a la εὐφύια, al modo en que Hobbes ha apuntado que el *bonum ingenium* para encontrar las ‘semejanzas’, no advertidas por otros, es en realidad *bona phantasia*.⁷⁴ No es entonces extraño que Daniello Bartoli alegorizara la división y difícil coalescencia entre *ingegno* / *giudicio* a través del delfín y el ancla que ilustraba la célebre divisa augústea ἀεὶ σπεῦδε βραδέως (‘semper festina tarde’): uno es el mercurio móvil, el león o el delfín del furor, la vela, el ala, el joven rostro de Jano; el otro la substancia que lo fija, el freno y el ancla, el lastre, el peso, el rostro anciano del dios bifronte.⁷⁵

Sin embargo, de conformidad con otros tantos ejemplos posibles, Schefferus ha establecido el valor más amplio de *ingenium*, a partir de su gran pluralidad semántica (como sinónimo posible de *anima*, *mens* o *spiritus*)⁷⁶ y que puede así involucrar no sólo a la *phantasia*, sino incluso al *intellectus* o la *ratio*.⁷⁷ A este propósito podrían recordarse aquí otras autoridades, como la de Cicerón, quien dice, comentando la necesaria

⁷⁴ ‘illi qui similitudines maximè animadvertunt, aliis rarè animadversas, bonum dicuntur habere *Ingenium*, id est bonam *Phantasiam*’ (1: ‘De Homine’, 8). Thomas Hobbes Malmesburiensis, *Leviathan, sive De Materia, Forma, & Potestate Civitatis Ecclesiasticæ et civilis*, en *Opera philosophica, quæ Latinè scripsit, omnia*, 2 vols (Amsterdam: Joannes Blaeu, 1668), II: 3, 35.

⁷⁵ Daniello Bartoli, *Dell’uomo di lettere difeso ed emendato* (1645), en *Trattatisti e narratori del Seicento*, ed. Ezio Raimondi (Milán – Nápoles: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1960), pp. 323-361 (327).

⁷⁶ Cuando menos parcialmente. Valga recordar un apunte ciceroniano sobre las cualidades propias a la *mens*, que pueden agruparse en innatas y voluntarias; de aquéllas dice: “Prioris generis est docilitas, memoria, quæ fere omnia appellantur uno ingeni nomine, easque uirtutes qui habent ingeniosi uocantur” (Cic., *Fin.*, 5, 13, 36).

⁷⁷ Valores que provienen de la Antigüedad y la Edad Media, y que se ratifican y prolongan en el horizonte renacentista; es ilustrativo el caso de Alberti, del que apuntan sus editores: ‘*Ingenium* und *ingegno* kann in Albertis Texten das von der Natur verliehene Talent oder die scharfsinnige Erfindungskraft meinen, wie die Widmung an Brunelleschi und der Malereitraktat an verschiedenen Stellen zeigen. In der italienischen Fassung kann *ingegno* für das lateinische *mens* stehen, also für Geist, Verstand und Vernunft’. Alberti, *Das Stanbild*, p. 73. O bien, el empleo en el medio neerlandés de *gheest*, utilizado de modo más o menos sistemático por Van Mander como equivalente de *ingegno* en *Het Schilder-Boeck*. En efecto, *ingenium* es: ‘De nature die een iegelijk heeft. Gheest ende verstant darmen van naturen heeft’. *Dictionarium tetraglotton, seu voces Latinæ omnes, et Græcæ eis respondentes, cum Gallica & Teutonica (quam passim Flandricam vocant) earum interpretatione* (Antwerpen: Ioannes Steelsius, 1562), fol. 158^r (s.v.) Por su parte, Morhofius señala la dupla *imaginatio* / *iudicium* como cualidades propias del *intellectus*: ‘Intellectus hominis præcipue rectitudinis iudicii & imaginationis æstimari solet’ (II, I, 19). Morhofius, *Polyhistor*, I, 325.

variedad de las argumentaciones retóricas: ‘Iudicium igitur adhibebit nec inveniet solum quid dicat sed etiam expendet. Nihil enim est feracius ingeniis, eis praesertim quae disciplinis exculta sunt’ (*Or.*, 10, 48, 13-15; ‘Entonces empleará el juicio, que no sólo encuentre qué decir sino que también lo pondere. En efecto, nada más fecundo que los ingenios, sobre todo aquellos que han sido cultivados por las enseñanzas’); el pasaje sugiere la condición multívoca del *ingenium*, cuya cercanía con el *iudicium* justifica, en efecto, que se le identifique con éste, incluso contrastivamente con respecto de la *phantasia*.⁷⁸ Asimismo, en el encabezado de un apartado posterior, Schefferus abunda en la multiplicidad de facetas del *ingenium*, donde están implicadas diversas cualidades ingénitas, *ab natura*, indispensables para el artista: ‘Cæterum Naturæ intuitu requiritur, ut quis artem amet, ut ingenium habeat docile, ut ad imitationes promptum, ut animum concipiendis formandisq; imaginibus ac ideis facilem, ut iudicium felix, elegans, acutum’ (66, p. 195; ‘Además con respecto a la naturaleza se requiere que alguien ame el arte, que tenga ingenio apto, que sea presto para hacer imitaciones, con la mente adecuada para concebir y formar imágenes y también ideas, que su juicio sea hábil, elegante, agudo’). Ello muestra la pluralidad semántica del vocablo, vinculado con la *docilitas* (la ‘facilidad para aprender’)⁷⁹ que puede involucrar también a la propia *imaginatio*⁸⁰, que se extiende de modo envolvente conllevando también — según abundará luego — al *iudicium*

⁷⁸ ‘Judicij quoq; in ordinandis rebus passim meminerunt veteres, nisi quòd sub nomine ingenij de eo malint agere, & à phantasia distinguere’ (29, p. 107). Sus funciones distintas las muestra este apunte del *De spiritu et anima*: ‘Et quidquid sensus percipit, imaginatio repraesentat, cogitatio format, ingenium investigat, ratio iudicat, memoria servat, intellectus separat, intelligentia comprehendit, et ad meditationem sive contemplationem adducit’ (11; *PL*, XL, col. 787). Conceptos centenariamente repetidos, con algunas variantes: e.g. Ricardo de San Víctor (*Benjamin major* 3, 21; *PL*, CXCVI, col. 131A: ‘quidquid imaginatio format, ingenium investigat, memoria conservat’); y en el siglo XVII Fludd (1, 1, 13, 3), que copia el precitado texto de Alcher. Robert Fludd, *Tomus secundus De supernaturali, naturali, præternaturali et contranaturali Microcosmi historia, in Tractatus tres distributa* (Oppenheim: Johannes Theodorus de Brý, 1619), p. 268.

⁷⁹ Así Cicerón, sobre las cualidades de la *mens*: ‘Prioris generis est docilitas, memoria, quae fere omnia appellantur uno ingeni nomine, easque uirtutes qui habent ingeniosi uocantur’ (Cic., *Fin.*, 5, 13, 36).

⁸⁰ Valga como ejemplo un apunte autobiográfico de Athanasius Kircher, donde se resalta su función comprensora en la facilidad de aprendizaje manifestada por el autor hacia los diez años, con el estudio básico de la música y el latín: ‘cum parens non ordinariam in me experiretur habilitatem, summopere me in studiorum fervore continuando animavit; immo, cum imaginationis dono me pollere adverteret, Geographiæ principia, quæ sunt de divisione et situ orbis terrarum, domi privatim me, non nisi decennem puerum, summo successu et admiratione edocuit’. *L’autobiographie d’Athanasius Kircher. L’écriture d’un*

(que es *acutum*). También es incluida la capacidad interior productora de 'imágenes' e 'ideas', sobre lo cual Schefferus parece ratificar ese uso genérico, habitual desde mediados del siglo XVI, sin un deslinde conceptual muy preciso entre ambas, pero que, de acuerdo con otras afirmaciones suyas, corresponde a la acción de *phantasia-imaginatio*. El propio Descartes ha caracterizado al *ingenium* como una modalidad de la facultad cognoscitiva a la que compete 'imaginar o concebir' nuevas formas en la *phantasia*, comprendiendo también las ya generadas: 'propiè autem ingenium appellatur, cùm modò ideas in phantasiâ novas format, modò jam factis incumbit'⁸¹ (*Regulæ ad directionem ingenii*, 12; 'propiamente, en cambio, se llama ingenio, cuando en algún momento forma nuevas ideas en la fantasía, o en otro se aplica a las ya producidas').

Resulta así de interés que la *phantasia* sea señalada como el núcleo del *ingenium* como *vis ad inveniendum*, es decir, la básica facultad productora de la *inventio*, como ya para la pintura ha mostrado Junius.⁸² Este primado retórico-poético y artístico de *phantasia-imaginatio* en las artes 'creadoras de imágenes' lo corrobora otro autor contemporáneo a Schefferus, el también profesor de retórica Daniel Georgius Morhofius [Morhof] (1639-1691), quien señalará la importancia de la *imaginatio* en el ámbito de la poesía y la retórica:

Potentia hac imaginante, ut rerum imagines, ita & similitudinem earum concipimus. Quare ad omne genus disciplinarum, in quibus imaginatio regnat, extenditur. Inter eas principatum tenet Oratoria & Poësis. Præcipua elocutionis vis in imaginatione consistit: ut enim voces ipsæ & sententiæ sunt imagines rerum; ita ipsarum inter se sunt imagines in metaphoris, tropis, similibus, allegoriis, figuris Rhetoricis, ceterisque sermonis ornamentis ... Quare ex monitu Quintiliani [*Inst.*, 6. 2, 30] & Orator & Poëta debet esse εὐφραντασίωτος *qui sibi res, voces, actus secundum verum optime fingat*.⁸³ (*Polyhistor* 2, 1, 22-23)

[Con esta potencia que imagina, lo mismo que las imágenes de las cosas, así también concebimos la semejanza de ellas. Y por tanto se extiende a todo género de disciplinas, en las que reina la imaginación. Entre ellas el

jésuite entre vérité et invention au seuil de l'oeuvre, ed. Giunia Totaro (Bern e.a.: Peter Lang, 2009), p. 176.

⁸¹ Descartes, *Œuvres*, X, 416.

⁸² 'Cuivis igitur ex jam dictis manifestum fit, magnam esse phantasie potentiam, atque artificii adprimè utilem: quandoquidem virtute ejus absentium, imò nunquam conspectarum rerum genuinæ quædam species animis humanis usque adeò ad vivum imprimuntur, ut vel invocatæ adsint, & quantumvis anxie imitationi nullo non in oculis incurrente exemplari melius inserviant' (1, 2, 4). Junius, *De pictura veterum*, p. 11.

⁸³ Morhofius, *Polyhistor*, I, 325.

principado lo tienen la oratoria y la poesía. La principal potencia del discurso radica en la imaginación: en tanto que, desde luego, las mismas palabras y pensamientos son imágenes de las cosas; así de ellas mismas compartidamente las imágenes están en las metáforas, tropos, símiles, alegorías, figuras retóricas y los demás ornamentos del discurso ... Por eso, según la advertencia de Quintiliano, tanto el orador como el poeta deben ser εὐφραντασίωτος, que por sí finjan óptimamente las cosas, las palabras y los hechos según lo verdadero].

Esta 'praecipua elocutionis vis' es también la *vis phantasiae* que, según señala Schefferus, es necesaria para el pintor: 'Debet etiam inveniendi ac excogitandi quædam esse facilitas in eo, phantasiæ subsidio, subministrantis ea, quæ non possunt oculis proponi, illaq; ipsa quæ proponi possunt, emendantis, augentis, perfectiora, magisq; mirabilia reddentis' (66, p. 197; 'Debe también haber en él alguna facilidad para inventar y concebir, con el auxilio de la fantasía que suministre aquellas cosas que no pueden ser presentes a los ojos, y aquellas mismas que pueden hacerse presentes que las enmienda y enriquezca tornándolas más perfectas y más maravillosas'). Nótese que la potencia fantástica se sugiere vinculada con la capacidad no sólo de *invenire* sino también de *excogitare*,⁸⁴ por la cual es posible suplir todo aquello que carece de modelo presente a la vista; pero también sería aquí la responsable de enmendar y embellecer las entidades tomadas directamente de la realidad sensible; es ésta la faceta 'fantástica' de la *imitatio* compositiva y correctora de Zeuxis que fundamenta el 'idealismo naturalista' como tendencia dominante de la estética desde Renacimiento al Barroco.

La pertinencia de la *vis phantastica* en este ámbito ha quedado ya asentada de modo reciente por Junius; por ello — y, con buena probabilidad, a través de éste — Schefferus (pp. 197-198) recuerda de nuevo el pasaje de Filóstrato que declara su superioridad sobre la μίμησις (V.A., 6, 19). Ciertamente, antes no ha olvidado apuntar: 'Cavendum autem est

⁸⁴ Recuérdese también el precitado apunte sobre la representación de aquellas cosas 'quæ excogitantur solo ab ingenio humano' (8, p. 36). No es un nexo insólito; según san Agustín, en procesos inferiores a los de la más alta inteligencia, la *cogitatio* forma a la *phantasia*: 'Sed illud saltem impetrem, antequam terminum volumini statuas, ut quid intersit inter veram figuram, quæ intelligentia continetur, et eam quam sibi fingit cogitatio, quæ graece siue phantasia sive phantasma dicitur, breviter exponas' (*Soliloquiorum libri duo*, 2, 20, 34; *PL*, XXXII, col. 902). De acuerdo con san Alberto Magno: 'Unde et phantasia dicta est ab apparitione, et in homine rationi juncta, a vulgo excogitativa nominatur, cum cogitare proprie sit rationis' (*De apprehensione*, 4, 2); *Opera Omnia*, ed. Steph. Caes. Augustus Borgnet, 38 vols (París: Ludovicus Vivès, 1896), V, 583.

in phantasia, ne per eam delabamur ad prodigiosa & impossibilia' (29, p. 107; 'Pero se ha de cuidar en la fantasía que no por ella caigamos en cosas prodigiosas e imposibles'). Esto conlleva la ya indicada necesidad de equilibrio en la creación óptima, que demanda la presencia del 'juicio' en el artista (el predominio de la *phantasia*, sin la mediación de éste, tiene consecuencias peligrosas).⁸⁵ Se trata de una preceptiva compartida en general por los tratadistas del XVII; de modo semejante Gracián señaló en el *Oráculo manual* (24) que se ha de '*Templar la imaginación*, unas veces corrigiéndola, otras ayudándola', en tanto que propensa a diversos abusos, 'si no la enfrenta la prudentísima sindéresis'⁸⁶ (esta última, vinculada con el juicio).⁸⁷ Por su parte Schefferus insiste: 'Neq; rationis indulgentia seu phantasia debet esse major, quàm permittit suavitatis & delectatio' (39, pp. 152-153; 'Y no debe ser mayor la complacencia de la razón, o bien la fantasía, a la que permite la dulzura y el deleite'). La 'templanza' de la *phantasia* es indispensable para evitar sus excesos, y su libertad tiene el límite de la conveniente *delectatio* que debe la obra producir. También el juicio ha de guiar al artista en la elección entre *imitatio* e *inventio*, según sea la conveniencia del caso: 'Ad postremum etiam iudicio valere debet, ut intelligat, quid inveniendum, quid sit imitandum. Neq; enim omnia rebus omnibus, & locis & personis convenire possunt' (66, p. 198; 'Por último, también debe valerse del juicio para comprender qué es lo que debe inventar y qué imitar. Y en efecto no todo puede convenir a todas las cosas, lugares y personas').

⁸⁵ Valga como ejemplo de tales advertencias un apunte de Morhofius sobre la poesía, tan proclive a tales demasías: 'Nam cum ingenii solertia se phantasmatibus miscet, in omnes partes se imaginatio extendit, atque ex se ipsa parit plura, nectens e simulacris simulacra, illaque sibi quasi subordinans, ut copia ipsa sæpe laborent, qui tali phantasia pollent; quales ad Poësin sunt aptissimi, ut hac sua facultate sæpe abutantur, si rationem & iudicium non sequuntur' (2, 1, 25). Morhofius, *Polyhistor*, I, 325-326.

⁸⁶ Baltasar Gracián, *Obras completas, I: El Héroe, El Político, El Discreto, Oráculo manual*, eds. Miguel Batllori y Ceferino Peralta (Madrid: Atlas, 1969), p. 379b. Y en *El Criticón* (II, IX): 'Lindo ingenio, pero sin juicio: no tiene sindéresis'. Baltasar Gracián, ed. Miguel Romera-Navarro, 3 vols (Philadelphia: Univeristy of Pennsylvania Press, 1939), II, 322.

⁸⁷ Cf. *El héroe* ('Primor' III), donde sugiere la 'división entre el juicio y el ingenio, entre la sindéresis y la agudeza'. Gracián, *Obras completas*, I, 246b.

6. Nota final

De acuerdo con lo visto, la *Graphice, id est de arte pingendi* es un significativo representante de la literatura artística, que por medio de Schefferus se extiende a la *Suecia literata* de su tiempo, y constituye un pequeño manual notable por varias características. En él pueden encontrarse sugestivas aplicaciones de la retórica y la filología al campo de las artes plásticas, tendencia erudita iniciada por Alberti y que Junius ha llevado a su *maximum* histórico. El libro es en efecto de clara y precisa preceptiva y rica mina de noticias librescas ('muy dogmático y erudito', como señaló Palomino); dando pruebas de la reconocida 'agudeza crítica'⁸⁸ del autor, constituye una de las más destacadas síntesis teóricas del siglo XVII. Cabría decir que la *Graphice* es el pequeño 'broche' que cierra — tras el *De arte graphica* de Dufresnoy, de 1668 — la literatura artística neolatina sobre pintura en el período Barroco (cuyo suntuoso monumento póstumo es la enriquecida reedición del *De pictura veterum* de 1694).

Las discusiones de Schefferus respecto del problema de la representación pictórica constituyen un interesante ejemplo de sus estrategias analíticas y sus aportaciones teóricas. Con la norma de oro del *decorum* visual, apegado siempre a 'la naturaleza de las cosas', y con la coalescencia atemperadora del *iudicium*, la *phantasia*, como potencia del ingenio adecuada para la invención, puede ejecutar figuras 'no presentes a los ojos' pero mostradas según lo conveniente a ellos. Tales directrices son válidas también con vistas a la dimensión práctica en el proceso creador de la obra, implicando los modelos y bocetos preparatorios; por esta vía, 'veniendum ad inventiones proprias, & imaginatione idoneâ in mente formanda exempla, quæ picturis exprimantur' (67 [bis], p. 205; 'al pasar a las propias invenciones, también se han de formar con adecuada imaginación en la mente los modelos que sean representados en las pinturas'). La *imaginatio idonea* corresponde a lo indicado en el núcleo básico de su preceptiva; es ella la que modela los *exempla* interiores de las cosas a ser expresados en las obras. Cabe destacar, de nuevo, que los asuntos históricos están implicados en estas operaciones de modo fundamental; por ello, 'Qui formandis concipiendisq; imaginibus est promptior, historias & res gestas pingat' (66, p. 196; 'Quien está mejor dispuesto para formar y concebir imágenes, pinte historias y cosas acaecidas'). Schefferus — con

⁸⁸ Véase Ellenius, 'Johannes Schefferus, Christina Minerva and *Fortuna Audax*', p. 75.

un pensamiento coincidentemente *all'antica* — ha unido en una misma categoría las *res gestae* y las *fabulae*, la mitología y la historia, dentro del dominio de la *phantasia*, en la medida en que ambos órdenes en efecto suponen, para las artes plásticas, *fingendae in absentia rerum imagines* (o recomposiciones, a la manera de Zeuxis, con una específica formación interior). Acaso esto pueda arrojar una luz distinta, hacia el pasado, sobre el vínculo entre la *historia* y la *inventio* en Alberti.⁸⁹ De cierto evidencia la relevancia de la *phantasia* como categoría hermenéutica vinculada con la *memoria* en el horizonte renacentista-barroco; en estos contextos, la invocación arqueológica no deja de ser, en muchos casos, un acto propio de aquélla, en la medida en que no es otra cosa, como afirmará Giambattista Vico, ‘che memoria o dilatata o composta’⁹⁰ (*Scienza nuova* [1744] 1, 50, 211). Vico confirma esta identidad que involucra también al *ingegno*, como ‘primitivas’ concepciones de las facultades propias a la *inventio* que remiten a ese estadio histórico signado por ellas;⁹¹ luego, no es inconsecuente que ir hacia el pasado sea un acto de ‘invención’ y aun, un retrotraerse al ‘corazón primero’ de la invención que, por consiguiente, debe ser ejecutado por la *memoria-phantasia-ingenium*.

⁸⁹ Las fuentes letradas son el punto en donde convergen, participando el pintor de diversos elementos propios de los rétores y los poetas: ‘Proxime non ab re erit si poetis atque rhetoribus delectabuntur. Nam hi quidem multa cum pictore habent ornamenta communia. Neque parum illi quidem multarum rerum notitia copiosi litterati ad historiae compositionem pulchre constituendam iuvabunt, quae omnis laus praesertim in inventionem consistit’ (*De pictura* 3, 53). Alberti, *Das Standbild*, p. 294.

⁹⁰ Giambattista Vico, *Opere*, ed. Andrea Battistini, 3ª ed., 2 vols (Milán: Mondadori, 2001), II, 514.

⁹¹ La época ‘fantástico-poética’ de la Antigüedad: ‘E dal capo richiamavano tutte le cognizioni; che perciocch’erano tutte fantastiche, collocarono nel capo la memoria, la quale da’ latini fu detta per “fantasia”. E a’ tempi barbari ritornati fu detta “fantasia” per “ingegno”, e, ‘n vece di dir “uomo d’ingegno”, dicevan “uomo fantastico” [...] Ma la fantasia altro non è che risalto di reminiscenze, e l’ingegno altro non è che lavoro d’intorno a cose che si ricordano; lo que corresponde a la *inventio*: ‘E, come naturalmente prima è ‘l ritruovare, poi il giudicar delle cose, così conveniva alla fanciullezza del mondo di esercitarsi d’intorno alla prima operazione della mente umana’ (*Scienza nuova* [1744] 2, [6, 2], 699; *ibid.*, I, 766-767). ‘Onde la memoria è la stessa che la fantasia, la quale perciò “memoria” dicesi da’ latini (come appo Terenzio truovasi “memorable” in significato di “cosa da potersi immaginare”, e volgarmente “comminisci” per “fingere”, ch’è proprio della fantasia, ond’è “commentum”, ch’è un ritruovato finto); e “fantasia” altresì prendesi per l’ingegno (come ne’ tempi barbari ritornati si disse “uomo fantastico” per significar “uomo d’ingegno”, come si dice essere stato Cola di Rienzo dall’autore contemporaneo che scrisse la di lui vita). E prende tali tre differenze: ch’è memoria, mentre rimembra le cose; fantasia, mentre l’altera e contrafa; ingegno, mentre le contorna e pone in acconcezza ed assettamento. Per le quali cagioni i poeti teologi chiamarono la Memoria “madre delle muse”’. (*Scienza nuova* [1744] 3, [1, 5] 9, 819). *Ibid.*, I, 827-828.

Es notorio que el primado de lo fantástico acentúa de manera particular su relevancia en la teoría de los ‘anticuarios barrocos’; para éstos, la principalía de lo antiguo es irrenunciable. No es extraño que, entre los maestros de todo artista, el mesurado Schefferus señale que deben seguirse tanto ‘a los muertos’ como ‘a los vivos’; así, ‘Per mortuos eos intelligo, qui hanc artem tradidere scripto, ut apud veteres, Uris, Melantius, Apelles, Euphranor, Pamphilus, Protogenes, Theophanes, quos & Junius laudavit’⁹² (66, p. 198; ‘Por “muertos” entiendo aquellos que este arte han transmitido por escrito, como Uris, Melantio, Apeles, Eufránor, Pánfilo, Protógenes y Teófanés, a los que también Junius ha alabado’). La afición anticuaria vuelve a reunir a los autores de la *Graphice* y el *De pictura veterum* en la misma paradoja: el encarecimiento de modelos que no están más ‘presentes a los ojos’ y cuyas ‘sombras’ son sólo invocables por los fieles signos de la arqueología. Ello resalta esa inclinación, cultivada en su horizonte, de rendir culto a autoridades ‘ausentes’, apenas evocables a través de fragmentos y, menos que eso, a partir de referencias indirectas,⁹³ apelando a una ‘memoria’ histórica que, en efecto, no puede ser llamada sino *phantasia* en tanto que ‘memoria extendida o compuesta’.

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⁹² Para Palomino ‘debe también el principiante venerar los maestros muertos’ (2, 4, 3, 3). Palomino, *El museo pictórico*, p. 445a (con referencia al pasaje de Schefferus).

⁹³ Inviabile preceptiva para la praxis pictórica y que muestra también las lealtades eruditas y los límites de la cierta tendencia ‘práctica’ de Schefferus. A este propósito, véase la aguda respuesta de Rubens al estudio arqueológico de Junius (Rubens a François Junius, 1 août 1637): *Correspondance de Rubens et documents épistolaires concernant sa vie et ses œuvres (Codex Diplomaticus Rubenianus)*, ed. Charles Ruelens y Max Rooses, 6 vols (Antwerpen: Veuve de Backer, 1887-1909), VI (1909), 179-180.

Tim DENECKER

JOANNES LUCAS SJ,
DE MONUMENTIS PUBLICIS LATINE INSCRIBENDIS ORATIO
(PARIS, 1677): INTRODUCTION, ANALYSIS OF ASSUMPTIONS
ABOUT LANGUAGE, AND ANNOTATED EDITION¹

Throughout the history of Latin from the Renaissance onwards, the problematic relationship with the vernacular has been of topical interest. In France the controversy manifested itself in what has been called the *Querelle des anciens et des modernes*, a term which in general refers to the long-lasting theoretical debate, delivered in the seventeenth-century France of Louis XIV, and covering a wide variety of subjects, from ballet and poetry to painting and architecture. More specifically though, this *querelle* stands for the debate between the *modernes*, advocates of the modern vernacular (French in this case) and the *anciens*, defenders of Latin, the traditional vehicle of communication among intellectuals and the *lingua franca* of church and politics. A prominent and highly interesting episode of this debate is called the *Querelle des inscriptions* and took place in Paris, mainly in the seventies of the seventeenth century. The speech at issue in this article is to be situated in this heated quarrel.

Its author, Joannes (Jean) Lucas, was born September 1, 1638 in Caudebec-en-Caux, *département* Seine-Inférieure (nowadays Seine-Maritime), near Rouen. He entered the Jesuit order in 1656 (at the age of 18) and was active as a teacher of rhetoric and theology at the elite Paris *Collège de Clermont* until 1677. Sommervogel mentions no professional activity until 1685, when Lucas reappears as rector of several Jesuit communities, each of which also governed a college.²

¹ I am much indebted to Prof. Dr. Dirk Sacré, Prof. Dr. Toon Van Hal, Dr. Jeanine De Landtsheer and Dr. Tom Deneire for their valuable comments and suggestions. The latter was also kind enough to check my English, as did Hanne Vandenbroucke on an earlier draft. Of course, all remaining errors are my own.

² *Collège Royal* at Orléans (1685-1688), *Collège Saint-Nicolas* at Amiens (1689-1691), *Collège du Mont* at Caen (1691-1694) and *Collège de Bourbon* at Rouen (1705-1708). In

Lucas's literary production can be considered typical for a French Jesuit of those days. His writings represent the setting of the Jesuit college he was related to. Most of them can be classified as edifying school dramas, written in Latin or in French, or as eulogies of both churchly and worldly rulers (Louis XIV and the *dauphin* are recurring addressees of Lucas's writings). During his years as a teacher at the *Collège de Clermont*, Lucas also composed his two *opera maiora*, the first one of which was entitled *Actio oratoris seu de gestu et voce libri duo* and was published by the Paris bookseller Simon Benard in 1675. In this typically Jesuit Neo-Latin didactic poem, Lucas instructs his readers (primarily the pupils of his rhetoric classes, as he acknowledges in the preface) about the appropriate use of gesture and voice during an oration.³ The 1446 Latin hexameters mainly offer an enumeration of precepts, drawn from classical authorities and from the third book of Louis de Cressolles's prosaic *Vacationes autumnales* (Paris, 1620).⁴ Yet in keeping with the approved didactic tradition Lucas richly interlards his poem with quotations, mythological digressions and humorous anecdotes, which are to prevent the poem from becoming a tedious textbook.⁵

1706 he was also the principal of the *Séminaire Joyeuse*, likewise at Rouen. The biobibliographical information on Lucas stems from: Augustin De Backer e.a., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus. Nouvelle édition par Carlos Sommervogel*, S.J., 12 vols (Heverlee: Bibliothèque S.J., 1960 [= Bruxelles – Paris, 1890-1932]), V, 147-150; *Les Établissements des jésuites en France depuis quatre siècles. Répertoire topo-bibliographique publié à l'occasion du quatrième centenaire de la fondation de la Compagnie de Jésus 1540-1940*, éd. Pierre Delattre, 5 vols (Enghien – Wetteren, 1949 [= Enghien – Wetteren, 1940]), I, 180, 200, 313, 991, 1007; III, 1015; IV, 520, 541; *Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de Normandie*, éd. Société des antiquaires de Normandie, 30 vols (Paris: Derache, 1837-1880 <books.google.com>), XXVI (1867), 434, 470.

³ Cp. for Lucas's didactic poem: Dirk Sacré – Tim Denecker, 'The Jesuit Joannes Lucas's *Actio oratoris seu de gestu et voce libri duo* (Paris, 1675)' [forthcoming]. Apart from this contribution, Lucas's poem has been discussed only obliquely: cp. Heinz Hofmann, 'Aristaeus und seine Nachfolger: Bemerkungen zur Rezeption des Aristaeus-Epyllions in der neulateinischen Lehrdichtung', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 52 (2003), 343-398 (389-390); Marc Fumaroli, 'Le corps éloquent: Une somme d'*actio et pronuntiatio rhetorica* au XVII^e siècle: Les *Vacationes Autumnales* du P. Louis de Cressolles (1620)', *XVII^e siècle*, 33 (1981), 237-264; Id., *L'âge de l'éloquence. Rhétorique et 'res literaria' de la Renaissance au seuil de l'époque classique* (Genève: Droz, 2002), p. 417; Thomas Haye, *Das lateinische Lehrgedicht im Mittelalter. Analyse einer Gattung*, *Mittelalterliche Studien und Texte*, 22 (Leiden – New York – Köln: Brill, 1997), pp. 395-396.

⁴ On the Jesuit Cressolles and his *Vacationes autumnales sive de perfecta oratoris actione et pronuntiatione* (Paris, 1620 <books.google.com>), cp. Marc Fumaroli, 'Le corps éloquent', 246-247.

⁵ It is one of those digressions, viz. the surprising retelling of the Aristaeus-epyllion, that led Heinz Hofmann to discuss Lucas's didactic poem. Also cp. Sacré – Denecker, 'The Jesuit Joannes Lucas's *Actio oratoris*'.

The present article, however, deals with the second of his principal works, which bears the telling title *De monumentis publicis Latine inscribendis oratio*. Lucas was induced to compose this speech by plans for the erection of a new triumphal arch in honour of Louis XIV on the Paris *Place du Trône* — a monument which eventually would never be erected. The question whether the inscriptions were to be composed in Latin or in French triggered a heated debate between Paris intellectuals, which came to be known as the *Querelle des inscriptions*. One of the foremost champions of the ‘French camp’ was François Charpentier (1620-1702), member of the *Académie française*. He supported the use of French inscriptions with a French prose oration, delivered during a session of the *Académie* on December 12, 1675. This speech was to become the foundation for his *Deffense de la langue françoise pour l’inscription de l’arc de triomphe*, which was finished March 2, 1676.⁶ Originally, L’abbé Amable de Bourzeis would have reacted against Charpentier’s stand, but his defense of Latin was soon taken over by our Jesuit, Jean Lucas. On November 25, 1676, a session was organized in the chapel of his college, the *Collège de Clermont*, ‘au cœur même du pays latin, dans ce Collège de Clermont qui était la citadelle des jésuites latiniseurs’.⁷ During this session, which seems to have taken place at the beginning of the school year⁸, Lucas pronounced his Latin prose speech, which would be published the following year. According to Santeul’s account of this event⁹, Lucas’s performance was a great success:

Le R.P. Lucas, Jesuite, Rhetoricien, prit les armes en mains pour la défense de la Langue Latine; il donna jour à son Action, où il convoqua tous les Sçavans: Il s’agissoit de la fortune de l’une ou de l’autre Langue; là se trouverent les Varillas, les Menages, les Duperiers, les Desperiers, les Doujats, les Halles, les Petits, les Blondels, les deux Chancelliers des Lettres Divines et Humaines, et autres qui prennent parti dans le païs Latin et François. L’Orateur leur fist connoistre la bonté de sa cause, et nous

⁶ In this and the following paragraph, I am closely following the account of Ferdinand Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française des origines à nos jours*, 13 vols (Paris: Colin, 1966-1972), V (1967), 13-15.

⁷ Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, p. 14.

⁸ Cp. §9: ‘[...] ad instaurationem scholarum nostrarum [...]’.

⁹ Jean de Santeul or, in Latin, Santolius (1630-1697), gathered fame as a Neo-Latin poet and as a composer of Latin inscriptions, cp. *Biographie Universelle (Michaud) ancienne et moderne* [...], dir. Louis-Gabriel Michaud, 45 vols (Paris: Desplaces – Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1854-1858), XXXVII, 684-686; *La lyre jésuite. Anthologie de poèmes latins (1620-1730). Présentés, traduits et annotés par Andrée Thill. Notices biographiques et bibliographies par Gilles Banderier. Préface de Marc Fumaroli*, Travaux du Grand siècle, 14 (Genève: Droz, 1999), pp. 253-260.

pouvons dire que l’Ancienne Rome parla par sa bouche: *Romaque Romano mirata est ore loquentem*. (Santeul, *Œuvres*, II, 33-34; quoted by Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, pp. 14-15.)

Though an adherent of the French camp, Charpentier also reacted in a positive way to Lucas’s speech, which he describes as ‘[...] grande, noble, applaudie de tout son Auditoire composé de dix ou douze Evesques, de plusieurs Conseillers d’Estat, et de tout ce qu’il y a de plus exquis dans le Monde spirituel’.¹⁰ Of course, this temporary triumph for the Latin side could not remain unanswered. The *Académie française* countered with two speeches that were delivered December 23 of the same year. Paul Tallemant (*le jeune*) was the first to take the floor with his *Discours pour servir de réponse à celui du R.P. Lucas, qui soutenait que les monuments publics doivent avoir des inscriptions latines*. Charpentier was next with a speech that would become the foundation of his *De l’excellence de la langue française*, which was published in 1683.¹¹

The text of Lucas’s speech started to circulate widely after it was published the following year — Lucas finished his preface on January 1, 1677. Apart from the preliminary material, it is impossible to establish whether Lucas changed his text for publication or not. The speech was published again in 1723, as an appendix to a Latin dissertation, entitled *De comparatione eruditionis antiquae ac recentioris* and written by the German lawyer Georg Heinrich Ayrrer. As far as I know, it has not been published ever since.

Lucas’s oration has received due attention from researchers, especially historians, who have treated the *Querelle des inscriptions* as a whole: worth mentioning are the works of Vissac, Gillot, Brunot and Beugnot.¹² More recently, one can cite some pages in Françoise Waquet’s book

¹⁰ François Charpentier, *De l’Excellence de la Langue Française. Par M. Charpentier, de l’Académie Française*, 2 vols (Paris: Veuve Bilaine, 1683 <books.google.com>), I, 4-5; quoted by Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, p. 15.

¹¹ Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, p. 15.

¹² In chronological order: J.A. Vissac, *De la poésie latine en France au siècle de Louis XIV* (Paris: Durand, 1862), pp. 234-241; Hubert Gillot, *La Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes en France. De la Défense et Illustration de la langue française aux Parallèles des anciens et des modernes* (Nancy: Crépin-Leblond, 1914 [repr. Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1968]), pp. 433-453; Ferdinand Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, pp. 10-20; Bernard Beugnot, ‘Débats autour du Latin dans la France classique’, in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Amstelodamensis. Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies. Amsterdam 19-24 August 1973*, eds. P. Tuynman – G.C. Kuiper – E. Keßler (München: Finck, 1979), pp. 93-106 (pp. 95-98).

Le latin ou l'empire d'un signe and a chapter in *L'âge de l'inscription* by Florence Vuilleumier Laurens and Pierre Laurens.¹³ Valuable as those contributions may be, it is worthwhile to present Lucas's oration as an independent piece of Neo-Latin literature and as an instance of a very specific pro-Latin discourse. Indeed, as I hope to demonstrate further on, Lucas composed his speech and structured his argumentation from a perspective that differs significantly from that employed by other defenders of Latin: the link with France, Louis XIV and Paris is primordial in this respect. Contrary to what one might expect, though, the link with Jesuit ideology and Catholicism is far less explicit in Lucas's argumentation.¹⁴

In what follows, I will summarize Lucas's speech and clarify the structure of his argumentation in general (1), analyze the assumptions about language put to use in the argumentation (2), and discuss some aspects of Lucas's prose style and elements of intertextuality in order to demonstrate how he seeks to persuade his elite audience (3). Particular attention will be paid to the crucial link the author constructs between the universality and eternity attributed to Latin on the one hand, and the universal and

¹³ Françoise Waquet, *Le latin ou l'empire d'un signe. XVIe-XXe siècle, L'Évolution de l'Humanité* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1998), pp. 284-286 [Waquet especially focuses on the universality ascribed to Latin]; Florence Vuilleumier Laurens – Pierre Laurens, *L'âge de l'inscription: la rhétorique du monument dans l'Europe du XVe au XVIIe siècle, Le cabinet des images* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 2010), pp. 221-239 [in this chapter, the quarrel is reconstructed by means of text fragments from both sides — a clarifying method, be it that some of the fragments are carelessly quoted].

¹⁴ Useful articles which discuss like-minded defenses of Latin, albeit in an Italian context, are: Carla De Santis, 'Latin versus the Vernacular in Renaissance Italy. The Development of the Controversy with special Reference to Carlo Sigonio's *De latinae linguae usu retinendo* (1556)', *Rinascimento*, 35 (1995), 349-371; Federica Gara, 'Il *De linguae Latinae usu et praestantia* di Uberto Foglietta: una difesa del latino nell'Europa del Cinquecento', in *Italia ed Europa nella linguistica del Rinascimento: confronti e relazioni. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Ferrara, Palazzo Paradiso, 20-24 marzo 1991*, eds. M. Tavoni e.a., 2 vols (Ferrara – Modena: Panini, 1996), I, 187-208; Marc Laureys, 'The Pagan and Christian Legacy of Rome in Pompeo Ugonio's Oration *De lingua Latina*', *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 2 (2000), 125-153; Id., 'Latin as Language of the Blessed: Melchior Inchofer on the Excellence and Dignity of the Latin Language' in *Germania latina – Latinitas teutonica. Politik, Wissenschaft, humanistische Kultur vom späten Mittelalter bis in unsere Zeit*, Hrsg. E. Keßler – H.C. Kuhn, 2 vols (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2003), II, 655-678; Id., 'A Little Known Plea in Defense of Latin: Gabriel Barrius's *Pro Lingua Latina*', *Renæssanceforum. Tidsskrift for Renæssanceforskning*, 6 (2010), 23-41. Occasionally, I will compare the arguments and commonplaces used by Lucas with the points of view discussed in those articles. For an extensive list of late defenders and defenses of Latin (ca. 1760 – ca. 1840), cp. Jozef IJsewijn – Dirk Sacré, 'The Ultimate Efforts to Save Latin as the Means of International Communication', *History of European Ideas*, 16, 1-3 (1993), 51-66.

eternal fame of Louis XIV on the other hand — a rhetorical manoeuvre which reveals the strategy followed by Lucas in the delicate political set-up of his days. Finally, this contribution provides a ‘normalized’ and annotated edition of Lucas’s speech (4).

(1) Structure and argumentation of Lucas’s speech

In the *editio princeps* of 1677, the text of Lucas’s speech was printed on 71 pages in-8°, with the preliminary matter on unnumbered pages.¹⁵ I have divided the speech into 64 paragraphs, the first nine of which contain the preliminary material. The corpus of the speech displays a traditional structure: it consists of an *exordium* (§10), a *narratio* (§§11-14), a *propositio/divisio* (§§15-17), an *argumentatio* (§§18-58), an interesting *digressio* on the linguistic and literary virtues of Latin (§§54-58), and a *peroratio* (§§59-64). The two parts of the speech that are of principal interest within the scope of this article are the argumentation and the digression.

Lucas’s argumentative strategy is already reflected by the bipartite scheme (‘bipartita oratione’) of his speech, which he announces in §15 (*divisio*) and which can be summarized as follows. Preference must be given to the language that serves the current purpose best (§20: ‘[...] sed id demum recta ratio postulat, ut ad propositum finem, cuicumque sermo sit, convenientissime scribamur et loquamur.’). That purpose consists in spreading and perpetuating the fame of the king, Louis XIV, through the application of inscriptions on a monument. At this point, the argumentation falls apart into two premises, which are followed by a conclusion: (a) honorary inscriptions have to be written in a language that is an *eternal* one and (b) they have to be written in a language that is a *universal* one. After having demonstrated that only Latin can make claims to these properties, Lucas concludes (c) that only Latin can guarantee the universality and perpetuity of Louis XIV’s fame and must thus be given preference for the inscriptions in honour of the Sun King:

¹⁵ *De monumentis publicis latine inscribendis oratio. Habita Parisiis VII. Cal. Decemb. Anno M. LXXXVI. In Collegio Claromontano Soc. Jesu a Joanne Lucas ejusdem Societatis sacerdote* (Parisiis: Apud Simonem Benard, 1677 <books.google.com>). Cp. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, V, 148. The preliminary matter consists of a title page, followed by a quotation from Cicero’s *Fragmentum Epistulae ad Caesarem*, a dedication to the *Dauphin* and a preface addressed to the reader (*Lectori*).

Sic pugnabo autem, ut dignitatem vulgaris linguae ne verbo quidem violem, nedum illam pro iure meo univ[er]se Latina posteriorem faciam, sed ut illud tantummodo, citra iustam cuiusquam offensionem, bipartita oratione contendam ac demonstrem, (a) et aeternitati consequentium saeculorum, (b) et populorum universitati publica poni monumenta; (c) proinde esse deinceps, ut ad hunc diem inscripta sunt, Latine inscribenda. (§15)

In order to arrive at this conclusion, Lucas combines several assumptions about language, which I will now indicate and discuss systematically later. The central argument in Lucas's speech is based on the claims Latin can make to perfection, stability and, hence, to perpetuity and universality. Those properties fit into a conception of language as a platonic system; a vision in which, analogous to Plato's ideas, language is a perfect, autonomous system people must handle with care.¹⁶ The aforementioned properties (perfection, stability, perpetuity and universality) are extremely useful in the context of monuments and inscriptions, for the inscription has to stand the test of time together with the triumphal arch and thus has to bestow upon Louis XIV's fame an eternal and universal diffusion.

Through combining these properties, Lucas defends himself against two charges from the French / modern camp, according to whom French would be immediately intelligible, whereas the understanding of Latin inscriptions remains reserved only for a small elite. Accordingly, the advocates of Latin would be bad Frenchmen, for they prefer using a foreign language.¹⁷ In a reaction against the latter, 'patriotic' argument of his opponents, Lucas labels the preference for French as a manifestation of populism and of a proclivity towards personal popularity (cp. §18). Furthermore, through the comparison with types of stone, Lucas makes clear that indigenusness and durability do not

¹⁶ Cp. Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programmes, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 57, where standard language is defined as 'a sort of platonic idea of the language, existing behind and above all its variants and imperfect versions'.

¹⁷ According to Françoise Waquet, this 'intelligibilité immédiate' is one of the main arguments in favour of French, next to its lexical abundance, its conciseness, its precision and its stability (!) (Waquet, *Le latin ou l'empire d'un signe*, p. 286). Lucas defends Latin and its supporters against this charge by means of the *simile* 'royal fame – Divine Epiphany', which Waquet discusses on pp. 285-286. For the latter charge, cp. Waquet, *Le latin ou l'empire d'un signe*, p. 284: 'l'argument d'ordre "patriotique" avancé par ses adversaires'. Gillot describes the national importance of the *Querelle* as follows: '[...] la question du français est, au premier chef, une question "nationale". L'amour-propre, le bon renom de la France sont engagés dans le débat: la cause du français se confond avec celle de la France même' (Gillot, *La Querelle*, p. 434).

necessarily coincide, notably by equating the opposition 'French >< Latin' to the oppositions '(indigenous) white stone >< (foreign) marble' and '(indigenous) ironstone or pumice >< (foreign) gold'.¹⁸ The value judgment attached to this analogy is an obvious one (cp. §19).

In passing, Lucas also casts doubt on the alleged foreign character of Latin: 'Sit enim, uti dicitur, Latinus sermo peregrinus — quod qui fieri potest, postquam domicilium apud nos tamdiu habuit? Sed sit ita sane [...]' (§20). As he states further on in the speech, it is precisely the neutral character of Latin (neither native nor foreign) that makes this language suitable for monumental inscriptions: 'Latinus nulli patrius, nulli peregrinus, sed medius — ut sic loquar — et nullius partis ac gentis.' (§57).

Lucas pays most attention to part (a) of his argumentation, viz. the perpetuity of Latin. He starts from an intuitive characterization of the function of monuments. Quoting Cic., *Phil.*, 14, he defines a monument as follows: 'exstructio quae sit ad memoriam aeternitatis, ara virtutis' (§21). In §23, he describes the inscription as the 'soul' of a monument by means of another quotation from Cicero's fourteenth *Philippic*: 'tamquam divinae virtutis testes sempiternas.' Furthermore, in §22 ('opus videlicet exigi quod nulla abolitura sit vetustas') Lucas alludes to a famous passage from Horace's *Odes*, which offers a similar intuitive consideration on the nature of monuments.¹⁹ In §25, Lucas briefly restates the preceding steps of his argumentation:

Et sane praeconium illud breve, quod in lapidibus singulari artificio insculpitur, quandoquidem ad infinitam posteritatem non minus aspirat quam strues artificiosa lapidum, ut paria sint ad perennitatem utrobique cuncta, huic linguae deferendum, quae minime omnium mutationi obnoxia sit, sed pro conditione mortali immortalis ac sempiterna. (§25)

Building on the closing words, 'immortalis ac sempiterna', Lucas continues with an interesting consideration (§§25-28) on the nature of languages. Modern languages, he states, are still 'alive' and, as a result, subject to numerous fluctuations. Latin, by contrast, is a dead language

¹⁸ It is worth mentioning that this analogy recurs throughout the whole speech, sometimes in a very sophisticated way. Already in the very beginning of the speech, Lucas subtly introduces this analogy to associate the government of Louis XIV with durability: '[...] cum hinc refectis excultisque portis, inde circumductis aggeribus, laxatis vicorum angustiis, *ripis e secto lapide circumquaque Sequanae praetentis* [...]' (§10, my emphasis).

¹⁹ The allusion is to Hor., *carm.*, 3, 30, 1-9.

and is therefore no longer liable to the unpredictable quirks of *usus*.²⁰ This quality confers on Latin the stability it needs to perpetuate royal fame (§27): ‘O fatum linguarum et sermonis! O conditionem disparem! Vivis quidem, lingua popularis nostra, sed nondum tibi constas; vixit Latina, sed constitit.’ Subsequently, Lucas argues that Latin is also the most appropriate option when it comes to point (b). The authorized officials go to great lengths to give the monument an eye-catching inscription and to make the triumphal arch big and high enough to be famous all over the world. Why then would they decide to use a language as local and as variable as French for those inscriptions? For as he demonstrated earlier, this language will not even be intelligible for the French posterity (cp. §39).

As Lucas ironically states in §46, preferring French for the honorary inscriptions is tantamount to clipping the wings of royal fame and downgrading the Sun King to a competent but obscure *pater familias*: ‘Praeclarum enimvero et hoc sumptu, his impensis mercandum nomen, si rex hic Parisiis, in Gallia, apud suos, ut gnavus sed obscurus pater familias intra domesticos parietes, at nec citra, nec ultra celebretur!’ After a digression on the nature of royal fame in §§50-51 (on which cp. n. 17), Lucas concludes (c) in §§52-53 that only Latin is appropriate for the composition of monumental inscriptions: ‘Satis enim, vel me tacente, sentitis universi unam esse quae tantum suscipere, tantundem exsequi possit. Latinam dico [...]’.

Lucas also appeals to Louis XIV’s authority in order to crown his argumentation and his speech as a whole. In the penultimate paragraph (§63), the author praises the military projects and accomplishments of his

²⁰ Note that Lucas deftly neutralizes the objection that Latin is a dead language. On the concept of language death and its origins, cp. (among others): John P. Considine, ‘De ortu et occasu linguae latinae. The Latin Language and the Origins of the Concept of Language Death’, in *Latinity and Alterity in the Early Modern Period*, eds. Y. Haskell – J. Ruys (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 55-77; Id., ‘Claudius Salmasius and the Deadness of Neo-Latin, in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Upsaliensis*, ed. A. Steiner-Weber (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 295-306 (esp. pp. 301-304); Kees Versteegh, ‘Dead or Alive? The Status of the Standard Language’, in *Bilingualism in Ancient Society. Language Contact and the Written Text*, eds. J.N. Adams – M. Janse – S. Swain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 52-74. On the concept of *usus*, cp. Gerda Haßler – Cordula Neis, *Lexikon sprachtheoretischer Grundbegriffe des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols (Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter), II, 967-975 (the chapter on *Gebrauch*), containing numerous parallels for Lucas’s reasoning. Johann Amos Comenius, for example, quotes in his *Novissima linguarum methodus* (1648) the same passage from Horace’s *Ars poetica* (70-72) as Lucas does (Haßler – Neis, *Lexikon sprachtheoretischer Grundbegriffe*, p. 968).

king and compares his royal (military) fame to the ubiquitous reputation of the sun. This *simile* is further elaborated and completed in the final paragraph, where the author develops the analogy 'royal fame – sun – Sun King' in a stylistically refined and rather pompous period (note the tetracolon of oppositions); if Louis XIV equals the sun in that he easily surpasses other rulers, the similarity can only become complete if the Sun King gives preference to Latin for his propaganda — a language as timeless and universal as sunlight (cp. §64).

(2) An analysis of the assumptions about language in Lucas's argumentation

The aforementioned properties of Latin rest on a number of more or less implicit assumptions about language. Lucas combines these assumptions in order to construct his argumentation and to arrive at his rhetorical purpose. In this section, I will make these assumptions explicit by means of some key concepts of the present-day sociolinguistic analysis of 'standard language ideology'.²¹ This kind of analysis investigates the way in which prestige and (as a consequence) legitimacy are contributed to standard varieties of modern ('living') languages, as opposed to dialects and sociolects of the same languages. Although I do not want to force these concepts upon the argumentation of Lucas's speech, they will prove to be valuable tools in analyzing an argumentation in defense of a 'dead' language.

A first notion at play in the process of standardization is *invariance* or *uniformity*, a notion one could compare to the stability that is, according to Lucas, an important virtue of Latin. The fact that standardization is realized by imposing uniformity to a set of objects, in this case to the internal structure of a language, implies '[...] that the objects concerned [...] are, in the nature of things, not uniform but variable. Therefore,

²¹ For these key concepts, I refer to the following encompassing article: James Milroy, 'Language Ideologies and the Consequences of Standardization', *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 5/4 (2001), 530-555. However, I want to stress that this is only one among many relevant contributions. One could even wonder why Milroy does not discuss the part played by Latin in the development of 'standard language ideology'; cp., e.g., John E. Joseph, *Eloquence and Power. The Rise of Language Standards and Standard Languages* (London: Frances Pinter, 1987).

uniformity has to be imposed on such classes of objects'.²² For Lucas too, stability is not an inherent, *a priori* property of language, as he wants to attribute legitimacy to Latin — in this case the legitimate claim to be used as an epigraphic language — exactly by attributing this stability *exclusively* to Latin. Still, Lucas does not assume that this uniformity / stability has to be *imposed* on Latin; on the contrary, he states that this language thanks its stability (and perpetuity) to the very fact that it is a dead language.²³ While living languages are subject to the arbitrary tyranny of *usus*, Latin stands apart from this 'usage norm' and is thus perfect, stable and, so to say, 'uniform'.²⁴ Lucas links this assertion to another assumption about language, notably the conception of language evolution in terms of the phases of human life.²⁵

Interestingly, Lucas substantiates his thesis with a quotation from Horace's *Ars poetica*, 70-72: 'Nec varietatum tantarum alia vel proceribus linguae scribendique principibus ratio redditur, praeter istam: sic usum velle, quem penes imperium est et vis et norma loquendi.' (§26). Many other intellectuals used this phrase in order to shape their conception of language. Marc Laureys reports how in his *Pro lingua Latina* (1554), the Calabrian writer Gabriel Barrius extensively dwells on the process of coinage in Latin. Barrius pleads in favour of 'a cautious innovation in Latin vocabulary and against a severe and utterly restrictive Ciceronian-

²² Milroy, 'Language Ideologies', 531.

²³ Cp. the vision articulated in the chapter 'Mors immortalis. Latein wird durch seinen Tod unsterblich' in Wilfried Stroh, *Latein ist tot, es lebe Latein! Kleine Geschichte einer grossen Sprache* (Berlin: List, 2007), p. 111: 'So gibt es, seit Latein gestorben ist, nur noch ein Latein, aber das auf ewig. Nur durch seinen "Tod" konnte Latein unsterblich werden.' Cp. Joseph Farrell, *Latin Language and Latin Culture: From Ancient to Modern Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 105-112 ('Is there life after death?').

²⁴ Cp. §27: 'Tunc enim sic tamquam in caelo sunt: tunc beatae et immortales, inclinationes temporum conversionesque opinionum ac usus tyrannidem non reformidant.'

²⁵ We are confronted here with a metaphor from the domain of biology (Cp. Stroh, *Latein ist tot*, p. 103; also Farrell, *Latin Language and Latin Culture*, pp. 84-112). This broad metaphor can be applied to the evolution of Latin in different ways and with a variable reach. Cp. the identical view in a slightly different wording in Melchior Inchofer's *Historia sacrae Latinitatis*. Inchofer uses the terms 'infantia', 'adulescentia', 'iuventas (et quasi quaedam robusta maturitatis)', and 'senectus' (Laureys, 'Melchior Inchofer', 663; cp. notes 40 and 41 on the same page for more parallels and for literature on the history of this commonplace). Unlike Gabriel Barrius and many other Italian intellectuals, Lucas does not allude to a kind of *diglossia* (Latin – *volgare*, 'lingua naturalis' – 'lingua artificialis'), which would go back to the ancient Romans (Laureys, 'Gabriel Barrius', 31-32). In all likelihood, this view was of greater value in an Italian context and not really compatible with Lucas's line of argumentation.

ism, which would run against the spirit of Cicero himself'.²⁶ In defending this vision, Barrius relies on the notion of *usus* or 'consuetudo'²⁷, developed by Leonardo Bruni on the basis of the rhetorical writings of Cicero and Quintilian, but also on the basis of the passage in Horace's *Ars poetica* quoted by Lucas. Still according to Laureys, the concept was applied for the first time on a broad and systematic basis in Lorenzo Valla's *Elegantiae*.²⁸

In spite of the superficial similarity with the views formulated by the aforementioned authors, Lucas seems to give the concept of *usus* a different interpretation. Whereas for Bruni, Valla and Barrius *usus* is a positive and a normative, 'canonic' concept²⁹, the meaning Lucas gives to the word bears more resemblance to the one used by Horace himself. It is the despotic capriciousness of custom / habit that causes the continuous fluctuation language is liable to. In Lucas's defense, where stability is played out as a great strength of Latin, *usus* receives a rather negative interpretation. The analogy 'language evolution – human life' fits in well with this representation, for in this way, Lucas can easily demonstrate that only living languages are subject to the quirks of *usus*.

Lucas conceives of the development of language evolution in terms of human life in a very literal way: one can imagine this development as a timeline that moves up in the direction of an *acmè*. Once a language has reached its point of perfection, it is almost impossible to prevent its decline — in other words: after the 'golden age', *décadence* is inevitable.³⁰ In §33, Lucas underscores this representation by means of a quotation from Velleius Paterculus, *Historiae Romanae*, 1, 17, 6: 'Quod equidem credam ut dicitur, nisi in hoc genere *difficilem in perfecto moram*, non gravissimus modo affirmaret auctor, sed luculenta quoque

²⁶ Laureys, 'Gabriel Barrius', p. 34.

²⁷ Both terms occur in Lucas's text.

²⁸ Laureys, 'Gabriel Barrius', p. 34.

²⁹ 'A key idea behind this attitude was the recourse to the *usus* or *consuetudo* of Classical authors as a criterion of linguistic purity: the rules and precepts of Latin language and style should be deduced not only from the rigid art of grammar, but also from the variegated literary usage documented in Classical literature.' (Laureys, 'Gabriel Barrius', p. 34).

³⁰ Cp. William Labov, 'The Darwinian Paradox', in *Principles of Linguistic Change. Volume 2: Social Factors*, Language in Society, 29 (Malden, Mass. – Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), pp. 3-33. The introduction to the section '1.2 The parallels between biological and linguistic evolution' (pp. 6-10) focuses on the fifteen parallels listed by Darwin in his *The Descent of Man* (1871).

cum Latinae tum Graecae linguae exempla liquido probarent.³¹ A crucial difference between the *anciens* and the *modernes* lies in the fact that the *modernes* conceive of language evolution in terms of *progrès*, while the *anciens* believe that it is determined by *décadence*, the decline that was set in after the golden age, viz. the era of Virgil and Cicero. Whereas the *anciens* saw French as a contaminated and, thus, degraded descendant of Latin, the *modernes* held exactly the opposite position: from classical antiquity on, Latin had continually developed and been refined, and could now culminate in the 'classical' French of the new 'golden age'.³²

Within a sociolinguistic analysis of the 'standard language ideology', the primary *goals of standardization* are taken to be economic, commercial and political in nature, and not in the first place literary.³³ For Lucas, too, it is beyond dispute that the stable, uniform character of Latin contributes to its perpetuity, universality and, as a result, to its accessibility to a wide audience. Though Lucas appeals to classical authorities to support his opinion, he is not in the first place concerned about Latin as a literary language. As I have already pointed out, Lucas highlights the political significance of a stable and uniform epigraphic language. Such a language is a *conditio sine qua non* for a broad and efficient propaganda of the Sun King.³⁴

³¹ For the proper source text, cp. commentary. Also cp. Joannes Niess, *De ortu et occasu linguae Latinae* [...] *Libri duo* (Dilingae: apud Iacobum Sermodi, 1627 <books.google.com>), p. 151: 'Quod ceteris ferè rebus humanis ac mortalibus euenire solet: vt, cùm summum perfectionis apicem attigerunt, fatiscant denique, atque ad interitum spectent; id in Latinâ maximè lingua videre fuit: quae, cùm longè elegantissima, perfectissimâque sub M. Tullio Cicerone fuisset, non diu post eundem, in antiquo illo vigore ac venustate perseuerauit.'

³² On the so-called 'golden age principle', cp. Labov, 'The Darwinian Paradox', p. 6. In seventeenth-century France, the enthusiastic belief in progress did not only shape thought about language, cp. Gillot, *La Querelle*, p. 149: 'Avec enthousiasme les historiens saluent l'apparition de la "saison merveilleuse". Ils ont le sentiment très net que le génie humain est parvenu à un tournant décisif de son histoire et qu'à la France, la mieux douée de toutes les nations, il appartient de guider l'Europe dans la voie sans fin où, favorisé par des conjonctures exceptionnelles, s'engage le génie moderne.'

³³ Milroy, 'Language Ideologies', pp. 534-535.

³⁴ Cp. in this context a passage from Françoise Waquet's work: 'Le latin [...] joua un rôle instrumental dans des relations d'autorité existant entre deux individus. La même fonction "hiérarchisante" se lit dans l'ordre politique. C'est ce qu'il ressort de la "querelle des inscriptions" qui se déroula en France sous le règne de Louis XIV [...] [L]es inscriptions apposées sur des monuments publics ne sont pas d'innocents "jeux de lettres" de pure fonction ornementale, mais "des écritures d'apparat" mettant en valeur des messages dans lesquels s'expriment des jeux de pouvoir.' (Waquet, *Le latin ou l'empire d'un signe*, p. 283). The ideas in the second part of this quotation are based on Armando Petrucci,

Two other notions that result from and, inversely, constitute the standard language ideology, are *correctness* and *common sense*.³⁵ Lucas appeals to the common sense of his audience in §22, where he establishes an intuitive consideration on the function of monuments (cp. the passage quoted below): 'Haec siquidem naturae vox est, hic communis sensus populorum [...]'. And when he uses a *reductio ad absurdum* in order to demonstrate the futility of French inscriptions, Lucas also makes in fact an appeal to his listeners' common sense — albeit in an implicit way (cp. §47). Correctness, in turn, was a fundamental feature of the classical, Ciceronian Latin taught at the Jesuit colleges. Accordingly, Lucas could easily appeal to the cultural identity of his audience by addressing it in that Ciceronian Latin. The term *Latinitas*, which is frequently used by Lucas, has a strong normative component as well.

Moreover, correctness is closely tied in with another strategy through which legitimacy is attributed to a standard language, viz. *historicization*. The term refers to reconstructing — or even to constructing — an age-long tradition for a language, as well as to defining a literary canon and codifying a language by composing dictionaries and grammar books. In attributing to a language a long and, especially, traceable pedigree, one creates the impression of an uninterrupted and pure language tradition. Lucas also follows the inverse strategy: by labelling the descent of French as uncertain, he depicts this language as a contaminated and degraded (collateral) descendant of Latin (cp. §28).³⁶

Apparently, for Lucas as for many late antique and humanist authors, blending ('merger') and contact influence are pernicious for the purity of a language. The originating context of French, as it is sketched in §28, implies that this language has from its very beginning been a contaminated language and can, consequently, make no claims to legitimacy. Lucas illustrates his thesis that blending and contact influence stimulate the decay of a language by referring to the ancient Greeks and Romans

Jeux de lettres. Formes et usages de l'inscription en Italie, 11e-20e siècles (Paris: Éditions de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1993 [Torino, 1980]).

³⁵ 'This belief takes the form that, when there are two or more variants of some word or construction, only one of them can be right. It is taken for granted as common sense that some forms are right and others wrong, and this is so even when there is disagreement as to which is which.' (Milroy, 'Language Ideologies', p. 535).

³⁶ Milroy, 'Language Ideologies', pp. 548-549 (p. 548): 'When the language is given an authoritative (almost 'official') history in this way, this assures us that it has not merely sprung up overnight like a mushroom.' Also cp. the so-called 'Gothic thesis' (Laureys, 'Gabriel Barrius', p. 31).

(cp. §33). At this point, Lucas is very aware of the risk of being branded a bad Frenchman and an opponent of Louis XIV. Therefore he stresses that he does indeed appreciate the vernacular *qua* language, but that French unfortunately happens to be unsuitable for monumental inscriptions (cp. §25).

In a *coda* to his argumentation (§§54-56), Lucas digresses on some specific linguistic and literary virtues of Latin. In §54, he refutes the objection of a meagre vocabulary and defends Latin against those who depict the inversion of noun and adjective as a fault.³⁷ In §55, he invokes the conciseness ('breviloquentia') that makes Latin most appropriate for monumental inscriptions: 'Illud mihi imperare non possum ut sileam, tanti vulgo in elogiis brevitatem fieri, ut syllabarum quoque et apicum compendia faciamus; breviloquentiam vero ita Latinorum propriam, ut ne se quidem in eo aequiparare illis ulla Gallicorum scriptorum rivalitas queat.' Latin owes this 'breviloquentia' to the fact that it has no (or little) need for articles, auxiliary verbs and particles. Before going into a consideration on the literary superiority of Latin (§56), Lucas refers to the abrupt manners of speaking and the separate cases, as well as to the surprising sentence course that provides an agreeable reading experience (§55).³⁸

Authority

Whereas the arguments discussed until now are (allegedly) language-internal in nature, they are essentially bound up with arguments appealing to authorities, which are often presented as external to language. A revealing quotation on the nature and vigour of those authority arguments is found in the dedication to the *Grand Dauphin* (§6): 'Quorum [viz. of Henri IV, Louis XIII, and Louis XIV] mens, Latine inscriptis ad aeternam ipsorum memoriam marmoribus testata, tanti apud omnes debet esse, ut sine argumentatione vincat auctoritas.' Within this group

³⁷ Cp. Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, p. 8 and Waquet, *Le latin ou l'empire d'un signe*, pp. 148-149.

³⁸ Comparable strengths are invoked by the Spanish priest Miguel Maria Olmo, in his pamphlet *De lingua Latina colenda et civitate Latina fundanda* (Toulouse, 1817): 'When one analyses the various languages it strikes us how exceptionnaly rich Latin is. It possesses, e.g., a neuter; it needs no articles; its word endings denote case, gender and number of nouns. [...] Modern languages, furthermore, tend to wordliness: compare, e.g., "nolo" and "je ne le veux pas".' (IJsewijn – Sacré, 'The Ultimate Efforts', pp. 55-56).

of arguments, one can first of all distinguish the inherent authority, the absolute character of Latin itself; in this capacity Latin has for many centuries played a decisive part in the constitution and maintenance of power relations (cp. n. 34).

I have already mentioned historicization as a strategy through which legitimacy is lent to a language. Of course, Latin has an age-long tradition to its advantage. Lucas invokes this tradition extensively and in all its aspects to argue the case of Latin. To start with, one can mention the numerous domains Latin has, over the course of time, monopolized.³⁹ In this context, Lucas refers to scholarship, to literature, and to the Catholic Church.⁴⁰ As he states rather tendentiously, French might have reached an unprecedented degree of perfection and might be made use of by many foreigners, but science and literature in France still stick to Latin (§56).⁴¹

References to the Church are relatively scarce in Lucas's speech.⁴² Apart from the analogy 'royal fame – Divine Epiphany' elaborated in §51 (cp. n. 17), there is only the following passage in §53: 'Latinam dico [...]

³⁹ Cp. Charles A. Ferguson, 'Diglossia', *Word*, 15 (1959), 325-340 (p. 337): '[...] we may mention Latin and the emergent Romance languages during a period of some centuries in various parts of Europe. The vernacular was used in ordinary conversation but Latin for writing or certain kinds of formal speech. Latin was the language of the Church and its literature, Latin had the prestige, there were striking grammatical differences between the two varieties in each area, etc.'

⁴⁰ Cp. Gillot, *La Querelle*, p. 260: 'Le "Pays latin" a pour lui la force de la tradition, le prestige qui s'attache à une institution séculaire, l'autorité de ses Maîtres, personnages écoutés et influents: le latin est la langue de l'Université, de l'École et de l'Église.'

⁴¹ Cp. Carlo Sigonio, *De latinae linguae usu retinendo*, 523C: '[...] poetas habemus aliquot non inelegantes, annalium scriptores fortasse tolerabiles; fateor: at oratores, philosophos, et reliquarum artium magistros pene nullos' (De Santis, 'Latin versus the Vernacular', pp. 363-364).

⁴² The close link between Latin and the Roman Catholic Church had already been stressed by Lorenzo Valla in his academic oration *In principio studii*, held in 1455 at the Sapienza (Laureys, 'Gabriel Barrius', p. 36) and by Pompeo Ugonio (cp. Laureys, 'Pompeo Ugonio', *passim*). Whereas Lucas let this argument largely unutilized, Laureys reports of another Jesuit, Melchior Inchofer, who in his *Historia sacrae Latinitatis* (Rome, 1634) went to great lengths to prove the sacred status of Latin: he found it very likely that the blessed in heaven, and even Christ himself, converse in Latin (Laureys, 'Melchior Inchofer', p. 655). Still according to Laureys, as late as 1962 (Second Vatican Council), the privileged position of Latin within the Catholic Church was confirmed by Pope John XXIII, and that on the basis of the very properties invoked by Lucas in his argumentation: '[...] three essential qualities of Latin made it the congenial bearer of the message of the Roman Church: just as the Church itself, it is universal (*universalis*), not subject to change (*immutabilis*), and risen above the ordinary (*non vulgaris*). Latin, in other words, is the genuinely "Catholic" language *par excellence*.' (Laureys, 'Melchior Inchofer', p. 670).

quam deinde blanda et innoxia triumphatrix animorum religio expiatam consecratamque produxit longius nec minori quam ipsam Christi Ecclesiam ditione donavit [...]. Maybe, Lucas did not want to make his speech sound preachy by associating the cause of Latin too closely with the cause of Christianity; maybe, the link between Latin and Christianity was too obvious to be used as a decisive argument. In all likelihood though, Lucas took care to steer a middle course between the Roman Catholicism of the Jesuit order on the one hand, and the increasingly Gallican line of Louis XIV on the other. Still, it needs stressing that the preference for Latin is almost inherent to the Jesuit ideology. Accordingly, the link with Catholicism is a prominent, though mostly implicit one in Lucas's speech.

Furthermore, one can mention the specific historical, literary and worldly authorities Lucas evokes to the advantage of Latin. More than once, Lucas refers to the example of the ancient Romans. They are represented as a paragon of civilization and a point of comparison with respect to power and military fame. In §34, Louis XIV is compared with Caesar Augustus: '[...] ut Augusti nobis saeculum reddat, brevi triumviratum — id est: triplicem illum nobis infestum hostem — tollet et pace constituta Ianum claudet.' In §56, Lucas states that it is indeed an honour to come that close to the ancient Romans, but that the French do not exceed them at all, neither when it comes to the propagation of language, nor when it comes to the propagation of power: '[...] quasi probrosum sit nobis, si minus armorum gloria, at sermonis et imperii diffusione Romanis tantillum concedere ac non magnum potius ad eos accedere, nec longo proximos esse intervallo.'

Another example occurs in the cluster §§28-38. Here, Lucas elaborates on the conclusion of his reasoning on the nature of language by referring to the example of the ancient Romans. In §§35-38, he tries to refute the argument that the Romans, too, would never have tolerated Greek inscriptions within Latium. First of all, he states that they did indeed use Greek inscriptions within Latium, albeit very seldom. Subsequently, he argues that even the Romans are no exception to the rule that 'living' languages are liable to the arbitrariness of *usus*. If the Romans preferred Latin to Greek, they did not on the basis of patriotic considerations; it was simply pointless for them to opt for Greek inscriptions, since that language was at the time as living and as variable as Latin was. In short, the relation between Latin and Greek can hardly be considered the same as the one existing between Latin and French (§37).

Further, Lucas invokes several contemporary worldly instances. Since the inscriptions for the triumphal arch in honour of Louis XIV were the issue at stake in the debate, the authority of royal court in general, and of Louis XIV and the *Grand Dauphin* in particular, is omnipresent. By dedicating his printed speech to the *Grand Dauphin* and by focusing on the authority of king and *dauphin* in his preface, Lucas expressly embeds his speech in this authoritarian context. In §38, the author calls upon the moral weight of the ancestors and of cardinal Richelieu (among other political eminences in the history of France).⁴³ In §14, Lucas directly addresses his audience in a similar passage, where he appeals to the authority and the responsibility of the people of Paris. Here the appeal to authority is interrelated with the rhetorical commonplace *tua res agitur* and a *captatio benevolentiae*.

Concerning literary authorities, finally, I have already mentioned quotations from the works of Cicero, Horace and Velleius Paterculus. Apart from those, one can find allusions (explicit or not) to Virgil, Livy and (maybe) Aristotle.⁴⁴ The intertextuality with classical authors in Lucas's speech is far less dense than in his didactic poem (*Actio oratoris*, cp. above), which is simply a matter of different aims: with his didactic poem, Lucas intended to instruct (*docere*) his pupils on the *actio* of an *actor* / *orator*.⁴⁵ His speech, on the contrary, could not reek of pedantry; it had to divert (*delectare*) and, in doing so, convince the eminent audience (*persuadere*). In this persuasive context quotations and allusions can hardly be considered mere adornment; alluding to Latin authors most of his listeners had become familiar with in Jesuit colleges, amounted to a shrouded *captatio benevolentiae*.

⁴³ The *Académie française* also constitutes a key authority in this passage. Lucas points out the contradictory policy of the *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, responsible for the inscriptions on monuments, coins and medals, by referring to the unquestioned practice of engraving Latin inscriptions on coins and medals: 'Quocirca popularium inscriptionum artifices, qui nihil causae dicunt quin numismata, quia tractantur manu et facili negotio in regiones quam voles dissitas deportantur, Latino signemus lemmate, videant ne pugnent ipsi secum, dum hoc idem in stabili monumento fieri negant oportere.' (§44). Cp. e.g. Joseph Jacquot, *Médailles et jetons de Louis XIV d'après le manuscrit de Londres*, 4 vols (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1968).

⁴⁴ One might descry a wink to Aristotle in §24: 'Omnino inscriptio lapidi velut anima corpori advenit [...]'.
⁴⁵ In the preface to his *Actio oratoris*, Lucas stresses the value of ancient authorities in function of his didactic purposes: 'Porro ne mirare additas certis locis interpretationes et notas. Id enim, praeterquam quod exemplo et suasu doctissimorum virorum fecimus, cur ita fieret, duae omnino causae fuerunt. Prima causa est, ut pateret omnibus, quid praeceptionum, quo ex fonte hausissemus; par enim fuit διδασκαλικόν (*sic*) poema inniti auctoritate veterum.' (*Actio oratoris*, unnumbered *Lectori*).

(3) Prose style and intertextuality in function of Lucas's persuasive aim

The prominence of Ciceronianism regarding Lucas's style and persuasive aim will receive due attention in the commentary to the Latin text. Attention will be paid there to elements of style which seem to be inspired by Cicero's usage, or, conversely, seem to conflict with it. Furthermore, the number of quotations from Cicero's writings will be found to be preponderant. Here, I will discuss a passage at length in order to illustrate the stylistic features Lucas applies in his oration and to demonstrate the subtle way in which he appeals to the 'cultural identity' (or, in a classical tradition, *ethos*) of his elite audience. In §22, Lucas elaborates an extensive *digressio* — more specifically, an *evidentia* or *sub oculos subiectio* — which calls to mind not only one of Horace's most famous odes (cp. above), but — in my opinion — also a well-known scene from Virgil's *Aeneid*:

Quid enim? In ea via, quae hinc ad Vincennas est, dum fervere video turbam artificum, dum genere audio plaustra vectandis lapidibus molis in omnem partem immensae, dum defossa in magnam altitudinem terra cerno ante oculos iaci fundamenta, quibus arcus triumphalis tota coagmentatio innitatur, quid, si inquam interrogo hoc quid sit, quod tanto paratur nisu et sudore? Respondeat non mathematicus aliquis aut princeps architectus redemptorve ac inventor operis, sed sumptus de medio opifex, sed caementarius, sed lapidicida — modo is ne plane hebes sit, ac ipse lapis —, opus videlicet exigi quod nulla abolitura sit vetustas eamque ob rem eligi lapides qui aetatem ferant, caementa quae dissolvi non possint, formam, situm figuramque aedificii, quae non minus firmitudinis habeat quam venustatis. Atque ille quidem egregie. Haec siquidem naturae vox est, hic communis sensus populorum, qui talia honorum insignia heroibus decreverunt, ut in posterorum memoria vitam sempiternam viverent, qui reipublicae causa nihil moliri arduum, nihil subire formidolosum recusassent. (§22)

In this fragment, which could be categorized within the *genus medium*, Lucas appeals to his audience's common sense (cp. above) in order to establish an intuitive consideration on the function of monuments. He does so in a stylistically very refined way. The first sentence ('Quid enim? [...] nisu et sudore?') is a long rhetorical question that displays a highly periodical structure; the long protasis that highlights the circumstances (note the tricolon with anaphora of 'dum') is followed by a relatively short apodosis in which the concrete question is formulated; the coercive character of the rhetorical question is underscored by the repetition of 'quid'. In a way, the subsequent question follows an inverse course. It begins tersely with the main verb 'respondeat'; then, Lucas

step by step completes the sentence until the proper subject makes clear by whom the answer is given; this happens by means of a tripartite negative component, followed by a similarly tripartite positive component displaying anaphora of 'sed'.

After the short joke in the parenthesis — apparently, Lucas is very aware of how indispensable humour is to hold the attention of his audience and to floor his opponent — the author finally gives the answer to his 'rhetorical' question. This answer is at once the end point of the preceding periods and the starting point of the following paragraphs. This answer, too, is relatively amply drawn out; it is structured as a tricolon crescendo, the last part of which in its turn falls apart into three components. The passage, in which Lucas answers his rhetorical question himself, is carefully concluded with a standard Ciceronian *clausula* in 'quam venustatis' (cretic + trochee).

The short sentence 'Atque ille quidem egregie' creates the natural pauses the audience needs to absorb the foregoing — partly thanks to the contrast between the long response and this short, affirmative sentence. The following sentence, the last one of this paragraph, is in a way less powerful than the previous ones. It can hardly be called a period, for the essential information is already given in the initial *sententia*: 'Haec siquidem naturae vox est, hic communis sensus populorum.' In what follows, Lucas basically adds on to this *sententia* with a sequence of relative and completive clauses. This closing sentence, too, is brought to an end by the *clausula* (cretic + trochee) in 'formidolosum recusassent', which is announced by the *clausula* (cretic + spondee) in 'heroibus decreverunt'.

Let us now take a look at the intertextuality of this paragraph. The subtext, which I think to discern in the first period, is Verg., *Aen.*, 1, 421-430a, where Aeneas and Achates explore Carthage, both of them cloaked by a cloud. There can be no doubt that Lucas, as a Jesuit teacher and a Latin poet himself, was acquainted with this passage from the *Aeneid*. Some verbal reminiscences can affirm the assumption that Lucas had Virgil's famous description in mind when he composed this *digressio*. Let us compare both fragments:

Miratur molem Aeneas, magalia quondam,
miratur portas strepitumque et strata viarum.
Instant ardentes Tyrii: pars ducere muros
molirique arcem et manibus subvolvere saxa,
pars optare locum tecto et concludere sulco.
Hic portus alii effodiunt; hinc lata theatri

fundamenta petunt alii immanisque columnas
 rupibus excidunt, scaenis decora alta futuris.
 Qualis apes aestate nova per florea rura
 exercet sub sole labor, [...]
 (Verg., *Aen.*, 1, 421-430a [ed. Conte])

Virgil's 'molem' is taken up by 'molis', 'viarum' by 'via' and 'alta' by 'altitudinem', while 'fundamenta' is literally repeated. 'Ardentes' might be echoed by 'fervere', 'effodiunt' by 'defossa', 'saxa' by 'lapidibus' and 'immanis(que)' by 'immensae'. Furthermore, less obvious allusions are at play too, such as words belonging to the semantic fields of 'labour' and 'impressiveness' — note for example the analogy between Virgil's 'miratur' and Lucas's verbs of sensory perception, with an important element of variation: 'video', 'audio' and 'cerno'.

Lucas does not indicate this subtext explicitly. No source is mentioned in the margin, and there is no reference to a 'gravissimus auctor', as is the case with the quotation from Velleius Paterculus's *Historiae Romanae* (cp. above). Moreover, Lucas does not echo Virgil's bee simile, which immediately follows upon the passage quoted above. Yet, it is very likely that his elite listeners and readers — many of whom were steeped in Latin literature, often at Jesuit colleges — indeed discerned Lucas's allusions 'on their own' and thus underwent the intended effect of this indirect *captatio benevolentiae*.⁴⁶ As it appears, Lucas reshaped an everyday experience of Paris city life ('In ea via, quae hinc ad Vincennas est [...]') in a Virgilian fashion, picturing himself walking around in a city rendered 'classical'.⁴⁷ In doing so, he was able to make an appeal to his audience's Latinate 'educatedness', make them aware of the classical tradition they themselves belonged to, and incite them to defend that tradition in the issue at stake.

This example amply suggests that Lucas has defended the cause of Latin on many levels. In combining a number of assumptions about language, he constructed a solid reasoning on the function of monuments and its implications for the choice of Latin. Furthermore, by linking these assumptions to the preponderant authorities of his days, he adapted them to the political and cultural environment in which he moved, and to the

⁴⁶ Cp. §33: 'Quando enim et quamobrem Athenae, quando et quamobrem Roma patrii sermonis integritatem amiserunt? Recordari potestis ipsi, auditores [...]'.
⁴⁷ A walk from the *Collège de Clermont* in the direction of Vincennes leads across the *Place du Trône*, where the preparations for the erection of the triumphal arch were already begun.

elite public he addressed on that particular November day in 1676. The triumphal arch which had triggered the discussion on the preferable epigraphic language was never erected. Moreover, Lucas seems to have reconsidered his point of view when he composed a Latin poem, a French translation of which, entitled *Palinodie contenant l'éloge de la langue françoise*, was published in *Mercure* (August 1689).⁴⁸ Finally, it is very probable that Lucas was suspended by his superiors once Louis XIV had made a decision on the preferable epigraphic language, which eventually turned out in favour of French.⁴⁹ Still, one can safely conclude that Lucas's speech made a reasonable and powerful case for Latin inscriptions on public monuments in seventeenth-century France.

(4) Annotated edition of the speech

The Latin text mainly relies on the *editio princeps* of 1677 (cp. above). More specifically, I have used the copy held by the *Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent*, which is accessible through Google Books (books.google.com). For the pages 36-37, which are missing on Google Books, I have consulted the material copy at the *Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent*. For some badly legible passages (e.g. §9) in the Google Books copy, I had recourse to Ayryer's reissue (Leipzig: Jacob Schuster, 1723; cp. above for full bibliographical information). The 1677 edition is printed in-8° and counts 16 pages of unnumbered preliminary matter. The proper speech

⁴⁸ Cp. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, V, 148-149. The status of this piece remains unclear to me, as I have not been able to read and interpret it.

⁴⁹ Cp. Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, p. 16. As I pointed out earlier, Sommervogel mentions no professional activity in Lucas's life for the period 1677-1685. One might wonder what the historical consequences of this quarrel were. Brunot — himself writing a progressive history of French — answers this question rather tendentiously: 'Les résultats immédiats de toute cette campagne sont peu de chose et la victoire [viz. du français] obtenue promettait mieux. En ce qui concerne le monument grandiose que Colbert avait projeté, nulle application ne fut faite de décisions prises, car en 1681 les travaux furent arrêtés, et, Colbert mort, personne n'eut l'idée de les reprendre. Le roi, qui n'aimait pas Paris, ne s'y intéressait point. Il ne semble pas non plus que les successeurs de Colbert aient eu pour la langue française la même prédilection que lui. Quand on construisit le monument de la place Vendôme, Pontchartrain demanda à "la petite Académie" de s'occuper des inscriptions. La Compagnie penchait pour le latin. Cependant elle demanda l'avis du sous-secrétaire d'État. Celui-ci préféra aussi le latin. C'était l'usage le plus commun, et les professionnels avaient un tour de main et des modèles. On ne voyait plus l'intérêt qu'il y avait à abandonner les anciens errements.' (Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, pp. 19-20).

text covers 71 pages.⁵⁰ Six copies are recorded in the catalogue of the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* (<http://catalogue.bnf.fr>).

In the Latin text, I have left out quantity marks and obsolete printing conventions: ligatures, *e caudata* and ampersand have been resolved. I have introduced capitals, punctuation and orthography according to 'present-day norms', maintaining the distinction between the vowel 'u' and the semivowel 'v' but consistently using 'i' for 'i' as well as for 'j'. I have always assimilated verb prefixes, except for the combination 'exs...'. Furthermore, 'm' has only been assimilated to 'n' before 'd' in forms of 'idem' and 'quidam', not for example in 'tandiu' or before a 'q' or 't', as is often the case in the 1677 text. The original division into paragraphs has largely been maintained, but for the ease of reference, I have introduced a paragraph numbering (in bold). The 1677 page numbers are indicated in parentheses, with the pages of the unnumbered preliminary matter in Roman numerals, e.g. (I). Square brackets indicate letters, words or spaces present in the 1677 text which should be omitted; angle brackets indicate letters or spaces which should be added to the text; other corrections are indicated in the commentary. Abbreviations have been resolved in italics, which also indicate quotations or semi-quotations made explicit in the 1677 edition.

In the commentary to the text, I have aimed to: (1) clarify historical realia which are necessary for a good understanding of the text, (2) highlight some lexical, grammatical or rhythmical peculiarities, and (3) identify the passages in antique literature Lucas quotes or alludes to. I do not at this place quote parallels in contemporary texts, and stylistic comments have mostly been reduced to elements relating to Ciceronianism (cp. above). For the sake of clarity, I have opted to offer the notes immediately under the paragraphs they relate to.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, V, 148.

⁵¹ With a view to brevity, I refer to recurring reference works using the following abbreviations: BU = *Biographie Universelle (Michaud) ancienne et moderne* [...] *Ouvrage rédigé par une société de gens de lettres et de savants*, dir. Louis-Gabriel Michaud, 45 vols (Paris: Desplaces – Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1854-1858); DBF = *Dictionnaire de Biographie française*, dir. Roman d'Amat [et al.], [16 vols] (Paris: Librairie Letouze et Ané, 1933-); GDEL = *Grand dictionnaire encyclopédique Larousse*, 16 vols (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1982-1985); GWP = *Grote Winkler Prins. Encyclopedie in 26 delen*, ed. L.C.M. Röst (Amsterdam – Antwerpen: Elsevier, 1990-1993); HOP = *The History of Paris, from the Earliest Period to the Present Day* [...] *In Three Volumes* (London: Geo. B. Whittaker – Paris: A. and W. Galignani, 1825 <books.google.com>). Other abbreviations refer to recurring online sources: BnF – Gallica = Catalogue de la Bibliothèque nationale de France <<http://catalogue.bnf.fr>>; CDS = Cross Database Search-

* * *

1 (I)De monumentis publicis Latine inscribendis oratio. Habita Parisiis VII. Calendas Decembres anno M. DC. LXXVI.

In Collegio Claromontano *Societatis* Iesu a Ioanne Lucas eiusdem *Societatis* sacerdote.

Parisiis, apud Simonem Benard, via Iacobaea, e regione Collegii Claromontani *Societatis* Iesu. MDCLXXVII.

Collegio Claromontano] The present-day *Lycée Louis-le-Grand*, still in the *Rue Saint-Jacques*. 'Au XVIe s. avec le déclin de l'Université, les collèges deviennent, jusqu'à la fin de l'Ancien Régime, les grands centres d'enseignement. Les jésuites, au XVIe s., fondent de nombreux collèges, en province et à Paris; dans cette ville, le plus important est le collège de Clermont' (GDEL, IV, 2371). The Jesuits founded the *Collège de Clermont* in 1561. In 1641 the *Collège de Marmoutier* merged with it, and in 1682 the *Collège de Mans*. In the same year, the college was renamed *Collège Louis-le-Grand*, in memory of the benefactions by Louis XIV (GDEL, IV, 2371; IX, 6420).

2 (II)*Quae monumenti ratio sit, nomine ipso admoneor. Ad memoriam magis spectare debet posteritatis, quam ad praesentis temporis gratiam.* Cic. in frag. Ep. ad Caesarem.

Quae... gratiam] This fragment from Cicero's second letter to Caesar, where Cicero alludes to the etymological kinship between 'monumentum' and 'monere', has been handed down in the first book ('De proprietate sermonum') of Nonius Marcellus, *De compendiosa doctrina*. With this quotation, which he could have read in Nonius's work or in a *florilegium*, L. places his publication from its very outset in a Ciceronian perspective. (Cic., *epist. frag.*, 3, 7 [ed. Shackleton Bailey]; Non., p. 32, 15-19 [ed. Lindsay]).

3 (III)*Serenissimo Delphino Ioannes Lucas S.I.*

Arcus triumphales ceteraque monumenta publica nostratibusne litteris an Latinis inscribenda sint, non levis hodie controversia est. Cuius arbitrium te, serenissime Delphine, ut ambire debeant utri(IV)usque linguae studiosi, causae sunt et multae et graves. Ea excelsitas est dignitatis tuae, ut te appellasse iudicem honorificum, tuo stare iudicio gloriosum merito putent. Ea celebratur peracris ingenii tui perspicacia ad dispiciendum verum et pro eodem tuendo firmitas animi, ut offensionem te disceptatore

vereatur nemo, nisi qui bonitati causae diffidat. Magna vero (V)et multo maxima ab incredibili humanitate tua conveniendi tui facilitas, litteratis praesertim hominibus, quibus summae apud te commendationis instar est studium ipsum litterarum.

Serenissimo Delphino] From 1344 on, *Dauphin* was the official title for the French crown prince. Here, the title refers to the so-called *Grand Dauphin*, or Louis, the eldest son of Louis XIV. He was born in Fontainebleau (1661) and died in Meurdon (April 14, 1711). As he died before his father, he never ascended the throne (GWP, VII, 157; XIV, 545).

4 Quid dicam de re quae controversa nunc quidem est et plena dissensionis inter doctos? Adiri eum oportere, cuius intersit plurimum genere sermonis perquam idoneo monumenta signari (VI)quique, collatione inter linguas facta, aestimare ex utriusque proprietatibus queat utra utri sit, ad praesens negotium quod attinet, anteponenda. Age igitur, serenissime Delphine, dum splendore illo qui ex monumentis paternis in te refunditur colluces undique et aemulari iam incipis consignanda posteritati facta patris et avorum, utere admirabili illa tua patrii Ro(VII)manique sermonis scientia et, de inscriptionum forma, novandum sit aliquid nobis an omnino vetus consuetudo retinenda supremo iudicio decerne. Sistet se tibi fortasse confidentius novellae opinionis parens et vindex Academia, quod linguam propugnat eo — ut ait — nomine tuam, quia Gallica est; quod patronum habet et praesidem augustissimum parentem tuum; quod mu(VIII)nus sane populare et gratiosum profitetur exterminandae e patrio solo barbariae; quod commune sic tamquam proprium nomen obtinuit gentis illius, cuius tu bono et ornamento natus es.

Academia... Gallica] The *Académie française* was founded by Richelieu (first session: March 13, 1634; patent: January 25, 1635). It was in charge of guaranteeing the purity of French and of censoring books being published. The *Académie* constituted a powerful political and even despotic instrument since Richelieu, prime minister of Louis XIII and *protecteur* of the *Académie*, was authorized to assess all candidacies. Until the first half of the 18th century, the *Académie* remained an effective instrument of royal power (GDEL, I, 41). Many supporters of French as an epigraphic language, such as Charpentier and Tallemant, were members of this prestigious institution.

5 Haec enimvero optimae etiam in infirma causa spei argumenta audimus iactari saepe ab Academicis. Neque nos tamen, qui antiquioris et magis reconditae litteraturae partes tuemur, (IX)ad te sine spe praesidioque et adstipulatoribus nullis accedimus. Veniunt enim nobiscum auctores

Latini omnes, viri graves, longa tibi consuetudine cogniti et in familiari-tatem intimam iampridem adsciti. Qui munificentia tua exculti ut sunt et nitentes, orant eodem ut sermone liceat celebrare Ludovicum Magnum, Sequanicum, Belgicum, Batavicum, Germani(X)cum, quo Africanos olim, Asiaticos, Numantinos celebrarunt. Veniunt quotquot in Europa sunt gentes, quae, vernaculi licet sermonis amantissimae, pro Latinis elo-giis tamen suffragium ferunt. Veniunt viri superiorum aetatum longe sapientissimi, qui sua de statu, arcubus, tropaeis inscribendis iudicia ne rescindantur postulant.

Ludovicum Magnum] Louis XIV (1638-1715), king of France (1643-1715), surnamed 'le Grand' or 'le Roi-Soleil', son of Louis XIII and Anne of Austria. As he was only five years old when his father died, his mother governed the country with cardinal Mazarin until the latter's death in 1661. From Mazarin's death onwards, Louis XIV presented himself increasingly as an absolute monarch, 'lieutenant de Dieu sur la terre', 'seigneur absolu'. His royal function gets 'un caractère quasi solaire et pharaonique, fixée à Versailles en 1682.' (GDEL, IX, 6409). Louis XIV is the father of the *Grand Dauphin* (cp. above).

Sequanicum, Belgicum, Batavicum, Germanicum] L. refers to the oppo-nents of France in the War of Devolution (1667-1668) and in the War of Holland (1672-1679) (GDEL, IX, 6411).

6 Dico aliquid amplius: (XI)suffragatores, si opus est, etiam habebimus Henricum Magnum, fundatorem illum imperii alterum, assertorem reli-gionis Ludovicum Iustum et, qui utriusque virtutes in se collegit, Ludo-vicum Magnum. Quorum mens, Latine inscriptis ad aeternam ipsorum memoriam marmoribus testata, tanti apud omnes debet esse, ut sine argu-mentatione vincat auctoritas. Quam(XII)quam praeiudicia remittimus Academicis, qui rem probare argumentis aggressi sumus. Causa iam ven-tilata saepe, saepe magnis utrimque contentionibus orata, iudicata ab nemine. Tuam universi super ea re sententiam exspectarunt. Rationum ergo momenta perpende et quid sentiendum sit constitue.

Lutetiae Parisiorum. Calendis Ianuarii. Anno M. DC. LXXVII.

Henricum Magnum] Henri IV (1553-1610), king of Navarre (as 'Henri III', 1572-1610) and king of France (1589-1610). Initially a Protestant and a Huguenot, he had to convert to Catholicism in order to become king of France. As a part of this conversion, he married Maria de' Medici in 1600, who would become the mother of Louis XIII, and in 1603 recalled the Jesuits, who had been banished in 1594. In doing so, he put an end to the Wars of Religion. Henri IV was the first king of France belonging to the House of Bourbon and made great efforts for the welfare of the people of

France (GDEL, VIII, 5223). Hence L.'s qualification 'fundatorem illum imperii alterum'.

Ludovicum Iustum] Louis XIII (1601-1643), king of France (1610-1643), son of Henri IV and Maria de' Medici. He was the father of Louis XIV (GDEL, IX, 6407).

exspectarunt] *Correxī ex expectarent.*

7 (XIII)Lectori

Ne videar actum agere, qui inscriptiones publicorum operum Latinas esse oportere bene longa oratione demonstrē, scire te tantum volo, lector, hoc, quidquid est, qua occasione scripserim.

8 Attollebantur regi praeter arcum triumphalem alia passim in urbe monumenta, et triumphales titulos excogitabant pro se quisque qui plus ingenio et doctrina poterant quam ceteri. Interea autem illustrissimo viro, cui regis honor et regni salus et regionum aedificiorum absolutio unice cordi sunt, venit in mentem scitari satin commode patrio etiam sermone monumenta inscriberentur. Quam vocem Gallicae Academiae procures, qui forte aderant, sic versarunt in omnes partes, ut, aientibus aliis, (XIV) aliis negantibus, ex fortuita interrogatione iusta et gravis inter ipsos exorta altercatio sit. Unus ex eo numero Franciscus Carpentarius, sua Xenophontis interpretatione lucubrationibusque aliis notissimus, de arcu triumphali Gallice inscribendo librum scripsit, opinor commendandi potius vernaculi sermonis gratia et ut experiretur quid dici in eam rem probabiliter posset, quam quo se illud persuasurum speraret. Quid quaeris? Argumento tam novo colorem veri illevit eruditi et eloquentis viri industria et, edito quidem libro, recentem opinionem arripere amantiores novitatis quam veritatis, gratulari sibi qui Latinas litteras minus nossent, haerere semidoculi dum Latinitatis defensor aliquis exsurgeret, ire in alterutram partem quibus satis est ingenii, ut probabilium argumentationum laqueis irretiantur — non est satis, ut se extricent ipsi.

alia passim in urbe monumenta] L. refers to the embellishments executed by Louis XIV and Colbert in the city of Paris. The excessive costs for the Palace of Versailles came at the expense of the works executed elsewhere in the city (GDEL, IX, 6411).

illustrissimo viro] L. refers to Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683), who can be considered the successor to Mazarin. He acted as general inspector of finances and as State Secretary under Louis XIV. He is especially known as a financial reformer (Mazarin would have left a financial chaos) and as the founder of what is called 'Colbertism', an economic interventionist policy. Other important realizations of his were the formation of the Aca-

démie des Inscriptions (1663), of the *Académie des Sciences* (1666) and of the *Académie d'Architecture* (1671) (DBF, IX, 187-190).

Quam vocem... altercatio sit] With this understatement, L. presents the possibility of using French as an epigraphic language as an inconsequential thought experiment by Colbert, which was taken too seriously by some members of the *Académie française*.

Franciscus Carpentarius] François Charpentier (1620-1702) gathered fame as a translator of the works of Xenophon and of the emperor Julian. He also wrote a *Vie de Socrate*. In 1651, he was admitted to the *Académie française*, where he would act as *secrétaire perpétuel* until his death. From its foundation, he was in charge of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres* (BU, VII, 676-677). With 'Xenophontis interpretatione', L. aims at Charpentier's *La Cyropædie ou l'Histoire de Cyrus, Traduite du Grec de Xenophon, Par Mr Charpentier, de l'Academie Française* (Amstelredam: Jean de Ravensteyn, 1661 [GB]).

de arcu triumphali Gallice inscribendo librum scripsit] L. alludes to Charpentier's *Deffense de la langue françoise, pour l'inscription de l'arc de triomphe* (Paris: Claude Barbin, 1676 [BnF – Gallica]). Note that Charpentier, as a prominent defender of French as an epigraphic language, quotes Cicero's *Tusculanae disputationes* on his title page: 'Facile erat vincere non repugnantes.' The source passage properly reads as follows: 'Doctrina Graecia nos et omni litterarum genere superabat; in quo erat facile vincere non repugnantes.' (Cic., *Tusc.*, 1, 1 [ed. Pohlenz]). Note the symmetry between the phrase 'de arcu... librum' and the title of L.'s speech.

quid dici in eam rem probabiliter posset] Again, Charpentier's *Deffense* is presented as a thought experiment without real consequences. Note the strong expression of modality: the adverb 'probabiliter' underscores the hypothetical character of the indirect question.

de arcu triumphali... ille vit] Charpentier will quote this passage and react against it in his *De l'Excellence de la Langue Française. Par M. Charpentier, de l'Académie Française*, 2 vols (Paris: Veuve Bilaine, 1683 [GB]), I, 15: 'Peut-estre que cette declaration luy fera croire que je parle serieusement, quoy qu'il ait voulu insinuer le contraire, & qu'il attribué ce que j'ay dit à une tentative hazardée en faveur de nostre Langue, plutôt qu'à une ferme esperance de réussir dans mon dessein'.

9 (XV) Hoc erant res loco, dum recurrit tempus quo ad instaurationem scholarum nostrarum praefari me aliquid pro officio rhetoris oporteret. Itaque celebratissimum nunc certe argumentum sumpsi. Quid consecutus dicendo sim, tuum esto, lector, iudicium. Ex eo quidem tempore, disertissimum Paulum Tallemannum huic meae orationi respondentem eo die, quo magnum Gallicae Academiae lumen accessit illustrissimus Memmius, audiui; sententiam non mutavi. (XVI)

Paulum Tallemannum] *L'abbé* Paul Tallemant (1642-1712) was admitted at an early age to the *Académie française* (1666). In 1671, he was the successor of *l'abbé* de Bourzeis in the *Petite Académie*. Within this institution, the future *Académie royale des Inscriptions et Médailles*, he would continually gain importance and eventually become *secrétaire perpétuel* (BU, XL, 595-597). Cp. above for his *Discours pour servir de réponse à celui du R.P. Lucas, qui soutenait que les monuments publics doivent avoir des inscriptions latines*.

Memmius] Tallemant and Charpentier reacted against L.'s stand in the *Académie française*, on December 23, 1676 ('eo die'). Jean-Jacques De Mesmes (ca. 1640-1688), *maître des requêtes* and, since 1672, *président à mortier* in parliament, was admitted to the *Académie* during the same session, as the successor to Jean des Marets (GDEL, X, 7118; BU, XXVIII, 95).

sententiam non mutavi] Tallemant having ended his speech, L. is said to have spoken the words 'Sententiam non muto', to which a restrained applause followed — all of this according to the biased testimony of Santeul, who was convinced by Tallemant just as little as L. was (Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, p. 15). L. repeats this statement at the end of his foreword and, thus, highlights his steadfastness.

10 (1) De monumentis publicis Latine inscribendis oratio.

Ea nunc aetate vivimus, auditores illustrissimi, qua rex post hominum memoriam maximus tot victoriis nomen illustrat suum, ut gloriae monumenta, quot promeritus est, si erigeremus, et iis exstruendis artifices et inscribendis poetae oratoresque nulli sufficerent. Quae enim illius auspiciis susce(2)pta ferme expeditio est, quam vel propter excogitandi disponendique sol<l>ertiam, vel propter conficiendi celeritatem felicitatemque exitus mandari posteris monumenti fide non deceat? Neque vero deest sibi gloriosissimi principis perquam studiosa civitas Lutetia, quin rerum admirabiliter gestarum memoriam omni operum munerumque genere consecret, cum hinc reffectis excultisque portis, inde circumductis aggeribus, laxatis vicorum angustiis, ripis e secto lapide circumquaque Sequanae praetentis, ubique Ludovici Magni nomen cum iusta commendatione verborum Latine scriptum appareat.

excogitandi... exitus] Cp. Cic., *Marcell.*, 2 (ed. Müller; particularly the words in [my] italics): 'Soleo saepe ante oculos ponere idque libenter crebris usurpare sermonibus, omnis nostrorum imperatorum, omnis exterarum gentium potentissimorumque populorum, omnis clarissimorum regum res gestas cum tuis nec contentionum magnitudine nec numero proeliorum nec varietate regionum nec *celeritate conficiendi* nec dissimilitudine bellorum posse conferri [...]'.
cum hinc reffectis... Sequanae praetentis] Another reference to the embellishments executed by Louis XIV and Colbert in the city of Paris (GDEL, IX, 6411).

11 (3) Atque illa quidem peregrini, ut aiunt, sermonis praerogativa, si nobis qui hanc Latine loquendi scientiam qua docendo, qua scribendo promovemus, fecit invidiam, si nostratium, qui lingua populari utuntur una, pupugit animos, nec miror, nec indigne fero. Mirarer nec sat aequo animo ferrem, si aliter in tam erudita civitate contigisset. Etenim pulchra et invidenda res est elogium triumphatori tanto, quantus est Ludovicus, scribere et in eo celebrando ingenii quoque sui famam in omne reliquum tempus celebrare. Quare affectam iam Luparam et triumphalem arcum, quae monumenta duo confectae de pertinacissimis hostibus vi(4)ctoriae reservamus, ornare dignis titulis velle omnes oportet, si possint. Posse autem primum est, ut sibi etiam facile persuadeant, qui Gallice tantum sciunt. Hos igitur, si inanem conatum adhibeant, benigna laudatione sustentabo ac solabor.

praerogativa] The meaning 'privilege, precedence' is post-classical (DLD). **nobis qui hanc Latine... promovemus]** L. especially aims at the members of the so-called 'Bas-Latium': the Neo-Latin authors, most of them active as teachers at Jesuit colleges (cp. Vissac, *De la poésie latine, passim*).

fecit invidiam] In a rather banal way, L. puts the supporters of French in a weak position: they are simply jealous of the approved success of Latin inscriptions.

nec sat aequo animo ferrem] In combination with 'ferre', the phrase 'aequo animo' is well attested in Cicero's writings (CDS).

Quare... velle omnes oportet, si possint] The supporters of French are subtly put on a par with the crowd ('omnes'). Everyone would readily accept such an honourable task, L. states, even those who only ('tantum') know French. The period ends with the viciously hypothetical 'si possint'.

affectam iam Luparam] 'Palatium Regium Parisiis, vulgo Louvre' (*Du Cange*, DLD). Most probably a reference to the colonnade of the *Louvre*, designed by Claude Perrault. The construction of this colonnade took from 1668 (or 1667) until 1678. When L. pronounced his speech, the colonnade was almost finished, in contrast with the triumphal arch (GDEL, IX, 6426; IV, 2391).

triumphalem arcum] L. refers to the planned triumphal arch on the *Place du Trône*. Other Latin inscriptions in honour of Louis XIV were sculpted on the *Porte Saint-Denis* ('LVDOVICO MAGNO', 1672, and cp. below), on the *Porte Saint-Martin* (cp. below, 1674) and on the *Porte Saint-Bernard* (1674), the latter reading as follows: 'LVDOVICO MAGNO ABUNDANTIA PARTA PRÆ. ET ÆDIL. P. CC. AN. D. M.DC.LXXIII // ET LVDOVICI MAGNI PROVIDENTIÆ PRÆ. ET ÆDIL. P. CC. AN. D. M.DC.LXXIII.' (Vuilleumier Laurens – Laurens, *L'âge de l'inscription*, p. 224).

confectae de pertinacissimis hostibus victoriae] The plans for the erection of a new triumphal arch were due to Louis XIV's early successes in the War of Devolution (1667-1668) and with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (May 2, 1668) (Vuilleumier Laurens – Laurens, *L'âge de l'inscription*, p. 224).

12 Verum quid facias honoratissimis sapientissimisque viris, qui, etsi utramque linguam peraeque calleant, malunt tamen novo more ac modo Gallice, quam pro recepta consuetudine Latine monumenta inscribere? Immo id iam affirmant viva voce et scripto etiam probant accurateque defendunt, ita regis famam exigere, petere exempla veterum, imperii gentisque decus postulare. Nimirum secus (5)factum esse, quoad horridior et inops verborum lingua vernacula fuit; nunc autem, cum omnes omnium gentium linguas adaequet aut vincat venustate et copia, mutandam esse rationem.

13 Hic non opus in tam recenti praesertim memoria tantaque celebritate famae appellare quemquam; laudarem certe quidem impensius quem prae ceteris unum designari vel sic oratione intellegitis, nisi doctrina illum sua et nota omnibus virtus satis superque commendaret.

Hic non opus... commendaret] This entire sentence constitutes one long *praeteritio*. L. aims at François Charpentier, whose speech (December 12, 1675) and printed *Deffense* (1676) he is reacting against.

satis superque] This phrase occurs eight times in Cicero's writings (CDS).

14 Vestra porro, viri Parisienses, vestra, aediles, tua, urbis praefecte, non minus res agitur, magna illa quidem et gravis, quam nostrum omnium, quibus cum (6)hac professione eloquentiae suscepta videtur esse perpetua contra quosvis propugnatio scripturae et locutionis Latinae. Delenda quippe quae regi, *post vindicatas coniugis augustae dotaes urbes*, quae *Vesuntione Sequanisque bis captis*, quae *intra dies sexaginta Rheno, Vahali, Mosa, Isala superatis, subactis Provinciis tribus, captis urbibus munitis quadraginta*, elogia posuistis, si recens sparsa in vulgus opinio valet.

Vestra... res agitur] Cp. Hor., *epist.*, 2, 2, 216 (ed. Borzsák): 'Nam tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet'.

nostrum omnium] Another reference to the Latinists belonging to the so-called 'Bas-Latium' (cp. above).

post vindicatas... quadraginta] L. quotes a number of existing Latin inscriptions in honour of Louis XIV, cp. below.

post vindicatas... urbes] This inscription refers to the cause of the War of Devolution, viz. Louis XIV's self-supposed claims to Franche-Comté and part of the Netherlands. L. rather loosely quotes this inscription from the existing *Porte Saint-Antoine* (not to be confused with the new triumphal arch, to be erected on the neighbouring *Place du Trône*). This inscription was applied after the peace treaty between France and Spain in 1670. 'In the attic was a globe between two clusters of arms surmounted by the sun, having a tablet on each side with the following inscriptions: [...]

LUDOVICUS MAGNUS // ET VINDICTAS (*sic*) CONJUGIS AUGUSTAE // DOTALES URBES // VALIDÂ MUNITIONE CINXIT, // ET HOC VALLUM CIVIUM DELICIIS // DESTINARI JUSSIT. // ANNO R. S. H. M.D.C.LXXII.' (HOP, III, 71-72).

Vesuntione Sequanisque bis captis] Reference to the War of Devolution. The region Franche-Comté (the cities of Besançon, Salins and Dole) was taken by Condé in 1668 and restored to Spain with the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1668 (OLO; GDEL, VII, 4514). The region was conquered for the second time in 1674 and would be permanently annexed by France in 1678 (OLO; GDEL, II, 1209; F.P.N. Marchal, *Abrégé des Guerres du Règne de Louis XIV. Précédé d'une notice historique* [Louvain: Fonteyn, 1872], p. 28). Hence the mention 'bis' (1668 and 1674). The quotation belongs to the inscription on the *Porte Saint-Martin* (1674): 'LVDOVICO MAGNO VESVNTIONE // SEQVANISQVE BIS CAPTIS ET FRACTIS // GERMANORVM HISPANORVM // BATAVORVMQVE EXERCITIBVS // PRÆS. ET ÆDIL. P. CC. ANNO R. S. H. M. DC. LXXIV.' (Vuilleumier Laurens – Laurens, *L'âge de l'inscription*, p. 222).

intra dies sexaginta... quadraginta] Reference to the events from April to June 1672, during the War of Holland. The French army crossed the rivers mentioned and conquered the provinces Gelderland, Overijssel and Utrecht (OLO; Marchal, *Abrégé des Guerres*, p. 25). L. loosely quotes the inscription on the *Porte Saint-Denis*, composed by Blondel: 'QUOD DIEBUS VIX SEXAGINTA // RHENUM, WAHALIM, MOSAM, ISALAM, SUPERAVIT. // SUBJECTI PROVINCIAS TRES; // CÆPIT URBES MUNITAS QUADRAGINTA.' (HOP, III, 75).

15 Itaque non magis Latinitatis ipsius iura, quam instituta iudiciaque vestra tuebor hodie, quo die praefari aliquid, quod ad (7)communem litterarum litteratorumque utilitatem pertineat, sum iussus, dum pro retinenda veteri inscriptionum forma pugnabo. Sic pugnabo autem, ut dignitatem vulgaris linguae ne verbo quidem violem, nedum illam pro iure meo universe Latina posteriorem faciam, sed ut illud tantummodo, citra iustam cuiusquam offensionem, bipartita oratione contendam ac demonstrem, et aeternitati consequentium saeculorum, et populorum universitati publica poni monumenta; proinde esse deinceps, ut ad hunc diem inscripta sunt, Latine inscribenda.

bipartita oratione... poni monumenta] Charpentier uses this passage as a starting point in his *De l'excellence de la langue françoise* (1683), notably in his 'Chapitre second. Plan du Discours Latin auquel nous pretendons répondre.': 'Le Discours pour la Defense de la Langue Latine touchant les Inscriptions des Monumens publics, est divisé en deux points qui naissent de ce principe.' Quotation in the margin: 'Bipartita oratione [...] poni monumenta' (I, 20).

16 Quae duo si quantum per se habent ad rem conficiendam momenti ac ponderis, tantum (8)efficiam dicendo, ut apud animos vestros obtineant, si refellam praeterea breviter quae fuse et magnifice dici solent de exemplo

veterum, de amplificatione regii nominis apud suos, de ea quae nunc est perfectione elocutionis patriae, actum est, nova labefactatur sententia, firmatur vetus ac nostra; quae si ullius dexteritate ingenii et facultate dicendi convelli potuisset, hac, qua modo tentata est, illustris Academici scriptione corruisset.

illustris Academici] Viz. François Charpentier.

17 Neque illud, quodcumque argumenti est, opinor, pro eo quo res nostrae sunt statu, parum commode sumptum videbitur. Nam praeterquam quod ubi tibi mota lis est, non potest intempestiva esse defensio et me Latine pro Latina lingua respondere scribentibus Gallice pro Gallica prope necessarium fuit, illud etiam accedebat, quod, flagrante adhuc bello, dum pendent opera interrupta, oportuit nos, qui beato litterarum otio fruimur, tot palmarum heroi Ludovico elogia praemeditari et, si quando alias, de omni elogiorum ratione disputare.

ubi tibi mota lis est] The direct cause for L.'s speech was given by Charpentier's speech (December 12, 1675) and his printed book (*Deffense*, 1676). If one wants to go back to the beginning of the entire debate, at the starting point is Jean Desmarest de Saint-Sorlin's *La comparaison de la langue et de la poésie françoise avec la Grecque et la Latine* (Paris, 1670). In both cases, the quarrel was indeed initiated by the 'French camp'.

flagrante adhuc bello] Viz. the War of Holland (1672-1679).

beato litterarum otio] Cp. numerous parallels in the writings of (among others) Cicero, Seneca philosopher and Horace (CDS).

18 Ac principio quidem — pace virorum dixerim talium ac tantorum — parum videntur sincere agere, qui per artem et ad conciliandos sibi multitudinis animos, amorem patriae studiumque gentis huic suae inscribendorum monumentorum cupi ditati obtundunt regemque gravissimis verbis ipsum hortantur, ne cum insigni Gallicae gentis infamia patiatu statu suarum bases aliis incidi litteris quam Gallicis. Quasi si honor in eo Galliae positus sit, aut quasi non illud tandem litterarum genus unum de multis adhiberi oporteat, quod ad perfectionem operis regisque ipsius gloriam maxime conducatur.

pace virorum... tantorum] L. acts unfair in this paragraph, but takes care of his *ethos* through the parenthesis. With 'talium ac tantorum', L. aims at the supporters of French, especially at prominent individuals such as Charpentier and Tallemant, belonging to the *Académie française*.

19 Me quidem certe, auditores, ita affectum animo fuisse semper et esse etiamnum profiteor, ut, si occurrat quispiam, qui dicat serio ea re una in

inscriptionibus faciendis anteponendum sermonem Gallicum Latino, quia hic peregrinus, ille patrius est, is nihilo proba(11)biliora loqui ac sentire videatur, quam qui in extructione molis ipsius, cuius ornandae gratia inscriptio fit, lapidem illum album qui in circumquaque adiacentibus agris adnascitur, marmori Ligustico aut Libyco, rubricam aut pumicem Gallicam auro Indico anteferet eo dumtaxat, quod illa e natali et patrio solo eruta sunt, ista non sunt.

pumicem Gallicam] As a rule, 'pumex' is a male noun. For its use as a feminine noun, cp. *Forcellini Lexicon* (DLD) s.v.: 'Feminino genere extulit Catull. [...] non tam quod ita ferret usus, quam quia male sonabat *arido modo* etc.' Other passages are quoted in which the gender of a noun is changed for the sake of euphony. The passage concerned (Catull., 1, 1-2 [ed. Bardon]) reads as follows (my emphasis): 'Cui dono lepidum novum libellum | *arida modo pumice* expolitum.' The reading 'arida' is retained, but according to the critical apparatus 'a(r)rida' and 'arido' are also attested in the mss. There is a real possibility that L., too, changed the gender of 'pumex' (cp. the adjectives 'rubricam' – 'gallicam') for the sake of euphony. We can be certain that L. was well acquainted with the *Carmina* of Catullus, as in 1683 he would publish a booklet entitled *Celsissimo Principi Ferdinando episcopo Monasteriensi et Paderbornensi Acanthis Neuhusiano eius in horto super lauro nidificans. Parodia Catulliana*. (Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, V, 149). He might very well have considered Catullus's opening verses a legitimation for his intervention.

20 Scilicet illud utrumque est hominis se et sua nimium amantis et in quo vera laus patriae consistat plane nescientis. Facessant igitur primum pleinae praestigiarum et captionis voces illae, sermonem peregrinum quemlibet concedere patrio oportere. Sit enim, uti dicitur, (12)[tur] Latinus sermo peregrinus — quod qui fieri potest, postquam domicilium apud nos tamdiu habuit? Sed sit ita sane. Peregrinus sermo, an patrius, in re de qua agitur, quid interest ad honorem gentis? Gallum me, oratoremve ac scriptorem quemvis alium, animo semper, non lingua etiam et stilo esse oportet; nec caritas patriae exigit ut omnia scribamus aut loquamur Gallice, sed id demum recta ratio postulat, ut ad propositum finem, cuiusmodi sermo sit, convenientissime scribamus et loquamur.

21 Atqui sic statuo linguam Latinam inscribendo monumento esse idoneam prae Gallica. Age enim, quid monumen(13)tum est, quo nomine fana, arcus, statuas, obeliscos, cetera eiusmodi multa comprehendimus? Sane, *exstructio quae sit ad memoriam aeternitatis, ara virtutis*. Hoc tantum. Quod verbis Tullii ipsis non idcirco profertur a me, quia illud

verear ut omnes assentiantur dicenti, sed ut expositioni rerum nudae ac simplici tanti etiam viri insit auctoritas. Quamquam nec opus auctoris ullius fide vel oratoris expositione, cum, monumenti natura quae sit, sensu pateat et sermone hominum nec litteris nec ratione admodum sua utentium.

extructio... virtutis] In the margin, 'Cic. 2. de nat. Deor.' is erroneously mentioned as the source for this quotation. In fact, it comes from Cic., *Phil.*, 14, 34, and it literally reads as follows (ed. Müller, my emphasis): '[...] nec dispersis bustis humili sepultura crematos, sed contextos publicis operibus atque muneribus *eaque extructione, quae sit ad memoriam aeternitatis ara Virtutis.*' Beugnot, 'Débats autour du Latin', p. 97, refers to this passage in L.'s speech, but reiterates the misquotation. A similar passage in the third book of Cicero's *De natura deorum* might explain the confusion (my emphasis): 'Atque in plerisque civitatibus intellegi potest augendae *virtutis* gratia, quo libentius rei publicae causa periculum adiret optimus quisque, virorum fortium *memoriam* honore deorum immortalium consecratam.' (Cic., *nat. deor.*, 3, 50 [ed. Ax]).

monumenti... sit] The quotation in the preliminary matter (§2; Cic., *epist. frg.*, 3, 7) shimmers through in this passage.

22 Quid enim? In ea via, quae hinc ad Vincennas est, dum fer(14)vere video turbam artificum, dum gemere audio plaustra vectandis lapidibus molis in omnem partem immensae, dum defossa in magnam altitudinem terra cerno ante oculos iaci fundamenta, quibus arcus triumphalis tota coagmentatio innitatur, quid, si inquam interrogo hoc quid sit, quod tanto paratur nisu et sudore? Respondeat non mathematicus aliquis aut princeps architectus redemptorve ac inventor operis, sed sumptus de medio opifex, sed caementarius, sed lapidicida — modo is ne plane hebes sit, ac ipse lapis —, opus videlicet exigi quod nulla abolitura sit vetustas eamque ob rem eligi lapides qui aetatem ferant, (15)caementa quae dissolvi non possint, formam, situm figuramque aedificii, quae non minus firmitudinis habeat quam venustatis. Atque ille quidem egregie. Haec siquidem naturae vox est, hic communis sensus populorum, qui talia honorum insignia heroibus decreverunt, ut in posterorum memoria vitam sempiternam viverent, qui reipublicae causa nihil moliri arduum, nihil subire formidolosum recusassent.

Quid... recusassent] Cp. section (3) Prose style and intertextuality in function of Lucas's persuasive aim.

opus videlicet exigi... vetustas] Cp. Hor., *carm.*, 3, 30, 1-9, where Horace himself makes a variation on an ode of Pindarus's (*Pyth.*, 6, 5-18): 'Exegi monumentum aere perennius | regalique situ pyramidum altius, | quod non

imber edax, non Aquilo impotens | possit diruere aut innumerabilis | annorum series et fuga temporum. | Non omnis moriar, multaque pars mei | vitabit Libitinam: usque ego postera | crescā laude recens, dum Capitolium | scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex.' (ed. Borzsák).

23 Iam signis et substructionibus ipsis si litteras addimus, addimus profecto, ut hic etiam Tullii verbis utar, *tamquam divinae virtutis testes sempiternas*; idque consilii nobis est, si recte in(16)terpretor, ut quamdiu exstabit compages lapidum, tamdiu vox litterarum declaret ac testetur cui quam ob causam tantum honoris tributum sit. Quod ita si habeat, ut certo certius habet, quid argumentatione opus est, ut intellegatur quae monumento maxime lingua conveniat, qui sermo, quae inscriptio?

tamquam... sempiternas] In the margin, 'Cic. Phil. 14' is rightly mentioned as the source for this quotation. The passage literally reads as follows (Cic., *Phil.*, 14, 33 [ed. Müller], my emphasis): 'Erit igitur exstructa moles opere magnifico incisaque litterae *divinae virtutis testes sempiternae*, numquamque de vobis eorum, qui aut videbunt vestrum monumentum aut audient, gratissimus sermo conticescet.' Properly speaking, 'tamquam' falls outside the scope of the quotation.

certo certius] This polyptoton is attested in Plautus (*Capt.*, 644), but otherwise, as it appears, only in post-classical authors, starting with Apuleius (CDS).

24 Omnino inscriptio lapidi velut anima corpori advenit: hac sine lapis inane vitae corpus ac plane cadaver rudisque moles et inepta praedicandae virtuti ac muta prorsus est. Huius ope et quasi infuso per artus spiritu vivit, huius voce loquitur, huius vi et efficientia suo illo dicendi apud posteros de heroica (17)fortitudine testimonii munere fungitur. Quocirca, ne monumentum frustra sit neve monstri simile quid habeat, accedat oportet anima corpori, non solido inanis, non infirma robusto, non immobili caduca, non constanti varia, non perpetuo brevis, sed aeterna aeterno, perenni incorrupta, durabili numquam intermoritura.

25 Et sane praeconium illud breve, quod in lapidibus singulari artificio insculpitur, quandoquidem ad infinitam posteritatem non minus aspirat quam strues artificiosa lapidum, ut paria sint ad perennitatem utrobique cuncta, huic linguae deferendum, quae minime omnium mutationi obnoxia sit, sed pro conditione (18)mortali immortalis ac sempiterna. Utra autem eiusmodi? Latina, an Gallica, Italica, Hispanica, Germanica, Anglica? Idcirco enim omnes hic appello, ne pigeat quempiam de sua sigillatim lingua confiteri, quod est omnium commune. Constat ut cuique

animali sonum oris proprium ac suum, ita cuique populo sermonem vernaculum ante alios omnes exterarum gentium probari et placere. Se tamen iactet licet Hispanus, amet Italus, praedicet Germanus, magni faciat Anglus, illorum nemo non [fa]fatetur ingenue, ferendo per aeternum tempus testimonio, id est inscriptioni, aptiorem sua linguam Latinam esse, utpote (19)cuius iam varietates et vicissitudines nullae. Idne vero nos negabimus uni aut hodie negabimus primum, quod ab omni memoria confessi sumus? Non sum is qui schola reconditioribusque et peregrinis litteris sic me abdiderim, ut nostrarum amoenitates lautitiasque aut ignorem aut oderim litterarum: ac populari quidem linguae tribuo tantum et — si superis placet — plus quam quantum tribui ullus Academicorum velit. Constantiam vero immutabilitatemque non tribuo, tribuere non possum, non fas, non aequum est, non licet. Nondum enim peracta illius et decursa est aetas, viget illa hodieque et vivit. Satis vero id (20) unum est, ut ne uniusmodi suique similis ac eodem diu permansura statu dicatur. Etenim quae lingua adhuc ore vulgi teritur, nescio quomodo levitate et inconstantia laborat, sive ita sit ingenium hominum una secum sermocinantium, ea loquelae indoles, sive id afferat de suo usus, qui vivae, ut aiunt, locutioni imperat.

si superis placet] Cp. e.g. Verg., *Aen.*, 2, 659. Note that this 'pagan' formula is smoothly combined with e.g. the *simile* with Divine Epiphany in §52.

non tribuo, tribuere... non licet] Cp. (e.g.) Cic., *Catil.*, 1, 10 (ed. Müller): 'Non feram, non patiar, non sinam.'

viget... et vivit] Cp. the portrait of M. Porcius Cato in Liv., 39, 40, 6-7 (ed. Weissenborn – Müller, my emphasis): 'eloquentissimus, nec is tantum, cuius lingua vivo eo vigerit, monumentum eloquentiae nullum exstet: *vivit immo vigetque* eloquentia eius sacrata scriptis omnis generis.'

levitate et inconstantia] Cp. Cic., *Cluent.*, 135 (ed. Müller): 'De cuius hominis levitate et inconstantia plura non dicam [...]'.

26 Quo imperio haud scio an< >ullum superbius pleniusque insolentiae sit et delicati fastidii. Experti certe illud quale sit, querimur saepe omnia licere usui, dominatori summo et imperatori linguarum. Haec nempe relegat vocabula, exulant; revocat, revertuntur ad sua; ponit in honore, splendescunt; (21)nota inurit infamiae, sordent. Haec amplificat, corroborat, extendit; haec extenuat, infringit, contrahit. Nunc audaces metaphoras et vegrandes hyperbolas, nunc potestates vocum proprias ac simplices amat. Nunc vibratas probat contortasque sententias et dicta acute ac quasi puncta, nunc plana quae sunt rotundaque et tenoris eiusdem. Sub

hoc rege et principe nihil certum usquequaque. Nec varietatum tantarum alia vel proceribus linguae scribendique principibus ratio redditur, praeter istam: sic usum velle, *quem penes imperium est et vis et norma loquendi*.

quem penes... norma loquendi] In the margin, 'Horat. de arte poet.' is rightly pointed out as the source for this quotation. L. quotes the passage very loosely in order to adapt it to his views on language, where *usus* and 'imperium' are central concepts. The proper quotation (Hor., *ars*, 70-72) reads as follows: 'Multa renascentur quae iam cecidere, cadentque | quae nunc sunt in honore vocabula, *si volet usus*, | *quem penes arbitrium est et ius et norma loquendi*.' (ed. Borzsák, my emphasis). In the modern critical edition, the reading 'ius' is retained, be it with the following remark: 'vis [...] edd. multi prisci, at cf. Liv. 45, 32, 7 usus..., qui unus est legum corrector'. Whereas in the case of 'vis', an intended intervention by L. is still disputable, it is certain that L. consciously changed 'arbitrium' (for which there are no variant readings in the critical edition) into the metrical equivalent 'imperium'.

27 Porro durissimae huius servitutis (22) iugum excutere linguae non possunt, nisi in familiari colloquutione celebrari desitae et, si ita loqui fas est, mortuae. Quamdiu enim vivunt, obnoxiae sunt inconstantissimae dominationi, inconstantes ipsae et perlevi momento commutabiles. Unde videas perire alias et tolli penitus de medio, perfici alias et invalescere, deficere alias et degenerare, stare nullas. In hoc mortalibus, quorum sensa explicant, similes, quod infantiae, pueritiae, adolescentiae per vices ac gradus, vix tempestivitatem maturioris aetatis assecutae, senescunt sensim et occidunt. In hoc item mortalibus iisdem pares ac geminae, quod mutabilitatis fato illo suo fun(23)ctae, alio beatiore aevo in chartis scilicet semper victuris perfruuntur. Tunc enim sic tamquam in caelo sunt: tunc beatae et immortales, inclinationes temporum conversionesque opinionum ac usus tyrannidem non reformidant. Tunc monumentis si praefigantur, vincent diuturnitate sua duritiem marmorum, ipsis, ut fit, siquando mors saxi advenerit, superstites futurae. O fatum linguarum et sermonis! O conditionem disparem! Vivis quidem, lingua popularis nostra, sed nondum tibi constas; vixit Latina, sed constitit.

28 Neque vero ut intereant et obsolescant linguae, necesse est perire et exterminari populos (24) apud quos illae floruerunt. Cum valeamus nos quidem bello, pace plurimum, et quod a maioribus Rheno, Alpibus, Pyrenaeo circumscriptum imperium accepimus, hos ultra fines Ludovici Magni divina virtute propagatum habeamus, tamen nescimus Armoricanae an alia quavis lingua usi Galli veteres indomiti. Ignoramus quae item

locutionis forma ex permixtione Gallicae huius qualiscumque cum Latina exstiterit, postquam Gallia Caesaris virtuti cessit et fortunae populi Romani succubuit. Nec extricamus satis, pulsus indidem sua vice Romanis, quid utrique sub Pharamundo aliisque consecutis regibus Teutonicus sermo superadditus (25)mutationis invexerit. Quod igitur nostris venit in mentem ante aliquot dies, ut plebeio sermone monumenta signarent, fac tanto ante Gallis venisse, vel dum sui essent, vel dum Romanis parerent, vel non multo post. Quis, amabo, titulum nunc legeret, quis intellexeret ipse, quis aliis interpretaretur? Nemo, auditores, in Gallia, nedum alibi gentium, nemo, sed monumento tituloque integro, res gestae omnes oblivionis in tenebris iacerent consepultae. Tanti est monumentum victura diu lingua inscribere! Ab hoc enim tempore Caesaris elogium, quia Romanis litteris scripta sunt, perleguntur.

Pharamundo] According to a legendary tradition, Pharamund was the first king of the Salian Franks and a descendant of Priamus's. His name is attested from the 8th century onwards and he would be the object of historical treatises until the 18th century (GDEL, XI, 8045).

ante aliquot dies] Another understatement concerning the proposal to use French inscriptions.

29 Quamquam nec si diu vi(26)ctura lingua est, quoad vivit et in usus potestate est, continuo idoneam putem quae monumenti in fronte compareat. Nam dum vivit et dominatu tenetur alieno, vel perficitur, vel degenerat. Si perficitur autem, mutatur sensim. Ecquis vero mihi auctor sat locuples spondeat de posteris, etiam aliquanto fortasse quam ipsi sumus delicatioribus, probaturi sint necne pigmenta et flosculos hodiernae locutionis? Fallor, aut repudiabunt quae supparet horum temporum magistri et perfectores linguae perditae amant et sic tamquam recentes partus suaviantur, genita a se deliciarum et voluptatis causa atque procreata, ut inter(27)dum gloriantur, vocabula, ac ne intellegent quidem speciem et figuram elaboratae, ne dicam nimia religione attenuatae orationis.

30 Quemadmodum contingit nobis saepe sepulcralia maiorum elogia vernacula perlegentibus. Quantumvis enim in iis condendis suo quoque tempore sibi placuerint auctores prisci, mentiar, nisi operae pretium fuerit interdum excitare mortuos, qui nomen et genus profiteantur et epitaphium nobis exponant suum. Vidi certe cum lectori non levissimo risum pro lacrimis moverent male litterata marmora et gravior mucidae et rancidulae orationis, quam sepulc<r>orum situs et (28)fetor putaretur. Indignabar nec sine stomacho et significatione iracundiae ferebam quod

in laudatione perbreui non tam sententia praeclara admirationem, quam exoleta intermortuaeque et iam putrida vocabula nauseam contemp-
tionemque parerent.

nec sine stomacho] Cp. e.g. Cic., *ad Q. fr.*, 3, 5, 2 (ed. Shackleton Bailey):
'Puto enim te existimatum a me illos libros non sine aliquo meo stomacho
esse relictos.'

31 Sed quid ego ista argumentor pluribus, cum sit experientia perspicuum
intra centum aut ducentos ut summum annos tantum accedere vel detrahi
maternae huic linguae nostrae, ut alia prorsus appareat nec iam tolerabilis
sit iis, qui tanto post in lucem venerint? Testes vos mihi oratores, testes
poetae, testes historici superiorumque aetatum scriptores omne genus.

32 (29) Age ergo, quid arcu triumphali fiat, si de numero bene nunc Gal-
lice loquentium quispiam illum aeternae Ludovici Magni memoriae ele-
ganti quidem sed instabili sermone dedicet? Erit fortasse erga illum
indulgentior posteritas, quam ipsi adversus priora saecula fuimus?

33 Audio enimvero quod de suis etiam aetatibus pro se quisque veteris
memoriae scriptores, verius de nostra nuperrimi iactitant: eo venisse tan-
dem popularem linguam, ut perfectior esse non possit nec iam honestus
mutationi locus relinquatur. Quod equidem credam ut dicitur, nisi in hoc
genere *difficilem in perfecto moram*, non gravissimus (30) modo affirma-
ret auctor, sed luculenta quoque cum Latinae tum Graecae linguae exem-
pla liquido probarent. Quando enim et quamobrem Athenae, quando et
quamobrem Roma patrii sermonis integritatem amiserunt? Recordari
potestis ipsi, auditores: florebat utraque respublica debellatis circum-
quaque hostibus; haec ratio temporis, ista mutationis. Erat alterius populi
ingenium leve, curiosum, amans novitatis. Erat alterius fastidiosum et
sibi ipsi aegre faciens satis. Graeci, Romani mittebant quoquoersum
colonias adibantque remotissimas nationes foederum commercii que grā-
tia; unde peregrinitatem reportabant sermo(31)nis, deposito quem tulerant
una secum nativo locutionis candore. Ad haec confluebant in prin-
cipes civitates advenae innumerabiles et, quod caput est, terra, mari,
longe lateque extendebantur fines imperii; hinc labi utraque et inclinare
et deficere ab optimo lingua coepit.

pro se... scriptores] In passing, L. neutralizes a crucial argument of his
opponents: for ages, people have been thinking that their language had
reached its apogee.

difficilem... moram] In the margin, 'Velleius Hist. l. 1' is rightly mentioned as the source for this quotation. The passage, again loosely quoted, literally reads as follows (Vell., 1, 17, 6 [ed. Watt], my emphasis): 'Alit aemulatio ingenia, et nunc invidia, nunc admiratio imitationem accendit, matureque quod summo studio petatum est ascendit in summum, *difficilisque in perfecto mora est*, naturaliterque quod procedere non potest recedit.'

Erat alterius... faciens satis] L. designs a typology of the Greeks and Romans in order to confirm his thesis concerning language degeneration.

Ad haec confluebant... coepit] Cp. Cic., *Brut.*, 258 (ed. Malcovati): 'Mitto C. Laelium P. Scipionem: aetatis illius ista fuit laus tamquam innocentiae sic Latine loquendi — nec omnium tamen; nam illorum aequales Caecilium et Pacuvium male locutos videmus —: sed omnes tum fere, qui nec extra urbem hanc vixerant neque eos aliqua barbaries domestica infuscaverat, recte loquebantur. Sed hanc certe rem deteriore vetustas fecit et Romae et in Graecia. Confluxerunt enim et Athenas et in hanc urbem multi inquinate loquentes ex diversis locis.'

34 Quid vero horum — pro superum atque hominum fidem — nobis non convenit? An non eadem excolendae linguae cupiditas, idem ingeniorum fervor, idem impetus ignescentis animi, eadem armorum gloria, par apud nos frequentia exterorum? Quando autem dilatatio finium maior, quam sub rege tanto tamque fortunato? Qui (32) post iniecta frena duellorum licentiae, amotas fori et aerarii culpas, revocatas donatasque stipendiis et domiciliis veteres artes, expolitam gentis suae linguam, ut Augusti nobis saeculum reddat, brevi triumviratum — id est: triplicem illum nobis infestum hostem — tollet et pace constituta Ianum claudet et rei gestae aeternum in urbe monumentum ponet. Porro haec tam magna, tam praeclara, quorum partim fructu, partim exspectatione delectamur, quamquam aeternitatem huic regno toties promissam videntur asserere, tamen linguae, quantumlibet suis nunc absolutae numeris et partibus, constantiam ac perpetuitatem ita (33) non afferunt, si Graeci Latini que sermonis fata respicimus, ut <casum prolapsionemque potius minari ac portendere videantur, nosque omnino hortari, ut, immortalitati quae scribimus, ne scribamus fluxo sermone et patrio, sed permansuro et Romano.

post iniecta frena duellorum licentiae] Under the kings of France, duelling was punished as an act of lese-majesty. During the reign of Louis XIV, there was a remarkable relapse of this practice, partly thanks to resistance from the intellectual and religious spheres, but most importantly due to the personal intervention of Louis XIV, who issued several decrees in order to suppress this old practice (Michel Cuénin, *Le duel sous l'Ancien Régime. Préface d'Yves-Marie Bercé*, Collection "Histoire des Hommes" [Paris: Presses de la Renaissance, 1982], *passim*). '[...] le siècle de Louis XIV peut

se flatter d'être celui où les édits furent les mieux tournés, en partie grâce à la complaisance des cours souveraines.' (Cuénin, *Le duel*, p. 314).

amotas fori et aerarii culpas] From 1661 onwards, Louis XIV together with Colbert started uniformizing and centralizing government and administration. Initially, the reorganization succeeded, but after ten years of budgetary stability (1662-1671), a deficit arose due to the War of Holland (GDEL, IX, 6409; 6412).

veteres artes] 'Protecteur des lettres, des arts et des sciences, Louis XIV veut les mettre au service exclusif de sa gloire et soumettre la vie littéraire et artistique à un ordre politique et esthétique. Dès 1662, J. Chapelain dresse la liste des artistes, des écrivains et des savants que le roi pensionnera pour les détourner des protecteurs privés, les inciter à chanter sa gloire et à produire des œuvres de qualité qui fassent honneur à son règne.' The Sun King presents himself as the exclusive *mécenas* and favours classicism, 'esthétique de l'unité' (GDEL, IX, 6410).

expolitam gentis suae linguam] Cp. above: the *Académie française*.

ut Augusti nobis saeculum reddat] L. refers to the *Pax Augusta*. This central, promising thesis is preceded by a tetracolon summarizing Louis XIV's past achievements, and is followed by a tricolon announcing his future tasks, provided that he wants to equal the emperor Augustus.

triumviratum... infestum hostem] An allusion to the famous triumvirates of Roman antiquity. L. aims at the Triple Alliance of the Hague, concluded January 23, 1668, by England, Sweden and the United Provinces, in order to stop the advance of the French into the Spanish Netherlands (GDEL, V, 3201).

Ianum claudet] L. refers to the doors of the Temple of Janus in Rome, which were closed in times of peace.

ne scribamus... et Romano] The *clausula* (*dispondee*) in 'et Romano' and the predominance of long syllables in this phrase might be interpreted as emphasizing the lasting character of Latin.

35 'Romano?' dixerit quis, 'Quasi vero Romani ipsi non persuadeant exemplo, ut faciamus longe secus. Quando enim apud illos usitata in inscribendo monumento lingua non patria? Quando Graeca? Tametsi Graeca eodem Romanis erat loco, quo nobis Romana.' Nunc demum versari vobis fortasse videor in lubrico: mirum enim quam multos captiosissima si(34)militudo a recto abduxerit. Pressis itaque vestigiis placet hic insistere et progredi, ne videar difficilem et plenum insidiarum locum oratorio artificio transilisse potius, quam lento et considerato gradu superasse.

Pressis itaque vestigiis] L. aims at an argument developed by Charpentier, at least according to Charpentier himself in his *De l'Excellence* (1683, I, 14): 'Mais j'avouë que j'attendois toute autre chose d'un homme qui promet en quelque endroit de son Discours, de me suivre pied à pied.' [in the margin:] 'Pressis vestigiis placet insistere & progredi. *Oratione de Monum. publ. Latine inscrib.* p. 34.'

36 Romani, inquit, intra Latii fines numquam stabili monumento Graecum epigramma appinxerunt. Esto illud, quod tamen universe audacius dicitur quam verius. Sunt quippe ibi elogia Graece scripta, non multa quidem, sed sunt tamen. Do autem esse nulla. Quid ita factum a Romanis? Audiant, quotquot sunt adversarii fundatissimae huius sententiae nostrae; simul enim intellegent quam non eodem gradu (35)et numero Graecus sermo Latinis fuerit, quo nobis Latinus est.

37 Quod abstinerint illi Graecis inscriptionibus non ascribo Graecanitatibus inscientiae, licet Lucio Scipioni Barbati filio, cum ante Duillianam columnam titulum monumentumque decernerent, fari Graece vix possent qui cum Graecis vixdum rem habuerant. Non confero in contemptum nationis, etsi a postremis consulibus perdomita Graecia coeperat victoribus despicatui esse. Non tribuo utriusque populi rivalitati et odio, quamvis sub primis imperatoribus minutos homines nimium iam familiares odebant nec ferre poterant Quirites Graecam urbem. Multo (36)minus hoc, quidquid est, assigno imperiosissimae gentis indoli, quae tamen ori frena et linguis devictarum gentium iugum imponere quodammodo satagebat. A quibus quam procul absit Gallis innata humanitas, litterarum amor exterarum, moderatio animi et avita quaedam in Romanum nomen observantia ignorare arbitror neminem. Id unum aio, quod cum reliqua oratione coniunctissimum est, viguisse Graecam linguam quo tempore vigeat Romana, utramque pariter instabilem et consuetudini servientem, ac Graecam quidem, haud paulo post, quam interiit Romana, viguisse. His addo nostram nunc vigere mutarique adeo (37)in dies, Romanam in usu communi esse desiisse, et vicissitudine omnino uti nulla.

Graecanitatis] According to CDS, this word is only attested in Desiderius Erasmus's *Epistulae*. On the contrary, 'Graecanicus' is already attested in ancient literature. Cp., however, Johann Ramming, *Neulateinische Wortliste. Ein Wörterbuch des Lateinischen von Petrarca bis 1700* <www.neulatein.de>, s.v.: the word occurs in Valla.

Lucio Scipioni Barbati filio] In the margin: 'vixit circa annum CDLVII. Sirmondus' ('lived about 457. Sirmond'). The Jesuit Jacques Sirmond (1559-1651) taught rhetoric in Paris. In 1590 he was summoned to Rome by Acquaviva, general of the Jesuit order, to become his secretary. During his stay in Rome, Sirmond got acquainted with several Italian intellectuals of his day, thus gaining access to the Vatican Library. He applied himself to numismatic research and to the study of ancient manuscripts, inscriptions and monuments in Rome. In 1637, Sirmond became Louis XIII's confessor (BU, XXXIX, 415-416). L. refers to one of the numerous dissertations composed by Sirmond, treating the Old Latin epitaph for the son of Lucius

Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, viz. Lucius Cornelius Scipio, consul in 495/259 and censor in 469/258. The tomb with the funeral epitaph was found in Rome. Cp. *The Afterlife of Inscriptions. Reusing, Rediscovering, Reinventing & Revitalizing Ancient Inscriptions*, ed. A. Cooley, Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplement, 75 (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 2000), p. 83: 'The discovery of the *elogium* of Lucius Cornelius Scipio from the Tomb of the Scipios on the Via Appia in 1614 prompted the Jesuit scholar Jacques Sirmond to compose a short treatise, written in 1616 and published the following year. [n. 38: CIL I² 9; *Antiquae inscriptionis, qua L. Scipionis Barbati F. expressum est elogium* (Paris 1617)] In this he translates the text from archaic into Ciceronian Latin, successfully relates this Scipio to his father Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, and sees that he was censor with the Gaius Duilius recorded on the Columna Rostrata inscription. He examines the language of the inscription, for example quoting Festus to explain that 'duonoro' is an archaic form of the adjective 'bonus', and claims that grammatical rules were not formulated when the text was written. He also adduces literary sources for the career of this Scipio, including Florus and Orosius.' For the full text of the epitaph, cp. CIL I² 9 (p. 379).

perdomita Graecia... esse] Cp. in contrast Hor., *epist.*, 2, 1, 156-157a (ed. Borzsák): 'Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artis | intulit agresti Latio.' **quamvis... oderant]** For 'quamvis' construed with an indicative, cp. Alfred Ernout – François Thomas, *Syntaxe latine*, Nouvelle collection à l'usage des classes, 38 (Paris: Editions Klincksieck, 1972²), p. 352: 'Comme conjonction concessive, *quamvis* s'est lié au subjonctif potentiel [...] Dans cette acception, l'influence de *quamquam* entraîne parfois — quoique plus rarement — l'indicatif: Ier exemple, Lucrèce 3, 403; peut-être Cic., *Rab. Post.* 4: *quamvis patrem suum numquam uiderat* (mss.); surtout, en dehors de la prose classique: Nep. I, 2, 3; Vg., *B.* 3, 84; *Én.* 5, 542; Hor., *S. I.* 3, 129: *quamvis tacet Hermogenes*; Liv. 2, 40, 7; Quint. 8, 6, 73; également, chez Celse, Val. Max., Sén., juristes, écrivains ecclésiastiques.'

imperiosissimae] The superlative is not attested in Cicero's writings, but it is in other classical authors (CDS). Though the use of superlatives is not an 'un-Ciceronian' device (most of the superlatives used by L. are attested in Cicero's writings [CDS]), L. inserts them very lavishly: there are 38 instances of them in the proper speech text.

minutos homines] Cp. Juvenal on the Greeks whom he finds to stand too close to the Emperor. Juv., 3, 69-72 (ed. Willis): 'Hic alta Sicyone, ast hic Amydone relictæ, | hic Andro, ille Samo, hic Trallibus aut Alabandis, | Esquilias dictumque petunt a vimine collem, | viscera magnarum domuum dominique futuri.' Also cp. Lucas, *Actio oratoris*, 1, 156-159, where the author alludes to the same passage (with quotation of Juv., 3, 76-77): '[...] Secum omnem Graeculus audax | ferre hominem augusta quondam iactabat in urbe, | grammaticus, rhetor, geometres, pictor, aliptes, | augur, schoenobates, medicus, magus, omnia. [...]']

uti nulla] *Clausula* (dispondee).

38 Quare — ut ille idem Tullius, ex quo argumentationis primordia et quasi praecurrentia duxi, scribebat ad Caesarem: cum *monumenti et tituli ratio nos admoneat, non tam*, in delectu materiae et sermonis, *gratiam praesentis temporis, quam memoriam spectari posteritatis oportere* — nec Romanos Graeca, etsi elegantior esset, nec Graecos Romana nec Persas aut Aegyptios alterutra lingua uti pro sua conveniebat ac decebat. Quemadmodum Hispanica, Sclavonica, Germa(38)nica, quae pariter vivunt et variant ac nostra, minus decore et congruenter uteremur. Sapienter vero maiores nostri retinentissimi dignitatis suae et gloriae supra quam dici potest cupidi, sapienter ornamentum Galliae et Gallicae Academiae fundator Richelius ceterique qui easdem ab eo reipublicae partes susceperunt, sapienter populi quaquaversus omnes, quoties aeterna virtuti heroicae laudum insignia statuenda fuerunt, suae, propter constantiam, propter celebritatem, non modo suae, sed etiam Graecae et Hebraicae linguam Latinam antetulerunt. Quorum exempla sequi quid est cur dubitemus, quicumque Ludovico publi(39)cum aliquod elogium meditamur? Sic enim, quod hactenus effecisse dicendo videor, illum certius commendabimus aeternitati consequentium temporum; sic, quod alterum orationis caput est, magnificentius etiamnum universitati populorum ostendemus.

monumenti et tituli... oportere] Cp. the quotation used as a departure point in §2.

retinentissimi] Attested in classical authors, but not in Cicero (CDS).

Richelius] Armand-Jean du Plessis de Richelieu (1585-1642), cardinal and statesman, prime minister of Louis XIII and founder of the *Académie française* (BU, XXXV, 613-625).

ceterique qui easdem... partes susceperunt] Jules Mazarin (1602-1661), cardinal and successor to Richelieu. After Louis XIII's death, Mazarin governed France together with the former's widow, Anne of Austria, since the successor to the throne, the future Louis XIV, was too young to govern himself (BU, XXVII, 412-424). Mazarin would continue to do so until his death in 1661. From then on, Louis XIV would no longer have a prime minister. Still, Jean-Baptiste Colbert was very influential as a minister (GDEL, IX, 6409).

etiam Graecae et Hebraicae] Pregnant words: Latin does not only overrule the vernaculars, but also the two other 'sacred languages'.

39 Quod monumentum abstrusis in profundo fundamentis imponitur, ut diutissime consistat, idem, ut ab quamplurimis ex longo etiam intervallo cernatur, sublime extollitur et in frequenti ac propatulo loco collocatur. Ita positionis nimirum firmitas ad diuturnitatem, proceritas structurae ad pompam prospectumque et quandam quasi ostentationem quaeritur; (40)

et hoc alterum in inscriptione caput est, lingua si scribatur pervagatissima et his praeterea exaretur scripturae ductibus, qui nec fugiant, nec vaneant, sed emineant et se prodant quodammodo populis undecumque visendi studio accurrentibus. Indidemque existit, ni fallor, cautio et provisio quae adhibetur tam accurata et diligens, ut niteat solum ipsum cui inhaeret inscriptio, ut aequabile, ut apertum, ut in bono lumine sit, ut litteratura omnis sine litura, sine mendo, sine macula, ut litterarum color aureus, forma maiuscula, voces ferme omnes secretae et distinctae interpunctionibus. Haec enim omnia, nisi eo fieri, ut ad (41) plurimos scripta pertineant, cernimus, caeci sumus.

pervagatissima] The CDS returns no parallels for this form.

40 Neque vero temere et causa vel nulla, vel levi. Id siquidem cordi est heroibus qui se cumque ad magna praestanda monumenti cupiditate duci sinunt, ut non modo, cum abierint e vivis, ne abeant ex hominum memoria, sed etiam ut tum, cum vivunt, ibi, ubicumque non adsunt praesentia corporis, adsint fama et praedicatione virtutis. Quod sane frustra sperent illi, si minus multae gentes rerum gestarum testes litteras perlegunt atque intellegunt. Sin autem quam affectant cum immortalis et infinite diffuso numine similitudinem sic assequuntur, ut perennitates tem(42)porum omnium perpetuitate laudis et immensitates omnium locorum dilatazione nominis adaequant.

nominis adaequent] *Clausula* (first paeon + spondee).

41 En, si rem qua de agitur recte sapio, en, auditores, quo omne elogiorum monumentorumque genus dirigitur. En quod tribuit semideis superstitiosa antiquitas, quod contulit Caesaribus et imperatoribus suis Roma, quod Ludovico Magno Luparae et triumphalis arcus inscriptiones dabunt. Quidni enim confiteamur sponte de gloriando, si quod umquam fuit, et prae nobis ferendo consilio? Ita est, ea mens, is sensus, haec voluntas nobis, ut monumento in uno ostendamus orbi terrarum omnium ac (43) gentium virtutes regis summas; eoque animum et curas intendimus, ut unius elogii voce Ludovici nomen, ubi ubi homines sunt, audiatur.

ubi ubi] Mainly attested in ancient comedy (Plautus and Terence) (CDS).

42 Quod consequemur sine dubio, nisi praepostero vernaculi sermonis amore obsistant quibus perhonorificum utriusque vel alterutrius monumenti inscribendi negotium committetur. Quemcumque enim se in regiarum aedium capite summo nominari rex sinet — sive exstinctorem

bellorum civilium a puero, sive a prima adolescentia administratorem regni totius unicum, sive domitorem externorum hostium ferme innumerabilium, sive domi et foris propugnatorem religionis, (44)legum latorem optimarum —, videbit aula, videbunt ad aulam missi undique de pace et bello oratores. Quodcumque nos in fronte et utroque inchoati arcus latere eius nomini supponemus — seu: 'Condato et Bochanio, in conspectu quadragies mille eoque amplius hostium captis', seu: 'ter victa ad Messanam, semel exusta ad Panormum Batavorum et Hispanorum classe' seu: 'liberato magna cum obsidentium clade Traiecto ad Mosam', seu tale quid aliud, copia enim una laboramus —, videbunt non cives modo almae urbis, sed provinciales etiam homines, nec provinciales tantum, sed ex finitimis circumquaque regnis ad(45)venae ultimarumque incolae terrarum. Videbunt autem et legent et, si quidem lingua scriptum sit non domestica et privata, sed communi et nota variis diversisque gentibus, intellegent, mandabunt memoriae, recitabunt suis, in codicillos referent, in aes incident, ut per manus etiam disiunctissimorum populorum pervagentur.

perhonorificum] Attested in Cicero (CDS).

utriusque vel alterutrius monumenti] Viz. the triumphal arch and the *Louvre* (cp. §11).

extinctorem bellorum civilium a puero] L. alludes to the *Fronde* (1648-1653), a period of internal troubles in France, taking place during Louis XIV's minority, under the reign of Mazarin and Anne of Austria (GDEL, VII, 4566). It is in the course of this *Fronde* that Louis XIV for the first time personally intervened, viz. when he had the cardinal de Retz arrested in 1652 (GDEL, IX, 6409).

a prima adolescentia... totius unicum] Louis XIII died a few months before the fifth birthday of his son, the future Louis XIV. Although Anne of Austria already declared his majority in 1651, when he was only 15 years old, the government remained in her own hands and in those of Mazarin (cp. above).

domitorem externorum... innumerabilium] Viz. the War of Devolution and the War of Holland (cp. above; GDEL, IX, 6411).

domi et foris... religionis] The rigid religious policy of Louis XIV, 'Roi Très Chrétien', was based on Gallican principles. The triumph of the Gallican Church in France was one of his foremost concerns and gave rise to tough measures against Jews and Protestants. The Sun King also came into conflict with the popes Innocent XI and Alexander VIII, as he wanted to assert his independent and personal power over the Church in France (GDEL, IX, 6410). Due to the Gallican line followed by Louis XIV, L. could not present him as the champion of the Roman Catholic Church in France, which would otherwise have been a very powerful authority argument in favour of Latin.

legum latorem optimarum] A general qualification which might be understood as a reference to the radical reorganization of government and administration, carried out by Louis XIV and Colbert (GDEL, IX, 6409). The association with Caesar Augustus and the Pax Augusta is subtly hinted at.

Condato et Bochanio... seu tale quid aliud] A series of fictitious inscriptions which praise Louis XIV for his military accomplishments in the War of Devolution and in the War of Holland. Condé-sur-l'Escaut ('Condato') and Bouchain ('Bochanio') are two cities on the banks of the Scheldt (French: l'Escaut), formerly belonging to the Spanish Netherlands (nowadays in the north of France), which fell into the hands of Louis XIV during the War of Holland (1676) (OLO; GDEL, II, 1378; IV, 2490; VIII, 5309).

ter victa ad Messanam... Hispanorum classe] 'From 1674 [...] the French navy fought alone, concentrating its efforts to the Mediterranean. There it won a series of victories, culminating in the successful Battle of Palermo [Lat. *Panormum*] of 1676 against Dutch and Spanish forces, establishing itself as a major power at sea.' (*The Oxford Encyclopedia of Maritime History*, ed. J.B. Hattendorf, 4 vols [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007], II, 701). As a city under Spanish rule, Messina (Lat. *Messana*, in the northeast of Sicily) took advantage of the war between France and Holland, and of Spain's interference in the conflict to put itself in the hands of the duc du Maine, son of the king of France and madame de Montespan. The situation resulted in the Sicilian operations, executed from 1674 to 1678 by Dusquesne and Vivonne. They were charged to help the inhabitants of Messina, who were revolting against the Catholic king of Spain. The French also used this intervention as a diversion. Four sea battles resort under the 'Sicilian operations': (1) February 11, 1675: *première bataille du Stromboli / de Lipari / de Melazzo*; (2) January 8, 1676: *deuxième bataille du Stromboli / d'Alicudi*; (3) April 22, 1676: *bataille d'Agosta / du Mont Gibel / de Syracuse / de Famagouste*; (4) June 2, 1676: victory of France at Palermo (OLO; *Dictionnaire d'histoire maritime*, éd. Michel Vergé-Franceschi, 2 vols [Paris: Bouquins, 2002], II, 972; Philippe de Villette-Mursay, *Mes campagnes de mer sous Louis XIV. Avec un dictionnaire des personnages et des batailles. Introduction et notes par Michel Vergé-Franceschi. Préface de François Bluche*, Collection In-texte [Paris: Tallandier, 1991], pp. 92-95).

liberato magna... ad Mosam] L. refers to an event during the War of Holland. In June 1673, Louis XIV conquered Maastricht, thus forming an immediate threat to the Spanish Netherlands (GDEL, VIII, 5309).

almae urbis] Viz. the city of Paris. Note the association with the 'alma urbs', the pacified Rome of the emperor Augustus.

43 Sicunde porro certa esse potest meritissimo regi famae diffusio in omnem partem infinita, hinc est profecto certissima. Cum enim apertissima semper exteris nationibus fuerit et hospitalis nunc ut cum maxime sit Lutetia, idem est orbi et urbi pervulgatissimi sermonis inscriptione re(46)gem maximum commendare.

meritissimo... certissima... apertissima] The three superlatives are attested in Cicero, but their density strikes the present-day reader as baroque. The superlative 'pervulgatissimi' is not attested in Cicero, but it is in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (CDS), regarded by L. as written by Cicero — in his *Actio oratoris*, L. quotes from it with the mention 'Cic. ad Herennium'. **orbi et urbi]** Provided that these words are an intended allusion to the papal blessing 'Urbi et Orbi', they put Paris on a par with Rome, in line with Louis XIV's Gallican policy.

44 Quocirca popularium inscriptionum artifices, qui nihil causae dicunt quin numismata, quia tractantur manu et facili negotio in regiones quam voles dissitas deportantur, Latino signemus lemmate, videant ne pugnent ipsi secum, dum hoc idem in stabili monumento fieri negant oportere. Nam quid differre putant, leve monumentum et mobile conveniat per se populos, an spissum certoque fixum loco co<n>veniant populi? Quid, si monumentum quidem stet ipsum mole sua, effigies descripta et titulus quoquo libuerit deferatur? Quid, si num<m>i et signi peraeque volitet inscriptio? An non par (47)utrimque linguae, quae sub permultorum intelligentiam cadat, necessitas, cum par aut prope par spectantium sit lectorumque multitudo?

numismata] L. refers to the coins and medals with Latin Sun King propaganda (cp. above).

num<m>i] However, the spelling with a single 'm' might be justifiable, cp. *Firminus Verris* (DLD): 'NUMUS - a numerus dicitur numus, numi quia numeratur vel dicitur numus, quasi nomus a nomine quia nominibus principum numi effigiantur et scribitur numus per unum "m"'. *Lewis and Short* (DLD), too, mention 'numus' as an alternative for 'nummus'. The second etymology offered by *Firminus Verris* is analogous to the *figura etymologica* based on the kinship between 'monere' and 'monumentum' (cp. §2) and is compatible with the line of thought in this paragraph.

45 Equidem dicam illud paulo iracundius quam cetera; vos feretis, auditores, ubi regis existimatio agitur, orationem paulum effervescere et fieri seipsa acerbior. Anguste nimis illi abiecteque sentiunt de amplitudine regii nominis deque monumentorum ratione omni, qui hanc utramque brevioribus sane Galliae finibus et quasi cancellis circumscribunt. Errant si ulterius patere volunt et populares tantum notas monumentis impertiant.

Anguste... impertiant] Cp. Cic., *Arch.*, 23 (ed. Kasten): 'Nam si quis minorem gloriae fructum putat ex Graecis versibus percipi quam ex Latinis, vehementer errat, propterea quod Graeca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus, Latina suis finibus exiguis sane continentur.'

46 Praeclarum enimvero et hoc (48)sumptu, his impensis mercandum nomen, si rex hic Parisiis, in Gallia, apud suos, ut gnavus sed obscurus pater familias intra domesticos parietes, at nec citra, nec ultra celebretur! Quid porro — Deus immortalis! — excitata perillustri mole et exquisitis litteris manifestare nobis velle egregia laudatissimi principis facta, nisi facem in solem ferre et actum agere, est, cum dicta et paene cogitata eius teneamus cuncti, cum renarremus eius saepenumero victorias, cum in expeditione Belgica, Batavica, Sequanica castrorum metationes, hostium fugae, caedes, progressiones, morae, regressiones tam unicuique civium notae (49)sint, quam quae notissima? Eone venisse hominum ingeniosissimorum memorabilem ceteroqui in rebus aestimandis prudentiam, ut arbitrentur valde laborandum nobis ne arcus triumphalis titulum non intellegant ipsi per se suoque sensu diiudicent tabernarii, baiuli, mulierculae ceterique quibus nullus ferme praeter hunc oculorum et aurium est sensus?

laudatissimi] Attested in Ovid and very frequently in Pliny the Elder, but not in Cicero (CDS).

in expeditione Belgica, Batavica, Sequanica] L. refers to several phases of the War of Holland.

47 Agite vero, viri, quique et quot estis eiusmodi, considerati sane nimis et plus aequo circumspecti: quando vos minuta ista sollicitant, monstatorem, ut fit, perpetuum conducite pretio, qui assistat monumento et plebi infimae caprariisque ac bubsequis qui e rure suburbano (50)in urbem veniunt, omnia indiget et alta voce popularem hunc titulum pronuntiet. Interest enim vestro iudicio ad regis gloriam, ut illum eiusmodi etiam viri capiant. At plerique usque eo eruditos oculos non habent, ut legere ipsi possint.

48 Quinetiam, ut in malis olim picturis fieri solitum accepimus, addite inferius Gallicam interpretationem signorum quibus aedificii facies exterior adornatur. Leo iste Belgium, haec aquila Germaniam adumbrat. Hic Gallus Hercules, hic Mars, hic Neptunus, haec crinita anguibus Discordia. Sunt enim de mediastinis tam multi, qui fabulosae imagines et docta symbola quid sibi velint igno(51)rent, quam ex honestis civibus, qui Latinitatis prorsus expertes adoleverint.

Leo iste Belgium, haec aquila Germaniam adumbrat] Two frequently recurring figures in the heraldries of respectively the Netherlands and 'Germany'.

Hic Gallus Hercules, hic Mars, hic Neptunus... Discordia] Mars symbolizes Louis XIV's military bravery and fame, and is well represented in the decoration at Versailles and at the *Louvre* (GDEL, X, 6699). Hercules iconographically represents 'fortitudo', one of the four cardinal virtues. He is a very present figure in Louis XIV's royal vestibules, where he stands for the king himself (GDEL, VIII, 5237-5238). On the *Porte Saint-Martin* (cp. above), Louis XIV is portrayed as Mars and as Hercules (<www.insecula.com>). Neptune stands for the royal dominion over the seas (cp. the triumph at Palermo). He is depicted on mosaics at the *Louvre* and belongs to a sculpture group (*Neptune et Amphitrite*) in Versailles (GDEL, X, 7332-7333). On 'Gallus Hercules', also cp. R. Barroux, 'Hercule Gaulois', in *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises. Le seizième siècle*, ed. G. Grente (Paris: Fayard, 1951), p. 375.

Neptunus] *Correxī e Neptunus.*

49 Quamquam quid vos specie cohortationis dimoveo ab plenissimo inanitatis consilio? Parcetis, sat scio, deinde vano labori, supersedebitis inutilibus interpretamentis, discedetis ab ista popularitate omni nec anxie quasi inito censu computabitis quot feminae, quot pueri, quot operarum vilissima capita Latine loqui nesciant, perinde ac si contemptissimorum hominum stupori et ignorantiae accommodare titulum eximii operis oporteret.

50 Non se tantum demittit, non eo usque se abicit ac veluti prosternit gloria, ut vili po(52)pello se primum committat. Amat illa nobilium et eruditorum per manus huc, si necesse est, descendere ac prolabi gradatim. Et, animo quidem meo, compendiaria regis praedicatio insculpenda marmori est, quae veniat in universorum et uniuscuiusque notitiam, sed certo ordine et portione rata, ut percipiant illam primum qui plus sapiunt quam ceteri, tum ex eorum ore et interpretatione plebs, quae alienis praeceptionibus et indiciis comperta magis admirari et amare solet.

51 In quo tenebimus praedicandi principis quam Deus inivit ipse praedicandi sui et patefaciendi viam. Quod enim sacrae doctrinae antistites gravi(53)ter disputant, principio Deus beatissimarum mentium summis, post mediis, demum infimis paulatim et deinceps se aperit atque indicat. Nobis vero mortalibus non promiscue omnibus, sed doctorum et magistrorum media atque interiecta opera; et quae singulos nosse pervelit, tradit iis litteris, quas uni doctrinae et ingenii principes norunt, reddere autem non sine reprehensione novatores plebeio sermone tentarunt. Adeo

convenit praecellentissimarum rerum ex aliis derivari in alios scientiam, sive id reverentiae adversus maiores excitandae, sive tuendae omnium inter omnes societatis gratia fit.

quam Deus inivit] Cp. above and Waquet, *Le latin ou l'empire d'un signe*, pp. 285-286.

novatores plebeio sermone] L. aims at the Protestants and their vernacular Bible translations, like the one made by Luther. Cp. Waquet, *Le latin ou l'empire d'un signe*, p. 285 and e.g. Wilhelm Ribhegge, 'Latein und die nationalen Sprachen bei Erasmus von Rotterdam, Martin Luther und Thomas More', in *Latein und Nationalsprachen in der Renaissance. Vorträge des 37. Wolfenbütteler Symposions in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel vom 25. bis 28. September 1995*, ed. B. Guthmüller, Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung, 17 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), pp. 151-180.

52 Ut ut est autem, exploratissi(54)mum iam illud est, alienigenis et popularibus, doctis et ignaris rerum, plebi et principibus viris communiter, sed his prius, posterius ac secundo tantum loco istis scribendum esse Ludovici elogium, nisi regiae famae alas praecidere, ut sic loquar, et infinitam amplitudinem gloriae intra brevius iusto spatium coarctare et restringere praesumimus. Id vero, si ita fiat, ut volumus, id item erit quod velle omnes debemus, ut simul nobis ad amorem et venerationem, hostibus ad terrorem, sociis ad fiduciam, omnibus ad exemplum aut admirationem potius Ludovicus ex perbrevis praeconio uno, quantus quantus est, innotescat.

Ut ut] Attested almost exclusively in ancient comedy (Plautus and Terence) (CDS).

quantus est, innotescat] *Clausula* (cretic + ditrochee).

53 (55) Nec iam dicere attinet praeconi regiarum virtutum ac velut buccinatori monumento quae lingua tribui debeat, ut in eius — quoad fieri potest — sermone gens nulla surda sit. Satis enim, vel me tacente, sentitis universi unam esse quae tantum suscipere, tantundem exsequi possit. Latinam dico, quam in oras habitabiles omnes primum violenter et quasi pro potestate ac victoriae iure Romanorum arma intulerunt; quam deinde blanda et innoxia triumphatrix animorum religio expiatam consecratamque produxit longius nec minori quam ipsam Christi Ecclesiam ditione donavit; quam ex eo scholae sacrae, prophanae, amoe(56)niorum severiorumque doctrinarum susceperunt; quam studiosi plerique omnes certatim amplectuntur a teneris; quam scriptores ad unum, in iis operibus

quae fines patriae praetergredi volunt, affectant; quam adsciverunt sibi inde usque ab heroicis temporibus trophaea ceteraque victoriarum monumenta; cuius laureati apices omnes, palmares syllabae, voces triumphales; qua demum loqui articulate et humano ritu gloria militaris si velit, cum propter consuetudinem, tum propter copiam splendoremque vocum et maiestatem ac robur significantissimae et brevissimae orationis, loquatur. Ut satis nequeam mirari exstitisse hac (57) aetate quemquam amantem aequi nec veri inscium, qui contra fas et ius omne tot annorum possessionem movere aggressus sit, ut, quo plurimum valet, indulgeret ingenio liberius et patriae linguae studiosis gratificaretur.

Christi Ecclesiam] That is, the diffusion of Latin coincides with the diffusion of Christianity.

significantissimae] Attested in ancient literature, not in Cicero (CDS).

54 Hic non sum inscius quam se latus ad dicendum campus aperiatur, si in laudes Latini sermonis excurram. Verum id memini investigare me, non quanto praestabilius universim, sed inscribendis publicorum operum monumentis quanto aptior lingua sit Latina vulgari. Quamobrem Latinitatis decora omnia videns et volens praeterito nec respondeo vanissimis criminationibus quorundam e nostris, (58) qui nos interdum inopes vocant, se divites, quod tria aut quattuor, quae abiecerimus, tamquam e sterquilino legerint purgamenta verborum; qui nobis interdum vitio vertunt conversionem illam admirabilem orationis, qua id, quod re prius est, fit saepe artificiosa collocatione posterius, non ex necessitate quadam, sed pro arbitrio, ad varietatem scilicet suavitatemque numerorum. Satis dixero: haec qui palatum habent et gustum, nosse qualia sint.

Hic non... nosse qualia sint] L. continuously exploits the tension between *praeteritio* and *digressio*.

inscribendis... Latina] Cp. the title of the oration.

qui nos interdum inopes vocant] On the topos of *Spracharmut* in Latin literature, cp. Martin Müller-Wetzel, 'Der Topos von der Spracharmut. Typen seiner Funktionalisierung in der lateinischen Literatur der Antike und Spätantike', in *Muster und Funktionen kultureller Selbst- und Fremdwahrnehmung. Beiträge zur internationalen Geschichte der sprachlichen und literarischen Emanzipation*, eds. U.-C. Sander – F. Paul, (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2000), pp. 120-145 and, comprehensively, Thorsten Fögen, "*Patrii sermonis egestas*": *Einstellungen lateinischer Autoren zu ihrer Muttersprache. Ein Beitrag zum Sprachbewußtsein in der römischen Antike*, *Beiträge Zur Altertumskunde*, 150 (Munich – Leipzig: Saur, 2000).

conversionem illam admirabilem orationis] On the *ordo artificiosus* in Latin, cp. Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric. A Foundation*

for *Literary Study*. Foreword by George A. Kennedy. Translated by Matthew T. Bliss, Annemiek Jansen, David E. Orton. Edited by David E. Orton & R. Dean Anderson (Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill, 1998), pp. 212-214. L. might also be hinting at the alleged logical or natural word order which was said to be typical of French, cp. John E. Joseph, *Limiting the Arbitrary. Linguistic naturalism and its opposites in Plato's Cratylus and modern theories of language* (Amsterdam – Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2000), p. 111; also cp. Anthony Lodge, 'French is a Logical Language', in *Language Myths*, eds. L. Bauer – P. Trudgill (London et alib.: Penguin, 1998), pp. 23-31 and, more in general, Pierre Swiggers, 'La clarté du français: Examen d'un "idéologème"', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 126 (2010), 443-459.

palatum] In this sense frequently attested in Cicero and Seneca (CDS).

55 Illud mihi imperare non possum ut sileam, tanti vulgo in elogiis brevitate fieri, ut syllabarum quoque et apicum compendia faciamus; brevisloquentiam vero ita Latinorum (59) propriam, ut ne se quidem in eo aequiparare illis ulla Gallicorum scriptorum rivalitas queat. Caret enim Latinitas adiuvantibus illis verbis toties in populari locutione iteratis. Non eget articulis, qui nomina semper praecurrant et deducant quasi praetentato, quocumque iter est, gressu. Non opus habet vincientibus et insinuantibus sese particulis illis minutis, quae lacunas impleant hiulci sermonis et rimas obducant. Habet abruptas dicendi formas et solutos casus nominum. Reprimit se derepente ac sustentat et quodammodo suspendit. Tacet et reservat sibi multa, quae lector subaudita occupat et praeripit, nec (60) sine voluptate. Unde fit ut non modo diffundendo latius nomini magis idonea lingua Romana, sed ad complectendas brevi victorias tot, quot ret<u>lit Ludovicus, plane nobis necessaria videatur.

56 Quae dum ego quam vere tam asseveranter pronuntio, absum ab eo plurimum, ut verear ne apud viros sapientes, ut estis, offendam, quasi probrosum sit nobis, si minus armorum gloria, at sermonis et imperii diffusionem Romanis tantillum concedere ac non magnum potius ad eos accedere, nec longo proximis esse intervallo. Pergam itaque ut coepi, nec in tantis solidae gloriae luminibus inanis gloriolae umbras sectabor aut (61) in animum inducam umquam ut alienis patriae laudibus et falsis veras obscurem et nostras. Pugnamus fortiter — ut nihil supra —, nationes numero infinitas vicimus, nondum tamen Asiam, Africam, Europam totam sub ditione, ut habuerunt Romani, habemus, nec quo pervasit armorum terror, ibi subsedit imperii maiestas et proprietas vernaculae dictionis. Loquimur nunc eleganter — ut numquam melius —, nondum

tamen Marones, Tullios, Livios, Flaccos, quos imitatione sequimur, assecuti scribendo et loquendo sumus. Gallice discunt praeter Gallos multi, nondum tamen Horti, Lycaea, Porticus; nondum theologorum exedrae, (62)rhetorum pulpita, medicorum iurisque consultorum officinae, ut Latinum, ita vulgarem hunc nostrum sermonem sonant.

Pergam itaque ut coepi] Cp. the famous passage in Cic., *Catil.*, 1, 10 (ed. Müller, my emphasis): 'Quae cum ita sint, Catilina, *perge*, quo coepisti, egredere aliquando ex urbe; patent portae; proficiscere.'

alienis... nostras] Cp. Cic., *Marcell.*, 30 (ed. Müller, my emphasis): 'Id autem etiamsi tum ad te, ut quidam [falso] putant, non pertinebit, nunc certe pertinet esse te talem, ut tuas laudes obscuratura nulla umquam sit oblivio.'

Horti, Lycaea, Porticus] L. aims at the philosophers adhering to different schools, respectively Epicureanism, Aristotelism and Stoicism.

57 Omitto disparia persequi cetera. Nobis qui sermo patrius, ille ceteris, etsi cognitus, tamen peregrinus est. Latinus nulli patrius, nulli peregrinus, sed medius — ut sic loquar — et nullius partis ac gentis. Verbo lapsus sum, auditores: omnium proprius germanusque ac prope nativus dici debuit qui donatus est iure civitatum omnium atque regnorum, ut ipsi iam peregrinitatem exprobare nihil sit aliud, nisi se ipsum in litteris hospitem et peregrinum fateri.

58 Verum enimvero ubivis gen(63)tium peregre sit Latinus sermo. Hic, apud nos, non est in alieno advena, in commodato hospes, in conducto inquilinus. Habitat in suo, susceptus in urbes, adscriptus oppidis, admissus in pagos ipsos, ubique in Gallia ius natalicium obtinet — praesertim ex quo coepit regi esse in pretio, Delphino in usu familiari, regiae stirpis principibus in deliciis, Gallicae nobilitati in amoribus.

59 Et vero, quis linguam hospitari illam tantum et peregrinari inter nos putet, cui non modo propria, ut olim, domicilia constituta publico sumptu ac ferme regio, verum etiam in aula ipsa datus, non ad breve tempus et per certa intervalla commo(64)randi, sed continenter et in perpetuum cum Delphino habitandi locus? Egone ut verear aut vereri me similem ne, si Latine arcus triumphalis Delphinum admoneat officii et ad patris imitationem exstimulet oratione tacita et scripta, non intellegat ille admirabili ingenio princeps, quem audivimus saepe cum tam expedite Latina Gallice, Gallica Latine redderet, ut mihi ceterisque nec iniquis talium rerum aestimatoribus utriusque linguae scientissimus videretur? Eritne postea Latinitatis ut Gallorum aliquem paeniteat aut pudeat? Erit inter

summos, mediocres, imos, qui has avide litteras non arripiat a puero? Sane exempla iam tanta faciunt ut e Belgio, (65)Italia, Anglia, Polonia remotioribusque regionibus aliis principum filii cum vestris in has Claromontanas aedes confluant discendi gratia. Quod mirum alias fuerit fortasse, nunc mirari desiimus, ex quo dux ipse Borbonius, Enguinei filius, Condaei nepos, neutri degener, non inde Latinarum litterarum doctores ad se evocat in palatium, sed patris, patruī et avi impressa ad immortalitatis memoriam in Musarum aedibus vestigia relegens, huc ipse ventitat ut sermonis ad heroicae virtutis praeconium nati scientiam e publicis fontibus perfectius hauriat et plenius.

quem audivimus... videretur?] Quoted in Amable-Pierre Floquet, *Bossuet: précepteur du Dauphin, fils de Louis XIV, et évêque à la cour (1670-1682)* (Paris: Didot, 1864 [GB]), p. 190. The following words of Bossuet, quoted by Floquet on the same page, confirm that L. witnessed the Dauphin's progress: 'Monseigneur, en effet, dès l'âge de cinq ou six ans, avait pu, comme en se jouant, traduire nombre de mots latins; et un témoin oculaire, poète élégant, le père Jean Lucas, juge fort compétent, le déclara dans l'un de ses ouvrages.'

summos, mediocres, imos] Cp. §51: 'mentium summis, post mediis, demum infimis'.

dux ipse Borbonius, Enguinei filius, Condaei nepos] 'dux ipse Borbonius' refers to Louis, duke of Bourbon-Condé (1668-1710). 'Enguinei' stands for his father, Henri-Jules of Bourbon, prince of Condé and (semi-officially) duke of Enghien (1643-1709). 'Condaei' refers to his grandfather, Louis II of Bourbon, prince of Condé, surnamed 'le Grand Condé'. The latter led several expeditions during Louis XIV's reign; the other two fought under Louis XIV as well. Hence, it was an honour to count members of this family under the pupils of the *Collège de Clermont* (BU, V, 275; IX, 12-13; IX, 10-12).

60 O vere beata tempora, gloriosa Latinis litteris earumque (66)studiosis, mihi ad obtinendum illud quod hodie pugno opportuna! Mihi credite, nobiles Academici. Quamquam erro — et erravi saepe —, omnes enim appellare videor, cum non pauci ex spectatissimo ordine stent pro me in hac causa vel contra suos. Mihi, inquam, credite, quiqui hanc Latinitati litem intendistis: alieno id fecistis tempore. Quid enim? Nobis ius triumphalis elogii conscribendi perantiquum et ab omni memoria concessum refragante nemine abrogari vultis? Aetas litterata est; non feret. Litterata aula; non sinet. Delphinus litterarum Latinarum sciens supra aetatem et fortunam; nolet, vetabit, ob(67)sistet per se et per eos quos habet moderatores studiorum, clarissima omnis litteraturae lumina.

O vere beata tempora] Cp. Cicero's famous exclamation 'O tempora, o mores!', repeated in several of his speeches: *dom.*, 137, *Verr.*, 2, 4, 56, *Catil.*, 1, 1 and *Deiot.*, 31 (CDS).

ex spectatissimo ordine] Viz. the *Académie française* (cp. above).

61 Ac illud profecto ne fiat, non tam nostra, quam regis ipsius causa, omni ope obniti oportet praefectum urbis et aediles. Nam si rex unus umquam inter omnes fuit praedicandus populis qui ne fando quidem maternas has litteras audiverunt, is certe noster est, in quo summa et immensa omnia: mens, animus, virtus, fortuna, res gestae, nomen ipsum; cuius magnitudinem non assentatio procerum, sed vox una populi, in qua divinum quid inest, orbi fecit universo parem nec impari pluribus. (68) Quare tantum abest ut triumphalis elogii restringenda nunc amplitudo sit ad modum ditionis et locutionis Gallicae, ut regibus aliis hos si pangere terminos, hunc finire modum laudis et gloriae decuisset, huic praeter ceteros uni longitudo nulla, nulla latitudo propagandi nominis definienda sit.

assentatio procerum] Cp. above: the *Fronde*. Once the *Fronde* was suppressed, nobility was 'domesticated' and involved in Louis XIV's absolutist system (GDEL, IX, 6409).

nec impari pluribus] An obvious reference to 'nec pluribus impar', the motto of Louis XIV (GDEL, IX, 6411). L. also quotes this motto at the end of his didactic poem (*Actio oratoris*, 2, 729b-733): '[...] Iam veri Hispania testis | dic age, dic iurata alios quondam Austria in hostes | Christiadam conferre aquilas, dic ipsa Batavum | conscia gens, an non Lodoicus iure feratur | UNUS TERGEMINUM sternens, nec PLURIBUS IMPAR.'

62 Quid enim aequius dici aut fieri potest, quam ut partes orbis terrarum quattuor, quae virtutem triumphatoris suo malo expertae sunt — nisi si mirari et colere quam experiri maluerunt — intellegant ipsae per se ac nullo interprete se in partem transiisse triumphorum?

63 Tu, rex magne, Asiaticos Turcas ad Arrabonem vicisti, (69) dum bene et in tempore ac loco collocati beneficii male memores Germanos tutabaris. Tu feras et silvestres Americae gentes barbariem ponere et pacem cum tuis servare coegisti. Tu Africanos piratas et Mauros repressisti saepe. Tu Belgas, Batavos, Sequanos, Hispanos, Germanos, quam subito, quam admirabiliter, quantis et quam multis cladibus, ipse solus, reliqua spectante et plaudente potius quam iuvante Europa affecisti. Quid domi gesta persequar? Quid humanitatem tuam, mansuetudinem, placabilitatem, sapientiam, religionem, fidem, admirandam aequitatem et firmitatem

animi, in promissis (70)pactisque constantiam, in potestate et felicitate summa moderationem? Quarum luce virtutum cum complere possis omnia quae sol illustrat loca, iure consuetudo obtinuit ut principis siderum tua imago et appellatio esset. Ut enim ille, sic tu solus tantus es, et obscuratis ceteris qui tibi conferri et opponi e regione possent — absit iustae et tibi debitae laudi invidia — prope solus luces.

Tu, rex... prope solus luces] A long apostrophe to Louis XIV himself, which will be continued in the next paragraph.

Asiaticos Turcas ad Arrabonem] L. refers to the Battle of Sankt-Gotthard (Hungarian: Szent-gotthárd), a town in Hungary, at the border with Austria, where river Feistritz joins the Rába (Lat. Arrabo). On August 1, 1664, the army of the German emperor, reinforced by 6000 Frenchmen, fought the Turks of grand vizier Köprülü, resulting in the defeat of the Turkish army by the alliance (OLO; GDEL, XIII, 9242).

Americae gentes] From 1534 until 1763, Canada belonged to France as a colony and a viceroyalty (*Nouvelle-France*). As a result of internal troubles, Louis XIV and Colbert designed a new administration for *Nouvelle-France*. The monopoly on Canadian trade was assigned to a new trade company, the *Compagnie française des Indes occidentales*. In 1663, Canada was reintegrated in the crown estate and was attributed a new administration, a governor, a bishop and an intendant. They were assisted by a sovereign council, performing some political functions (GDEL, III, 1710).

Africanos piratas et Mauros] Cp. Roland Courtinat, *La piraterie barbaresque en Méditerranée. XVI-XIXe siècle* (Nice: Editions Jacques Gandini, 2002), p. 61: 'En 1662 le duc de Beaufort débarque un corps expéditionnaire à Djidjelli. Mais, assiégé par les Maures, il est contraint de se retirer après deux mois de siège. Il revient et bombarde Alger le 27 mai 1665 et Cherchel le 24 août de la même année.' Probably more important than the historical fact is the association with Pompeius, who in 67 BC gained the final victory over the pirates in the Mediterranean.

Belgas, Batavos... Germanos] L. refers to the opponents of France in the War of Devolution and in the War of Holland (cp. above).

omnia quae sol illustrat loca] The *simile* 'royal fame – sun – Sun King' is set in here and will be elaborated upon in the following paragraph.

64 Nomen igitur quod assecutus es, tantum tamque longe ac late patens, non illustrabunt, sed obscurabunt, non augebunt, sed imminuent, non dilatabunt, sed restringent, non exaggerabunt, sed deterent quo(71)dammodo, si qui in inscribendis monumentis vulgari quovis ac proprio unius gentis sermone contenti erunt. Nos, spero, immortalitati et immensitati laudum tuarum satisfaciemus utcumque, dum in te celebrando tam perennibus, tam communibus tamque notis, quam solis radii sunt, litteris utemur, id est Latinis.

utemur, id est Latinis] L. concludes his oration with a relatively rare type of *clausula* (dactyl + double trochee). It occurs in Cic., *Phil.*, 2, 98 (ed. Ramsey [cp. pp. 20-22], my emphasis): ‘cur tua misericordia *non simili fruuntur*’. The syntactic rupture caused by the words ‘id est’ gives the final *clausula* even more weight.

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‘ABSONA MUSIS’:
GIOVANNI PASCOLI’S *ECLOGA XI SIVE OVIS PECULIARIS*
AS AN APOLOGY

Not many scholars know that Virgil once considered adding an eleventh poem to the ten eclogues of his *Bucolica*. This hiatus in collective memory has everything to do with the fact that the story of this eleventh eclogue was made up in 1908 by the Italian poet Giovanni Pascoli in his Latin poem *Ecloga XI sive Ovis Peculiaris*. Since 2012 marked the centenary of Pascoli’s death, the *Fondazione Giovanni Pascoli* crowned this year the *Anno Pascoliano* and organized several activities to celebrate his poetry, which is still highly appreciated in Italy today. Although these activities have brought some renewed attention to Pascoli’s already renowned Italian poetry, his Latin work still goes largely unnoticed. This is a pity, for Pascoli’s poetry often sheds an innovative light on our classical sources. The poet has the interesting tendency to ‘fill in the blanks’ in our knowledge of classical antiquity. In numerous works he creates a poetical rendition of historical events our sources allude to, but do not recount in detail. In his *Catullo calvos*, for example, Pascoli tries to reconstruct the poems written by Catullus and Calvus alluded to in Catullus 50, as Anne Mahoney has recently shown.¹ Pascoli’s talent for Latin poetry received due appreciation in his own time: in the *Certamen Hoeufftianum*, the annual contest for Latin poetry organized by the Royal Netherlands Academy for Arts and Sciences from 1844 to 1978, Pascoli was awarded the gold medal thirteen times and *magna laus* an additional six times — an absolute record.²

¹ Anne Mahoney, ‘Poetic Play: Pascoli’s *Catullo calvos* and Catullus 50’, *International Journal of the Classical tradition*, 12 (2006), 346-363.

² *Giovanni Pascoli: Poesie Latine*, ed. introd. Manara Valgimigli, 4th edn ([Verona]: Arnaldo Mondadori, 1966), p. 588. Valgimigli’s edition contains an excellent introduction to Pascoli’s life and works as well (pp. xvii-xxviii). Good general discussions of his Latin poetry can be found in: Donatella Fogazza, ‘Les *Carmina* de Giovanni Pascoli’, *Les*

Pascoli's *Ecloga XI sive Ovis Peculiaris* is one of the poems that won him the *magna laus* (1909).³ In this article, I hope to bring renewed attention to this poem. I will try achieve this by providing a new reading of this mixture of pastoral poetry and private reflections. I will argue that *Ecloga XI* should be read as an apology for Virgil, one of Pascoli's most important poetical sources of inspiration, and in particular for Virgil's pastoral poetry. In order to do so, I will first discuss elements of criticism towards the pastoral genre in Pascoli's *Ecloga XI*. Part of this will be a discussion of what I believe to be a crucial intertext for understanding Pascoli's poem, Horace's *Sermo* 1, 5. After this, I will discuss how Pascoli acquits Virgil of these criticisms. But before all else I will provide a short overview of the contents of *Ecloga XI*, which are likely to be unfamiliar to most scholars.

1. Overview of Pascoli's *Ecloga XI sive Ovis Peculiaris*

Pascoli labels his poem an eclogue (so it seems, at least; *vide infra*), a poem in the pastoral genre, which finds its roots in the *Bucolica* of Virgil and the *Eidyllia* of Theocritus. By calling it the eleventh eclogue, Pascoli explicitly puts his poem in the Virgilian tradition: Virgil's book of pastoral poems contained ten pieces. In these eclogues, Virgil created a world of leisurely, relatively carefree herdsmen, holding singing contests, mourning lost loves, and watching their flock with only half an eye. Virgil's goatherds spoke in dactylic hexameters and in a very high, poetical style, strikingly incongruous with their rural personalities.⁴

Études Classiques, 60 (1992), 263-267; Cesare Federico Goffis, *Pascoli Antico e Nuovo*, *Filologia moderna*, 1 (Brescia: Paideia, 1969); Alfonso Traina, *Il latino del Pascoli: Saggio sul bilinguismo poetico*, 3rd edn (Bologna: Pàtron, 2006). On the *Certamen Hoeufftianum* see Daniela Gionta, 'I Certamina di poesia e prosa latina nell'Ottocento e nel Novecento', in *La poesia latina nell'area dello Stretto fra Ottocento e Novecento. Atti del Convegno di Messina, 20-21 ottobre 2000, nel centenario della nascita di Giuseppe Morabito (1900-1997)*, eds. Vincenzo Fera – Daniela Gionta – Elena Morabito, *Percorsi dei classici*, 7 (Messina: Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Umanistici, 2006), pp. 195-240.

³ Although the judges considered *Ecloga XI* to be the best entry, they thought it was not deserving of the gold medal, apparently because they noted some inconsistencies in the poem; cf. *Giovanni Pascoli: Ecloga XI sive Ovis Peculiaris*, Edizioni e Saggi Universitari di Filologia Classica, 60, introd. ed. transl. ann. Saul Bolognini (Bologna: Pàtron, 2002), pp. 9-10, 12-13.

⁴ An overview of the classic pastoral tradition, the characteristics of the bucolic genre, and Virgil's book of eclogues can be found in: *A Commentary on Virgil, Eclogues*, ed.

Interestingly, however, Pascoli's *Ecloga XI* does not follow this traditional format, as a brief overview of its contents will show.

Ecloga XI is divided in three parts and consists of 187 dactylic hexameters. In the first part (1-50) the reader meets Virgil and his two friends Marcus Plotius Tucca and Lucius Varius Rufus on their way to meet up with Horace and Maecenas.⁵ In this respect, *Ecloga XI* is a prime example of Pascoli's tendency to 'fill the gaps' in our knowledge of classical antiquity. After all, Pascoli clearly refers here to the events of Horace's *Sermo* 1, 5.⁶ In this satire, Horace describes a journey from Rome to Brindisi and recounts how his troupe meets up with Virgil, Varius, and Tucca halfway, at Sinuessa (Hor., *S.*, 1, 5, 39-42). Pascoli lets his poem take place on the night before this meeting:

[...] Ut cupio prima mox nocte cohorti
et Maecenati lepidoque occurrere Flacco!
Sed vix deponet Sinuessae raeda per umbram,
necdum Minturnis quassos ultrave. (Pascoli, *Ecloga XI*, 12-15)⁷

Pascoli suggests that Tucca and Varius want to continue their journey, but Virgil decides they need to make a stop for the night (1-19). They decide to stay at a small inn, where they are warmly welcomed by the landlady and take a bath (20-30). Afterwards, Virgil goes for a walk and stumbles upon a small hut, inside of which he hears to people speaking (31-50).

The second part of the poem (51-130) is the transcript of the dialogue between these two herdsmen. One is an old slave who has relatively recently started tending his master's sheep (51-72). This shepherd is simply called *Upilio*, 'Herdsman', while the other speaker is merely labeled *Alter*, 'Another herdsman'.⁸ The second speaker only speaks one line at

introd. ann. Wendell Clausen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. xv-xxx. A good more general introduction to pastoral elements in literature is: Paul Alpers, *What is Pastoral?* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1996).

⁵ All references to Pascoli's Latin poetry refer to Valgimigli, *Poesie latine*.

⁶ Bolognini (*Ecloga XI*, pp. 41-43) notices the intertext, but does not interpret why it is evoked here; cf. section 2.2. below.

⁷ Bolognini (*Ecloga XI*, pp. 41-42) notices some verbal allusions to Horace's *Sermo* in the opening lines as well: 'raeda' (1) refers to 'raedis' (Hor., *S.*, 1, 5, 86); 'Varius comes et Tucca' (2) to 'rhetor comes Heliodorus' (Hor., *S.*, 1, 5, 2).

⁸ The spelling *upilio* (rather than *opilio*) is relatively rare. It is found first in Verg., *Ecl.*, 10.19 (cf. Clausen, *Commentary on Virgil, Eclogues*, p. 299), but the term is used only in passing there, and Pascoli does not seem to make any special reference to this particular passage. If anything, the character's name seems to be a reference to Pl., *As.*,

a time, and his primary function in the poem appears to be to help move the narrative along. After *Upilio* had received a sheep for his own (the *Ovis Peculiaris* from the title) called *Libertas* ('Freedom'), which he loved very dearly, the poor slave bred a flock for himself (73-105). However, when he gave his new flock away to his master in order to buy his freedom, *Libertas* died, and it seems that all was lost (106-116). He then decides to run away, and is still fleeing from his master at this point (117-126). When the slave hears the errand boy of the inn, who is looking for Virgil, he immediately darts away (127-130).

In the final part (131-187) the focus shifts back to Virgil, pondering what he has just heard. While his friends are looking for him (131-134) he returns to the inn, thinking that he should write an eleventh eclogue about this poor herdsman (134-144). However, he decides that he cannot do so, and that he has to start writing his *Georgica* (144-157). Next, he thinks about the cruel conditions under which slaves have to work, but he decides that he cannot discuss that sort of topic in his *Georgica* either (158-173). Finally, when the sun is already rising, Virgil returns to the inn, and the companions continue their journey (174-178). The poem ends on a rather positive note, with Virgil's expectation of a golden age (179-187).

In short, the middle part of Pascoli's poem partly consists of more or less traditional pastoral poetry, i.e. discourse between two herdsmen. However, the poet also adds a rather lengthy introduction, incomparable in size to the introductions of, for example, Virgil's second and sixth eclogues, as well as an extensive passage on Virgil's reflections on the scene that has just occurred before him. Pascoli, then, does not purport his poem to *be* Virgil's eleventh eclogue; rather, his poem is *about* his alleged eleventh eclogue. In the following sections, I will suggest that Pascoli uses the idea of Virgil considering writing an eleventh eclogue to create an apology for the Roman poet's pastoral poetry.

540-541 ('Etiam opilio qui pascit, mater alienas oveis | aliquam habet peculiarem, qui spem soletur suam'), which is the motto (and in a way a summary of the main theme) of *Ecloga XI*. Bolognini (*Ecloga XI*, p. 68) makes the valid point that choosing a general label rather than a specific name for this main character emphasizes the emblematic character of the slave's sad story; however, Salvatore probably takes the point a little too far in suggesting that the emblematic 'upilio' is used in reference to Verg., *Ecl.*, 10, 19, where 'upilio' could also be seen as emblematic since it is used as a collective singular (Margherita Salvatore, 'Presenza di Virgilio nell'*Ecloga XI* di Giovanni Pascoli', in Armando Salvatore, *Virgilio*, Studi Latini, 24 (Napoli: Loffredo, 1997), pp. 393-426 (p. 404)).

2. Criticism of Virgil's *Bucolica* in Pascoli's *Ecloga XI*

In order to write an apology for Virgil's *Bucolica*, Pascoli first needs to remind his readers what the poet would need to apologize for. It appears that Pascoli has considerable trouble with the idealizing, pastoral image Virgil paints of life on the countryside. This criticism of Virgil's *Bucolica* becomes apparent from various aspects of *Ecloga XI*, as I will suggest in this section.

2.1. Criticism of the *Bucolica* through the intertext of Horace's *Sermo* 1, 5

In section 1, I have already suggested that Pascoli evokes Horace's *Sermo* 1, 5 as an intertext by letting his poem take place on the night before Virgil meets up with Horace at Sinuessa. But what is the significance of this allusion? In order to answer that question, I will first need to examine an important aspect of Horace's *Sermo* 1, 5 that is not immediately apparent: its anti-pastoral poem undertone. The influence of pastoral poetry, and in particular of Virgil's *Bucolica*, on Horace's first book of *Sermones* was first noted by C.A. van Rooy.⁹ Yet Van Rooy suggests that in case of the fifth satire, no influence from Virgil's *Bucolica* can be detected, since Horace's *Sermo* is primarily an adaptation of Lucilius' account of a journey to Capua (fr. 94-148 Warmington ('Book III')); only a single verbal echo to Virgil's poems is to be found.¹⁰

However, Tara Welch has recently suggested that that Horace's fifth *Sermo* in fact does contain allusions to Virgil's pastoral poetry as well, in the form of 'contrast imitation' (a term she derives from Van Rooy's article).¹¹ The first part of the satire, leading up to Virgilius and company meeting up with Horace's troupe, she suggests, consists of a *locus satiricus*, as opposed to the *locus amoenus*,¹² which is so typical of Virgil's

⁹ C.A. van Rooy, "'Imitatio' of Virgil, *Eclogues* in Horace, *Satires*, Book I', *Acta Classica*, 16 (1973), 69-88.

¹⁰ Van Rooy, "'Imitatio' of Virgil", pp. 78, 88.

¹¹ Tara Welch, 'Horace's Journey through Arcadia', *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 138 (2008), 47-74 (p. 48): '[*Sermo* 1,5]'s engagement with Virgil's *Eclogues* dominates its first half with an extended episode that recalls and inverts Virgil's pastoral world.'

¹² Welch, 'Horace's Journey through Arcadia', p. 56.

Bucolica.¹³ Horace's journey breaks the town-country dichotomy that characterizes pastoral poetry by bringing an 'urban' genre like satire to the country. In post-structuralist terms, one could say that Horace's description of the countryside 'unmasks' the binary opposition between town and countryside typical of pastoral poetry as a false dichotomy. Welch has already mentioned some examples of 'mock pastoral' elements. In the remainder of this section, I will provide a more thorough analysis of the fifth *Sermo* of Horace's first book from this 'mock pastoral' perspective by comparing elements from the poem to the epitome of Roman pastoral, Virgil's *Bucolica*. I do not mean to suggest that any of these elements in itself proves that Horace's satire is anti-pastoral; however, truth is in numbers, and I believe that the numerous examples I will provide combined make a good case for such a reading of this *Sermo*.

The opening words of Horace's journey into the country, which is the domain of pastoral, immediately emphasize the rural-urban dichotomy: 'Egressum magna [...] Roma', Horace travels into the countryside (*S.*, 1, 5, 1-2). The first area he passes through is crammed ('differtum') and the first people he meets are malignant and stingy ('malignis') (*S.*, 1, 5, 4) — a far cry from Virgil's pastoral world, in which cows and sheep are free to roam around ('errare', Verg., *Ecl.*, 1, 9; 2, 21; 6, 40; 6, 52; 6, 58; 6, 64) while the shepherds love songs. Drinking the countryside water gives Horace a stomach ache and sore eyes (*S.*, 1, 5, 7-9; 30-31; 49), while the wells in Virgil's *Bucolica* quench one's thirst in summer with sweet water (*Ecl.*, 5, 46-47; cf. *Ecl.*, 1, 39; 1, 51-52; 3, 96; 9, 20). Night then falls over the countryside, as Horace describes in a high style reminiscent of the atmosphere of Virgil's *Bucolica*: 'Iam nox inducere terras | umbras et caelo diffundere signa parabat' (*S.*, 1, 5, 9-10); compare the Virgilian 'maioresque cadunt altis de montibus umbrae' (*Ecl.*, 1, 83) and 'ite domum saturae, venit Hesperus, ite capellae' (*Ecl.*, 10, 77). However, whereas in Virgil nightfall marks the end of the poem, the end of a day of country life, in Horace it is only the beginning.¹⁴ Furthermore, although

¹³ See for example the opening words of Virgil's first eclogue (Verg., *Ecl.*, 1, 1-2): 'Tityre tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi | silvestrem tenui Musam meditaris avena [...]'; or the description of the Golden Age in his fourth eclogue (Verg., *Ecl.*, 4, 18-45). For further discussion of typical bucolic *nomina* and descriptions, see: Lorenz Rumpf, 'Bucolic *nomina* in Virgil and Theocritus', in *Virgil's Eclogues*, ed. Katharina Volk (Oxford [etc.]: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 64-78.

¹⁴ Interestingly, Welch ('Horace's Journey through Arcadia', pp. 53-54) notices the allusion to Virgil, but fails to address the opposite contexts in which both authors use these words.

the song of Virgil's herdsmen is refined ('tenuis' (*Ecl.*, 1, 2; 6, 8)), the countrymen in the fifth *Sermo* only throw harsh insults ('convicia') at one another (*S.*, 1, 5, 11).¹⁵ The only farm animals inhabiting Horace's satirical countryside are not pastoral's goats, sheep and cows, but satire's mules.¹⁶

As the second night draws near, Virgil's delicate bees humming herdsmen to sleep (*Ecl.*, 1, 55) are drowned out by the loud buzzing of mosquitoes and the croaking of frogs in Horace (*S.*, 1, 5, 14-15). A boatsman, 'prolulus vappa' (*S.*, 1, 5, 16) singing 'certatim' (*S.*, 1, 5, 17; cf. the frequent use of 'certare' and 'certamen' in Virgil (*Ecl.*, 4, 58; 5, 8-9; 5, 15; 7, 16; 8, 3)) with his passenger about the girl he loves reminds the reader of the singing contests of Virgil's herdsmen in eclogues 3, 5, 7, and 8, and of many of his shepherds singing of love lost (*Ecl.*, 2, *passim*; 8, 41 ff.); the fact that the boatsman is 'prolulus vappa' (*S.*, 1, 5, 16) is a sharp contrast to the sweet wine in Virgil (*Ecl.*, 5, 71). When Horace's countrymen do not do their jobs, they are called 'piger' (*S.*, 1, 5, 19), but Virgil's shepherds, who hardly work either cannot be lazy, because in Virgil's idyllic paradise, no work needs to be done: Virgil's herdsmen live in a happy state of *otium*.¹⁷ The willow, which in Virgil's poetry often is mentioned as part of the pastoral scenery (*Ecl.*, 1, 54-55; 3, 65; 3, 82; 5, 16; 10, 40) becomes a cudgel in Horace's rendition (*S.*, 1, 5, 21-23).

Horace then meets up with a couple of friends: first Maecenas and Cocceius (*S.*, 1, 5, 27-29),¹⁸ then Fonteius Capito (*S.*, 1, 5, 31-33), and finally Plotius, Varius and Virgil (*S.*, 1, 5, 39-42). It is important to notice that Horace gives Virgil's name added emphasis by mentioning it last: this name is the crown on the mock pastoral Horace has carefully created in the lines leading up to their meeting. The 'battle' of the 'scurrae' that occurs later that night (*S.*, 1, 5, 51-70) once again reminds the reader of

¹⁵ The altercation of Menalcas and Damoetas in Virgil's third eclogue is at some times insulting as well, yet their carefully chosen, high-styled poetical words can hardly be called 'convicia'.

¹⁶ Welch, 'Horace's Journey through Arcadia', p. 57; cf. also *Pers.*, 1, 121. Note as well the role mules often play in carnivalesque literature, such as *The Golden Ass* or *Gargantua and Pantagruel*.

¹⁷ That this *otium* is a happy one becomes clear because it is caused by the gods ('O Meliboe, deus nobis haec otia fecit' (*Verg.*, *Ecl.*, 1, 6)) and because Daphnis, the archetypal shepherd, loves *otium* ('amat bonus otia Daphnis' (*Verg.*, *Ecl.*, 5, 61)).

¹⁸ Cocceius is said to be 'aversos solit[us] componere amicos', which is a faint echo of Palaemon in Virgil's third eclogue, who says to Menalcas and Damoetas: 'Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites' (*Ecl.*, 3, 108).

the singing contests between Virgil's herdsmen. In fact, one of the jester even impersonates a 'pastorem', the Cyclops (*S.*, 1, 5, 63). The buffoon, who is so ugly that he would not even need a mask to impersonate this particular herdsman (*S.*, 1, 60-65), is the exact opposite of the Virgilian shepherd, who is often called 'formosus' (*Ecl.*, 2, 1; 2, 17; 2, 45; 3, 79; 5, 44; 5, 86; 5, 90; 7, 55; 7, 67; 10, 18).

The description of the final few days of Horace's journey contain two additional possible allusions Virgil's *Bucolica*. Virgil's first eclogue ends with the pastoral image of chimneys smoking on the farms ('Et iam summa procul villarum culmina fumant' (*Ecl.*, 1, 82)). Horace, however, takes smoking 'culmina' much more literally:

Tendimus hinc recta Beneventum, ubi sedulus hospes
paene macros arsit dum turdos versat in igni;
nam vaga per veterem dilapso flamma culinam
Volcano summum properabat lambere tectum. (Hor., *S.*, 1, 5, 71-74)

In this case a house is nearly set on fire. Smoke plays a role in the next episode as well: as a stove is burning, the smoke brings tears to the travellers' eyes (*S.*, 1, 5, 80-81). Whereas in Virgil smoke is part of the pastoral scenery, in Horace it is a threat. Welch (pp. 62-63) notices that Horace's final allusion to Virgil is found in the final lines of the poem (*S.* 1, 5, 100-103):

[...] Credat Iudaeus Apella,
non ego; namque deos didici securum agere aevum,
nec, si quid miri faciat natura, deos id
tristis ex alto caeli demittere tecto. (Hor., *S.*, 1, 5, 100-103)

Horace here alludes to the Virgilian line 'Iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto' (*Ecl.*, 4, 7). Welch suggests that while Virgil sees the birth of Pollio's child in the fourth eclogue as the sign of a Golden Age after the 40 BCE treaty between Octavian and Marc Antony, Horace now knows better ('didici'): once again, Horace turns the positive from pastoral into a negative. Admittedly, however, Welch's interpretation is not unproblematic: Horace's *Sermo*, after all, does not contain a single reference to Octavian, Antony or the treaty.

In short, Horace creates an image of the countryside purposely opposite to the pastoral image. Numerous *topoi* of the bucolic genre are turned upside down. By bringing satire to the countryside, Horace unmasks the urban-rural opposition typical of pastoral poetry as a false dichotomy. The leisurely, idyllic life on the countryside as opposed to

the degeneration and hardship of the city does not exist. Life in the country is tough, and its relatively lowly-educated inhabitants are certainly not capable of producing the elaborate poetical images of Virgil's *Bucolica*. Although pastoral poetry purports to paint an image of rural life, Horace unmasks it as a quintessentially urban genre, much like satire: rather than a realistic image, it is a description of the countryside from a typically urban, idealizing point of view. It is precisely this aspect of Horace's poem, I suggest, that Pascoli alludes to in his *Ecloga XI*. In his poem, Pascoli expresses 'criticisms' of the pastoral genre very similar to Horace's in his *Sermo*, as I will show in the following sections. By evoking this Horatian intertext, Pascoli makes the informed reader attentive to the criticism he addresses in the remainder of his poem.

2.2. Anti-pastoral elements in Pascoli's *Ecloga XI*

Bearing the Horatian intertext in mind, many allusions to the idea of the countryside not being as ideal as it may seem can be found in *Ecloga XI* as well. In a similar way to Horace's poem, *Ecloga XI* blurs the line between city and countryside by having typical upper-class city people enter into a rural context. Again in a fashion similar to Horace, Pascoli has his poem start when evening falls ('Vesper adest', 4; 'Vesper erat', 31) and end as soon as dawn breaks ('Ros cadit et caelum iam subrubet', 176), thus turning the pastoral convention in Virgil's *Bucolica* upside down.

An interesting clue that Pascoli provides suggesting that the binary opposition between city and countryside is a false one is found in line 22 of *Ecloga XI*. The sign on the inn the travelers decide to stay at reads: 'BALNEUS URBICUS HEIC LAVAT. OMNIA COMMODA PRAESTO'. The fact the three read the sign 'non sine risu' (21) suggests that something about this sign is conspicuous. Of course, the cause of their laughter is probably the clumsiness of the hexameter on the one hand (five out of six feet coincide exactly with a single word)¹⁹, and the fact that the landlady claims that her small tavern is furnished with all modern conveniences on the other. But for my purposes here, it is important to note that the owner of the inn apparently believes that the city is the ideal world that should be emulated, since she tries to assert that her baths are 'city-like'. In traditional pastoral, one would ideally wash oneself in a beautiful

¹⁹ Bolognini, *Ecloga XI*, p. 51.

clear spring (cf. Verg., *Ecl.*, 3, 97). In reality, however, people on the countryside would probably have to bathe in muddy streams. The inn-keeper advertises with what is a luxury to her fellow country-people: in her inn, one can actually bathe like people in the city do. Pascoli's casual remark constitutes a very real clue that in *Ecloga XI*, from the countryman's eyes, life on the countryside is hardly an ideal world.

That the countryside is not an idyllic, utopian world is also indicated by the scenery Pascoli creates. Not only does *Ecloga XI*, as I have already mentioned, take place at night (a time when the countryside is cold (cf. Verg., *Ecl.*, 8, 14) and dangerous, with wild animals roaming around); nature itself does not seem as inviting as it does in Virgil's pastoral poetry either. This becomes all the more apparent from the transition from the episode at the inn to the dialogue between the two shepherds. As Pascoli's Virgil walks away from the inn, night begins to fall only slowly, the trees are in bloom and the birds are still singing (31-42). But when Virgil approaches the herdsman's hut, the scenery starts changing. The hut looks poor, covered with chaff and hay (43), and the birds' singing ('ex arbore cantum', 39) from just before is replaced by a 'querela' (44). The oak Virgil stands behind is covered in moss, a plant associated with damp surfaces, rain and autumn, while pastoral is most often associated with spring and summer. Perhaps the most telling is the closing image of the first part of Pascoli's poem, the poetical force of which hardly needs any explanation:

Propior venit, admovit aurem
Virgilius: celat muscoso cortice quercus.
Huic haerent etiam lapsi folia arida ramis
autumni: nonnulla cadunt auraque trahuntur. (Pascoli, *Ecloga XI*, 47-50)

Clearly, this dreary tree is a far cry from the world of the *Bucolica*, where the youthful and vigorous 'viridis' is one of the adjectives Virgil uses most often.²⁰

Moreover, many smaller elements of Pascoli's poem contribute to creating a markedly unpastoral world. So many, in fact, that I will only provide a few examples. The ponies that pull the cart on which Virgil and his companions arrive, for example, are called 'piger' (1), whereas laziness had no place in pastoral poetry, as I have described above. The bread the slave shepherd in the central narrative of the poem eats is 'durum' (52), in direct opposition to Virgil's pastoral terminology:

²⁰ Rumpf, 'Bucolic nomina', p. 66.

'tener', 'lentus', 'pinguis', 'mollis', and 'tenuis' are amongst his favorite adjectives.²¹ The only time 'tenuis' occurs in *Ecloga XI* is in a negative sense: the slave shepherd eats a 'tenuem lupillum', a frugal meal of beans (52). In the world of Pascoli's *Upilio*, the days often get cold, and at times snow even falls (54-56). The only thing 'frigidus' in the *Bucolica* is the water (and the occasional snake, which is easily driven away by singing (Verg., *Ecl.*, 8, 71)); the only things snowy white are the milk and the heifers (Verg., *Ecl.*, 2, 30; 6, 46).

The most important indication that Pascoli tries to deconstruct the binary opposition between town and country, however, is of course the slave shepherd's story, which is the core of *Ecloga XI*'s narrative. First of all, Pascoli's shepherd is old (cf. 61, 121-123, 129). Old age brings with it all kinds of infirmities, and as such it has no place in the traditional pastoral world. The pastoral countryside is a place for young and beautiful men and women. And the only 'senex' mentioned in Virgil's *Bucolica* is in fact explicitly called 'fortunatus' (Verg., *Ecl.*, 1, 46; 51). Moreover, this shepherd meets true misfortune. Certainly, Virgil's herdsman have their own little mishaps, mainly in the form of unrequited love.²² But with this herdsman it is a different story. He's no free farmer, but a slave.²³ After having worked for his *dominus* all of his life (62-63), he finally receives a single sheep as his first private possession (73-82). From this one sheep he breeds an entire flock (88-104), and then, after buying his freedom from his master with this entire flock, he sees his only remaining sheep die in front of him (106-115). 'Spes omnis adempta est!', he shouts – all hope is lost (115).²⁴ The old shepherd is utterly destroyed. It is no coincidence that his particular sheep was called *Libertas*: 'Freedom'. Although the old man has bought his freedom, he realizes that freedom has died with *Libertas*. He is old, so he cannot work anymore; he has no possessions, no sheep, no cattle he can live from. That is no life, that is no freedom – that is only tragedy, a tragedy only death can deliver the shepherd from (124-126). Life on the countryside, Pascoli's shepherd shows us, is harsh, and pastoral's description of it is a far cry from reality.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

²² On the misfortune of Meliboeus and Moeris in the first and ninth eclogues, see the third section.

²³ Bolognini (*Ecloga XI*, p. 68) notes that the fact that the *Upilio* speaks about his sheep as a 'conserva' illustrates the dire condition the herdsman finds himself in: he's really nothing more than an animal.

²⁴ Cf. Verg., *Ecl.*, 1, 15, where goat kids are called the 'spem gregis'.

3. The apology

In the final part of *Ecloga XI*, Pascoli creates an apology for Virgil's unrealistic picture of country life. One might wonder why Pascoli would want to write an apology for the *Bucolica* at all. I would suggest that this is because there is an intrinsic tension in Pascoli's attitude towards Virgil. On the one hand, Pascoli had great admiration for the Roman poet. This becomes perhaps most apparent from his short prose story *Lucus Vergili*, in which the narrator imagines himself to be walking in the forests and countryside that Virgil has described in his poetry, until he wakes up from the dream and realizes that he is just reading a book.²⁵ Apparently, the creative power of Virgil's is that strong. Moreover, Pascoli considered Virgil's work an essential part of students' literary and moral education.²⁶ On the other hand, however, Pascoli had a very strong social agenda. On the other hand, however, Pascoli had a strong social agenda. He sympathized with the poor Italian farmers and pleaded for more equality between the social classes.²⁷ And he believed that poetry had an important role to play in that process: '[L]a poesia, in quanto è poesia, la poesia senza aggettivo, ha una suprema utilità morale e sociale.'²⁸ This of course creates a problem: if Virgil is the greatest poet, how can he fail to explicitly describe and reject the social issues that existed on the Italian countryside in his time? Pascoli seems to have struggled to decide whether Virgil could and should be faulted for this omission.²⁹

I have thus far argued that Pascoli in his *Ecloga XI* has tried to show that Virgil's traditional pastoral imagery does the reality of country life no justice. His main character, the shepherd, endures true suffering, as opposed to the characters of Virgil's *Bucolica*, whose worst misfortunes are puppy loves lost. However, I have not yet mentioned two characters in Virgil's eclogues who are generally considered very unfortunate indeed: Meliboeus in the first eclogue and Moeris in the ninth, whose lands are famously confiscated for the good of Octavian's veterans. At least from Servius' fourth century commentary on Virgil's poems

²⁵ *Prose di Giovanni Pascoli*, ed. introd. Augusto Vicinelli, 3 vols (Milano: Mondadori, 1956), I, 875-889.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 606-608.

²⁷ Cf. especially his essay *Il Fanciullino* (*ibid.*, I, 5-56).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 22.

²⁹ Renato Barilli, *I Poemi Conviviali e la Bibbia Giapetica*, in *I Poemi conviviali di Giovanni Pascoli, Atti di Convegno di San Mauro Pascoli e Barga, 26-29 settembre 1996*, ed. Mario Pazzaglia (Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1997), pp. 1-15 (p. 3).

onwards, readers have seen criticism of imperial politics in these passages (cf. e.g. Servius, *Comm. in Verg., Ecl.*, 1, 12; 70). Today, the tragedies of Meliboeus and Moeris are emphasized most strongly by the adherents of the so-called 'Harvard school' of Virgilian interpretation, who assume that under the surface of praise for Rome and Augustus in Virgil's *oeuvre*, there is a second, more pessimistic voice.³⁰ Interestingly, Pascoli's Virgil mentions precisely these two shepherds in the third part of *Ecloga XI*, which contains Virgil's reflections on the dialogue between the shepherds he has just overheard.

After the nameless *Upilio*, who has suffered so greatly, has fled the scene, Pascoli's Virgil says:

Quid quereris fetam ducens, Meliboe, capellam?
 Fors reddat casulam viridanti caespiti tectam.
 Quidve doles, quod, Moeri, tuos nunc barbarus haedos
 cenet in urbe? Canas: nulla est via longa canenti.
 En hic est penitus, pastores arcades, aeger,
 ecce homo tristis... Homon? Nullum caput hic habet. Est res.
 Sunt tamen et lacrimae rerum. Si versibus ornem
 has lacrimas! Decimo finito carmine, si mox
 undecimam ludam! Non haec luduntur avenis:
 nec quidquam cecinit, calamo nec lusit agresti
 iste umquam pastor quidquam. Nimis absona musis,
 ista, minora quidem, nisi sunt maiora, poeta. (Pascoli, *Ecloga XI*, 136-147)

Interestingly, Virgil suggests here that his Meliboeus and Moeris have no right to complain when compared to the slave shepherd he has just seen. But what makes the nameless shepherd so different? In the first place, Meliboeus at least still has livestock left (136; cf. Verg., *Ecl.*, 1, 12-15), as does Moeris (Verg., *Ecl.*, 9, 62). Pascoli's *Upilio* has nothing left, since, as has been discussed above, he has given practically his entire flock to his master, and the one sheep he had kept has passed away. Moreover, both Moeris and Meliboeus are free Roman citizens. Pascoli's nameless shepherd, however, is a former slave who has left his former master: 'Nullum caput hic habet. Est res', in Pascoli's words (141).³¹ He has no home and no children. His legal status is very poor, his chances

³⁰ This theory is also known as the 'Two-Voices-Theory'. For an overview of the 'Harvard School' and other strands of Virgilian criticism in the twentieth century, see Stephen J. Harrison, 'Some Views of the *Aeneid* in the Twentieth Century', in *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid*, ed. Stephen J. Harrison (Oxford [etc.]: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 1-20.

³¹ Note that 'sunt tamen et lacrimae rerum' (142) is a reference to the famous Virgilian line 'sunt lacrimae rerum' (Verg., *A.*, 1, 462). Interestingly, this line is often referred to

of finding a proper place to live are relatively small. But the most important distinction is that Meliboeus and Moeris are literary figures, for whom a happy ending is always possible. Meliboeus is invited by Tityrus to stay with him (Verg., *Ecl.*, 1, 79-83), Lycidas suggests that Moeris come with him and sing, for singing makes all troubles lighter (Verg., *Ecl.*, 9, 64-65).³² For the nameless shepherd, who lives in the real world, there is no happy ending. He does not sing, he does not play the flute ('nec quidquam cecinit, calamo nec lusit agresti | iste umquam pastor quidquam' (145-146)), for in the real world, that does not help. This shepherd's suffering is too great ('maiora' (147)) to be contained in playful pastoral poetry: 'Non haec luduntur avenis' (144).

By creating an opposition between the fictional Meliboeus and Moeris and the 'real' nameless *Upilio*, Pascoli lets his Virgil implicitly criticize the pastoral genre. Virgil realizes that the suffering of his characters is gratuitous, and that it pales in comparison to the way in which actual countrymen suffer every day. Pastoral poetry, in other words, is a genre practiced by quintessentially urban authors, who have never truly experienced the hardships of country life. However, Pascoli does not blame Virgil for the gratuitous nature of the genre. The poet wants to write a poem on this real-life shepherd, but finds himself unable to ('Si versibus ornem | has lacrimas!' (142-143)). Pascoli even provides the reason why Virgil cannot write this type of poetry: it is 'absona musis' (146). In other words, it does not fit in with the genre, because the subject matter is too personal, too specific ('minora'), or perhaps rather so all-encompassing that it becomes impossible to grasp ('maiora') (147). Moreover, there is not enough time for Virgil to write about the true life of shepherds: a bigger task, the writing of the *Georgica*, is waiting for him (148-152). Although Virgil has tried to add a tragic touch to his *Bucolica* by introducing the characters of Meliboeus and Moeris, he now realizes that his version of pastoral 'suffering' is romanticized and inadequate. But even though he is now painfully aware of this, Virgil finds himself, for multiple reasons, unable to give these insights an adequate place in his poetry.

by adherents of the Two-Voices-Theory (cf. Adam Parry, 'The Two Voices of Virgil's *Aeneid*', *Arion*, 2 (1963), 66-80 (p. 79).

³² Verg., *Ecl.*, 9, 64-65. Pascoli's 'nulla est via longa canenti' (139) is a clear reference to this Virgilian passage. Note that Horace in his fifth satire makes a witty reference to this passage as well: 'Minus est gravis Appia tardis' (Hor., *S.*, 1, 5, 6).

Much the same goes for the suffering of other inhabitants of the countryside: the slaves working on Roman *villae*. Although he has tried to ease his conscience by telling himself that he needs to write the *Georgica*, Pascoli's Virgil cannot forget the poor old slave shepherd. As he is thinking about him, he starts thinking about his fellow slaves on the field:

Haec meditabar tecum, pudibunde poeta,
cum rursus venit in mentem fugitivus, et horres.
Ecce genus deinceps agris ferratile totis
atque instrumentum reputas vocale gementesque
altius exhaustis in sulco bubus homullos,
asperius plaustris stridentes comparis axe.
'Siccine consuetos placide iuga ferre iuencos
pone catenatus crudelius ibit arator?
atque nota frontem nivea signatus inustum
stigmatum custodem vitulus mirabitur? Eheu!
num peiora canam stabulis ergastula? Nil est.
Atqui si nequeo vindicta tangere rura,
me vinctos pudeat saltem vidisse colonos,
et tantum placeant heredia parva suique
iuris cultores. Quae flores iusta quotannis,
quae fruges educit, habet Dea Libera nomen.' (Pascoli, *Ecloga XI*, 158-173)

Virgil realizes that the old shepherd is not the only slave suffering on Roman fields. Many others are chained ('ferratile' (160), 'catenatus' (165)) and are probably worse off than the plowing oxen ('gementesque | altius exhaustis in sulco bubus' (161-162), 'catenatus crudelius ibit arator' (165), 'peiora [...] stabulis ergastula' (168)). However, Virgil realizes that he cannot speak about this suffering either ('num peiora canam stabulis ergastula? Nil est.' (168)), and if that is the case, he must refrain from mentioning the large *villae* at all, since it would be shameful not to mention these poor wretches. As Pascoli himself remarks in a note to line 170, no mention is made of slaves at all in the *Georgica* ('In Georgicis de servis et de servitute ne mentio quidem est'). Virgil chooses to only write about independent, small farms and farmers (170-172), since once again, he finds himself unable to give the suffering of slaves at the *villae* a place in his poem in praise of the farmer's life (169). In this way, he leaves out an ugly part of cruel reality on the countryside, but at least he does not represent the ugly bits more beautiful than they are. Pascoli suggests that Virgil struggles heavily with leaving out the dark side of life on the farms. Not only does he let Virgil speak with several emphatic rhetorical questions (164-168), he also shows that the

poet has great difficulty falling asleep after making his decision: 'Lassus in ambiguo vix conivere cubili | nocte potest' (174-175).

How, then, is the final part of Pascoli's *Ecloga XI* apologetic? Clearly, Pascoli cannot come to terms with the idea that Virgil, perhaps the greatest of all poets, would be so ignorant of, or insensitive to, country people's suffering. Through his poem, Pascoli tries to assure the reader of the fact that Virgil was very well aware of the dark side of life on the countryside, and that he certainly did take the fate of slaves and poor farmers to heart. However, he also suggests that Virgil cannot be blamed for the idealized, idyllic nature of his *Bucolica*. In the quintessentially urban genre Virgil is working in, there is simply no room for the hardships people on the countryside have to endure: these things are 'absona musis'.³³

4. Conclusion

In this article, I have tried to provide a new reading of Giovanni Pascoli's *Ecloga XI sive Ovis Peculiaris*. First, I have shown how Pascoli deconstructs the town-countryside opposition prevalent in pastoral poetry in general and Virgil's *Bucolica* in particular. Pascoli's clear reference to Horace's *Sermo* 1, 5 should be considered as programmatic, since, as I have argued, this satire contains strong anti-pastoral elements. Pascoli further sets the scene for anti-pastoral by painting a rather grim and dark image of the countryside. The deconstruction culminates in the core part of *Ecloga XI*, the tale of the slave shepherd's suffering. Finally, I have shown how in the final part of his poem Pascoli creates an apology for his poetical example. He assures the reader that Virgil was very well aware of the factual inaccuracy of his image of life on the countryside, of the gratuitousness of his account of Meliboeus' and Moeris' suffering, and especially of the fact that he did take their hardships to

³³ The question of how Pascoli reconciles Virgil's poetic status with his lack of explicit reference to the suffering of the inhabitants of the countryside is certainly worth further study, but cannot be addressed in full here. It would seem that Pascoli's apology in *Ecloga XI* is consistent with his remarks on Virgil in, for example, *Il fanciullino*, *La mia scuola di grammatica*, *Una festa Italiana* (*Prose di Giovanni Pascoli*, I, 26-29; 259-261; 319) (cf. Bolognini, *Ecloga XI*, pp. 15-19). Aloisius Dal Santo ('Vergilius qualis vates demigrantium et miserorum appareat in nonnullis poematis Pascolianis', *Latinitas*, 34 (1986), 29-38) discusses how Virgil's reflections on the hardships of country life in *Ecloga XI* relate to Virgil's role in Pascoli's poems on Italian migrants, such as *Pietole* and *Italy*.

heart. However, the Roman poet was simply unable to incorporate true suffering in his poems, since that would not fit in with the kind of poetry he wrote ('absona musis'), and perhaps would even be beyond his faculties ('maiora poeta'). Of course, much work still remains to be done on this poem, especially on its relationship to Pascoli's other works and to the historical reality of Italy in the early twentieth century. But that just goes to show that Pascoli's poetry, even a century after his death, still brings up new questions, and is still very much alive.³⁴

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Dirk SACRÉ

AMBROSII NOVIDII FRACCI (C. 1480 – C. 1550) HENDECASYLLABI
CUIUSMODI SINT

“Interessante, per quanto ancora nei limiti di un esercizio convenzionale, la raccoltina di *Hendecasillabi* che si legge nel codice 190 della Biblioteca Alessandrina di Roma, in cui il F. applica il metro italiano alla poesia latina con risultati apprezzabili.”¹ Haecce verba cum legissem, quae ad nomen Ambrosii Fracci leguntur *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* inserta, codicem illum Romanum adire statui atque aperire, his ut oculis scrutarer verene poeta ille novum quoddam atque inauditum versuum genus in usum induxisset atque hendecasyllabos, usitatissimum apud poetas Italice scribentes metrum licentiisque variis et praeceptis peculiaribus insignitum, iure donasset Latino; nam non me fallebat paucos admodum fuisse illis temporibus versificatores qui veterum vestigia audacter desererent. Fraccum autem illum, qui Ferentino ex oppido Hernica inter saxa sito oriundus ante Urbem a Germanis anno 1527 misere captam Romam migraverat ibique et ante et post eam calamitatem, quam elegiarum libris deploravit decantavitque, mediante saeculo XVI Musis Latinis litavit, victum hoc labore apud Maecenates, uti videtur, quaeritans, gregarium in castris poeticis militem stipendia meruisse neque laurea civica donatum esse ex eo ipso colligebam quod ne mentio quidem eius est facta apud Liliū Gregorium Gyraldum in *Dialogis de poetis nostrorum temporum*, Pierium Valerianum in opere quod *De litteratorum infelicitate* inscribitur, Franciscumve Arsillum in carmine *De poetis urbanis*. Unum esse opus excipiendum comperiebam, *Sacrorum fastorum libros XII*, quippe qui tam in poetae patria typis essent commissi (Romae, 1547) quam peregre (nam recudendos curavit eos anno 1559 Iohannes Bellerus, typographus Antverpiensis); ceterum didici virum oratione Ovidii Nasonis numeris astricta tantopere esse delectatum, ut

¹ ‘Fracco, Ambrogio’, in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 49 (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1997), pp. 566-567 (scripsit Fr. Pignatti).

hunc prae ceteris sit eo opere imitatus nomenque sibi ipse imposuerit Novidii, id est Novi Ovidii; presse igitur secutum esse eum in Ovidii vestigiis, fastorum profanorum in locum substitutis Christianis, eaque eum in re habuisse poetas recentiores quibus aemularetur.² Ecquidnam vero Nasoni cum hendecasyllabis quidve Ovidio huic redivivo cum versuum genere parum Latino? Anne ab equis ille plane, ut ita dicam, ad asinos? Itaque, cum haec pauca de Novidio poeta mihi innotuissent, magis mirabar quare ille ab exemplis Ovidianis recessisset neque Nasonem modo suum reliquisset, verum etiam spretis perfectissimae artis antiquae exemplaribus pedes derepente cepisset barbaros, vulgaria imitatus fabricamenta; neque satis intellegebam cur neotericum id opus prelo non commisisset, nisi eum forte incepti audacioris suppudivisset postea.

Nam hendecasyllabi illi inediti adhuc latent in Bibliotheca Alexandrina, quae est in Urbe;³ qui quod non sunt a poeta facti iuris publici, minime mirabitur si quis poematia oculo atque animo paulo attentiore evolverit. Etenim versiculi lasciviam quandam dicam an obscenitatem interdum prae se ferunt viro religioso atque sacerdotio initiato male convenientem; tolerabilia illa fuerint saeculo XV vel ineunte XVI; at posteaquam Christianae fidei reformatio quasi frenum quoddam imposuit eiusmodi licentiae, fetus id genus, si a sacerdote essent emissi, male audituros fuisse opinor. Praeterea id mihi legenti mox apparebat, illis versibus, qui duobus continentur libris, ultimam manum minime esse impositam: versus aliquot imperfectos mansisse animadverti et alios claudicare, alios foede deturpari erroribus prosodiacis; lima fuisse eis dubio procul opus et perpolitione; ipsum vero limae laborem prae morte poetae neglegentiae huius operis aliave nescio qua de causa lusibus his hendecasyllabicis non esse adhibitum. Ceterum haud pauca inveniuntur poematia quae non nisi aegerrime leguntur, litteris quasi gallinaceo more pictis. Codex autem ille, qui hendecasyllabos habet, quantum inspicienti mihi apparuit, non ipsius poeta manus est exaratus (namque foediora

² De Fracco vide quae scripserunt Benedetto Pecci, 'Contributo per la storia degli Umanisti nel Lazio. Antonio Volsco – Giovanni Sulpizio – Novidio Fracco – Martino Filetico', *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 13 (1890), 451-526; Id., *L'Umanesimo e la 'Cioceria'* (Trani, 1912), pp. 209-399 et 401-404; Benedetto Catrachia, 'L'umanista ferentinate Novidio Fracco e il "sacco" di Roma', in Renato Lefevre (ed.), *Rinascimento nel Lazio*, *Lunario romano*, 9 (Roma: Palombi, 1980), pp. 599-607; Pignatti, 'Fracco'; John F. Miller, 'Ovid's *Fasti* and the Neo-Latin Calendar Poem', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 10 (2003), 173-186.

³ Cfr. Henricus Narducci, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum praeter orientales qui in Bibliotheca Alexandrina Romae adservantur* (Romae, 1877), pp. 116-117.

sunt menda aliquot quam ut ab ipso Novidio credantur esse admissa), sed aliquando coeptus est emendari manu Novidiana, quantum e rasuris et emendationibus vel supra lineas scriptis vel marginibus appictis conicio; ei vero retrectationi finis videtur esse praemature factus. Opus autem illud manu scriptum, ut nunc servatur, constat e libris duobus, quorum prior habet lusus viginti, posterior quattuordecim; ille dicatura caret; hic vero donatus est (Iohanni) Petro Caffarelli, civi Romano prop-sapiae nobilioris.⁴

Sed ut unde coepi, eo redeam versuumque genus a poeta electum designem quaeque eius sint propria definiam, frustra me ibi venatum esse confiteor nova atque inaudita versificationis Latinae specimina. Nam Novidii Fracci lusus ad obrussam hendecasyllaborum sermone Italico conscriptorum haudquaquam factos esse deprehendi, verum more tralaticio vereque Latino conditos. Itaque poeta Phalaecis Latinis eorundemque normis, praeceptis, legibus solitis usque obtemperabat. Quos dum pangit versus, non eum morem est secutus, quem suum fecerant Philelfus Aeneasve Silvius Piccolomineus, ut unis basibus spondiacis esset contentus, sed iuxta Catulli Veronensis aliorumve poetarum exempla atque praescripta grammaticorum, quos nuncupant, Latinorum admittebat bases sive iambicas, sive trochaicas, sive spondiacas; qua in re et recentiores poetas est secutus.⁵ Itaque nihil fere est in eius arte versificandi, quo a ceteris eius aevi poetis Latinis vel transversum discesserit unguem.

Reliquum est ut rem firmem exemplis atque eorum hendecasyllaborum quendam quasi gustum offeram, quo et magis pateat versuum faciendorum ratio Novidiana quibus pareat regulis, et facilius colligatur

⁴ Cfr. Luca Becchetti – Gianni Venditti (eds.), *Un blasonario secentesco della piccola e media aristocrazia romana*, Documenti rari e curiosi dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 2 (Roma: Gangemi, 2008), p. 132 ('Caffarelli').

⁵ Cf. Jean-Louis Charlet, 'Cinq manières d'écrire l'hendécasyllabe phalécien au Quattrocento: F. Filelfo, Cleofilo, Callimaco Esperiente, Pontano et Marulle', *Studi Umanistici Piceni*, 33 (2013), 19-35. Fraccus, etsi Catullum et Pontanum pro exemplis habebat, tamen in versificatione liberiores eos mihi interdum imitatus videtur esse versus, quos scripserat Michael Marullus: hinc factum est ut circiter quina vocabula intra singulos versus admitterentur, ut bases spondiacae minus unice dominarentur in eius hendecasyllabis (iambicae vero et trochaicae crebriores offenderentur; ceterum pyrrhichiam admisit in *carm.* 5, 15 et monosyllabicas parcius adhuc, et ut finalia (trisyllaba, disyllaba, quadrisyllaba et monosyllaba) a Marullianis haud procul distarent. Elisiones et aphaereses abundant, si cum Catullo compares, neque Fraccus voces monosyllabicas elisas refugiebat. Idem vero in pyrrhichiis, qui in mediis versibus leguntur, interdum intra bina vocabula distribuendis ad Pontani morem proxime accessit.

quod ille genus lusuū eiusmodi versibus incluserit. Nam, ut reperiantur poemata complura quae propter imperfectionem minus ad se alliciant legentes, conspiciuntur tamen nonnulla quae ad ceteros eius aetatis poetas Catullianos propius accedere mihi videantur quaeque mihi in mentem statim revocent Catulli carmina vel sat fideliter expressa vel callide detorta aliorum; ceterum haud secus ac Pontanus vel amatoria vel iocosa praeprimis canenda sibi proposuit. Huc accedit quod donec carminum copia ea, quae minime est exigua, iacebit oblivione obruta, eorundem quoque auctoris memoria obscurabitur, licet vir ille aetate poesis neolatinae floruerit aurea atque in Urbe feracissima humanistarum: quorum nonnullos in necessitudinem forsitan receperit. Prodeant ergo viri neolatinis studiosi qui edendis atque illustrandis Fracchi lusi-
bus strenuam dent operam!

(f. 58r) [I] *Ad hendecasyllabos*

Exite e gremio patris, gemelli, ⁶	
Exite auspicio bono et benigno,	
Exite, hendecasyllabi venusti,	
Perbellae illecebrae brevesque lusus,	
Quorum crinibus ipsa Sirmio ima	5
De myrto imposuit levem coronam.	
In ipsa haec venietis ora vulgi	
Legendi pariterque et osculandi.	
Ite ergo ad faciles et ad facetos:	
Eventu nam eritis boni et beati;	10
Iungent nam ioculis Catullianis,	
Addent et Iovianulis ⁷ supernis	
Lusus. Et referetis hos et illos,	
Nec pares eritis Catullianis,	
Pares nec Iovianulis. Quid ergo?	15
Quaedam tertia palma vestra fiet.	
Exite e gremio interim, gemelli.	

5 quorum crinibus: capillis quibus *ante corr.* 13 et: ad *ante corr.* Exite e *scripsi*
(*cfr. v. 1*): exite *cod.*

⁶ Sunt enim duo libri.

⁷ Id est, hendecasyllabis Iohannis Ioviani Pontani.

(f. 59r) [II] *De columba suae puellae*

Puellae, o cupidi, favete, amantes,
 Est cui candidior columba cycno,
 Multo passere blandior Catulli.
 Ad nudam levis advolat papillam.
 In mensa est pariter sodalis illa 5
 Cibumque esurit e suis labellis.
 Verum est ut dapibus quies, hianti
 Rostro adit digitum, iocatur ala.
 Ast ut sidera somnium reducunt,
 Optatus capitur sopor papillis. 10
 Tunc stringens mea lectulo hanc iacentem
 Ait: "Lactea tota, mollicella,
 Dormi, bella columbula, in papillis."
 O si me facerent dei hanc columbam!

8 adit: aut *ante corr.* 9 Ast: Ala *ante corr.* 10 sopor *conieci*: somnus *cod. contra metrum* 14 o: ut *ante corr.* *Post versiculum ultimum ante corr. sequebatur hic (ceterum mendosus):* fiam ut lascivior omnibus columbis

(f. 60r) [III] *De manu puellae saucia*

Nostrae heu saucia ave est manus puellae.
 Puellae o manus, o tenella, bella,
 Iaces quae in gremio! Dolete, Amores!
 Avis, sit tibi, sit malum nocenti,
 Ausa es quae Veneris manum ferire, 5
 Mecum ludere qua solebat illa;
 Orci quae quasi venit ad tenebras.
 At tibi male sit, dolor maligne,
 Sit magis tibi sed, tumor timorque,
 Indigno modo qui dolore fertis 10
 Bellis lacrimulas puellae ocellis!
 Cernitis rubeant pudore ut illi?
 Ite ad non teneras (rogo) puellas.
 Amabo, interea tuam parumper
 Pone hoc in gremio manum simulque 15
 Da mi basia nec fleas: repente
 Sentis pessimus ut dolor quievit?
 Collo pendula sis meo, sinistra:
 Vides ut subito tumor recessit?
 Quid si quod sequitur, benigna, fiet? 20
 Quod quaeris, subito tibi valebis!

2 Puellae *conieci*: manus *cod.* 8 At: Ut *ante corr.* 12 pudore ut illi: ut pudenter *ille ante corr.* 16 mi basia: mihi basium *ante corr.*

(ff. 62r-63r) [IV] *De anu*

Anus me tremula ad suos penates
 Heri ut duceret aede de Minervae,⁸
 “Salve, mi Novidi!” inquit et sinistram
 Apprehendens regione de viarum
 Deducit. Vice mox locutionis 5
 Paulatim incidit in iocos amoris.
 Esset num mihi postulat puella.
 “Nulla est”, inquit. Risit et subinde
 “Tibi esse attamen inquiunt sodales!”.
 Per novem dominas deasque⁹ iuro. 10
 “Tibi ergo illam ego comparabo”, dixit.
 “Non aes est mihi”, protinus loquebar.
 “Puella haec dabit”, inquit, “aes; eritque
 Non male hinc tibi, sed bene ac beate!”.
 Ubi esset rogito. Domi esse dixit 15
 Haec iam: “Age, ingredere”; “Haud opus, recuso:
 Exspectant socii in foro otiosi.”
 “Veni”, inquit. “Minime”, inquit; negantem
 Tandem me illecebrisque fabulisque
 Fallax impulit in suos penates. 20
 Circum me aspicio: “Hic puella nusquam est!”.
 Tunc inquit: “Novidi, illa me fefellit.
 Verum utrum haec sim ego an illa nempe, quid tum?”.
 Haec dicens sinibus reclusa totis,
 Tamquam cerea si fuisset ista, 25
 Nullo pondere decidit supina.
 Accusans ego mentulam haud valere
 Et tabi mihi paene perditam esse,
 Subtraxi me anui et domum redivi.

11 ergo: ego *ante corr.* illam: inquam *ante corr.* 14 hinc: in *ante corr.* 16 iam:
 amb *ante corr.* 23 quid tum: *versui 24° inclusit cod.*

(f. 66v) [V] *Ad Varum*

Puella est tibi, Vare, pervenusta!
 Quidni? Quod modico tenella naso,
 Brevi quod pede, quod nigella ocello
 (Dicunt) et tereti, aureo labello,
 Suci plenulaque atque mollicella. 5
 Verum nescio quid ferunt ineptum,
 Quod te suppudivit mihi fateri.

⁸ Quae ecclesia vulgo ‘S. Maria sopra Minerva’ nuncupatur.

⁹ Id est, Musas.

Quod ni hoc illepidumque et invenustum,
 Non posses mihi, Vare, conticere!
 Dicunt nam, quoties tibi iocari 10
 Lubet, ludere vel libidinosum,
 Amplexu in medio osculoque in ipso
 Mittere illepidam cacationem.¹⁰
 Pervenusta tua est puella, Vare,
 Ita di te adament ut est venusta! 15

4 dicunt *conieci*: dicite *cod.* 11 lubet : *versui 10° inclusit cod.* Libidinosum:
 libidinosum amplexus in *cod. ante corr.* 12 medio: medio et *cod. ante corr.*

Ceterum idem Novidius Fraccus hendecasyllabis eiusdem farinae et alias est usus, cum epigrammata ad hunc diem inedita luderet, quae continentur codice 45 G 16 bibliothecae Corsinianae item Romanae: neque his versiculis est quicquam commune cum hendecasyllabis more Italico exaratis. Argumento sint epigrammata nonnulla ex illo etiam codice excerpta. Ac primum quidem eiusmodi est ut non solum Catullum, sed etiam Martialem Ausoniumque in memoriam revocet.

(f. 218r) [VI] *Ad librum*

Quis te, quis modo de meis amicis
 Benigne excipiet, libelle, ut istas
 Tuas iam cupiat sonare nugas?
 Hospes Aemilius¹¹ nisi approbabit,
 Quam primum rapieris in culinam. 5
 Quare, si obsequeris tuo parenti,
 Cave ne videare patri iniquus,
 Fers tecum quoniam illius labores.
 Illum convenias; tuo ille saeclo
 Quidquid attuleris, dabit Ferentum, 10
 Multorum et venies in ora laetus,
 Studebit quoniam evocare caelo.
 O factum bene, candide o libelle,
 In sinum illius ipse quod volasti!
 Vives nam diu et, ipse quod volebam, 15
 Tutus iam tibi ab omnibus legeris.

14 quod *scripsi*: quo *cod.*

¹⁰ Argumentum adsimile occurrit perfunctorie legenti mihi codicem 45 G 16 bibliothecae Corsinianae, item Romanae, ff. 178r-186v (quibus foliis continetur *Ambrosii Novidii Fracci Ferentinatis epigrammatum liber duodecimus, qui Disticha inscribitur*), f. 179v (*In Martinam*): Cur non te futuo, quaeris, Martina; docebo: / inter opus quoniam semper inepta cacas.

¹¹ Quis ille patronus Ferentinas fuerit ignoro.

(f. 223r-v) [VII] *De cane suae puellae*

Malus dispeream, meae puellae	
Canis si canis est Melissa! Verum	
Humano ingenio est; nam iniqua tantum	
Habet tam bene quam puella sensum.	
Spectat nam quoties venire plena	5
Manu, pessima protinus movetur	
Ganniens vaga mollibus cachinnis,	
Tamquam sentiat esse nequiores	
Et large dare lubricis puellis.	
Di boni, modo credite, adnotavi	10
Dudum! Nam improba postibus sub ipsis	
Ubi me ad dominam venire vidit	
Inanem, vacuum levemque, paucos	
Tantum et versiculos manu ferentem,	
Surxit garrula voce et ore nudo,	15
Toto et limine depulit poetam.	
Et quod taetrius est maligniusque,	
Tamquam di ingenium cani dedissent,	
Cum latrat, mihi dum molesta facta est,	
Visa est dicere: "Cede, cede, vates:	20
Versus non petit ista, sed monetam!"	

(f. 253v) [VIII] *Ad Cicellum*

O quantum est hominum malorum ubique	
Scelestissime, pessimorum amice,	
Quid tibi feci, quid, Cicelle, dixi,	
Quod sic me male perdere apparasti	
Equo isto invalidoque et infaceto,	5
Dudum tam bene quem mihi probabas	
Locasti et pretio malo malignus,	
Iter cum in patriam pedes nequirem	
Exilis tenuisque debilisque,	
Fame et languidus et lue atque bello?	10
Sic sors ut tulerat malumque	
Ibat iam ad lapidem ille forte primum,	
Urgebam in loca plana vectus illum,	
Viam ut perficeret celer citusque,	
Adiutus pedibusque fustibusque,	15
Cum demum malus ipse, dum laborat	
Tamquam si ediderit ¹² novella prata,	

¹² = 'ederit'; namque teste *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* (5, 2, p. 99, ll. 53-64) formae verborum quae sunt '(foras) edere' et '(com)edere' saepenumero confundebantur.

Uda aut gramina rore malvulasve, Interturbat iter cacatione, Crura et posteriora stercorabat	20
Et (quod aegrius est molestiusque) Caudae aspergine pedito effluente Novam mi togulamque palliumque, A tergo male dum cacat ferendo, Ventris marcidula inquinavit offa;	25
Merdosa et madui miser procella! Nunc poscis pretium tibi diurnum? Malum quod tibi desit! Di deaeque, Tun' poscis pretium? Impudice, foedum Lavi: sat pretii puto dedisse!	30

21 *aegrius conieci*: *aequius cod.*

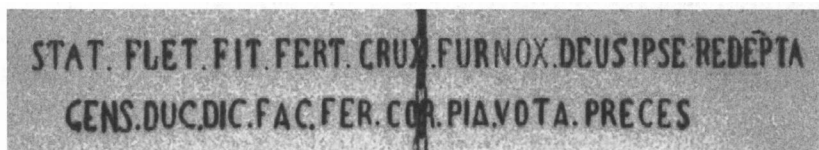
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UN'ISCRIZIONE LATINA A CORIGLIANO D'OTRANTO

Corigliano d'Otranto è un piccolo centro della provincia di Lecce (Salento), nel sud dell'Italia. Come la maggior parte degli altri centri salentini, anche Corigliano è ricca di iscrizioni latine, presenti sia nelle chiese, sia sulle facciate delle case ricche e povere.¹ Poiché Corigliano d'Otranto fa parte della Grecia Salentina, dove ancora si trovano persone che parlano in greco, è possibile trovare anche qualche iscrizione in greco (o *grico*, come si dice qui).

L'iscrizione di cui mi occupo si trova sull'architrave dell'altare del Crocefisso (ultimo della navata destra), realizzato nel 1628, ma rimaneggiato successivamente: "alla tela che raffigura l'*Addolorata con Santa Maria Maddalena e S. Giovanni* è sovrapposto un Crocefisso in cartapesta della metà del secolo scorso"² (Ottocento). L'iscrizione finora non è stata tradotta, anche perché è stata ritenuta "costituita da una successione di abbreviazioni che si riferiscono a diversi momenti della Passione di Cristo".³



(foto dell'iscrizione. Il segno a metà di essa si riferisce alla catenella che sostiene un lampadario)

¹ Angelo Campa – Vincenzo Peluso, *Guida di Corigliano. Tra le case e la fortezza nella Grecia Salentina* (Galatina: Congedo editore, 1999). Le iscrizioni latine di Corigliano d'Otranto risalgono a un periodo compreso tra la fine del Medioevo e la metà dell'Ottocento (p. 169).

² *Ibid.*, p. 139-140.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

Le parole dell'iscrizione sono divise da un punto, ovviamente secondo l'interpretazione di chi la incise e di chi la ridipinse recentemente ricalcando in nero il tracciato delle lettere. L'arch. Enzo Peluso, autore della *Guida* di Corigliano e della foto, noto studioso delle iscrizioni latine del Salento, così mi scriveva in una mail il 25 giugno 2013: "l'iscrizione mi sembra di gran lunga successiva rispetto alla data di costruzione dell'altare (1628); la scrittura non è assolutamente seicentesca ma mi sembra tardo settecentesca se non, addirittura, ottocentesca. Peraltro, nel Seicento ben difficilmente avrebbero sprecato uno specchio epigrafico così ampio per incidere caratteri graficamente banali ed a mala pena visibili ad occhio nudo".

Trascrivo il testo come si trova nella realtà:

STAT. FLET. FIT. FERT. CRUX. FURNOX. DEUSIPSE REDE(M)PTA
GENS. DUC. DIC. FAC. FER. COR. PIA. VOTA. PRECES

Nonostante l'aspetto strano del testo, che ha fatto pensare a una serie di abbreviazioni, in realtà i due versi costituiscono un distico elegiaco, nel quale l'unica abbreviazione è quella di REDE(M)PTA. Per il resto, sono parole complete; anche perché in un verso è meglio che non ci siano parole allungabili o comprimibili a piacere di chi scrive. C'è solo da notare che l'incisore e il pittore che ha colorato l'incisione evidentemente non hanno capito il testo latino e hanno accostato parole autonome significanti, formandone nuove ma senza alcun significato. È il caso di FURNOX che viene da FUR e NOX e poi di DEUSIPSE che viene da DEUS e IPSE. Chiarito questo, il verso va letto nel modo seguente, e da questo partiremo per le nostre osservazioni:

STAT. FLET. FIT. FERT. CRUX. FUR. NOX. DEUS. IPSE. REDEMPTA
GENS. DUC. DIC. FAC. FER. COR. PIA. VOTA. PRECES

L'autore dimostra buona conoscenza della lingua latina e persino di alcune caratteristiche morfologiche (anche se scolastiche), ma conosce anche la tecnica della metrica latina quantitativa persino in alcune specifiche particolarità. La lunga serie di monosillabi può derivare da reminiscenze di morfologia; ma l'autore sa bene che, a fine parola, una sillaba breve in consonante, seguita da una parola iniziante per consonante, si allunga (per posizione o per convenzione); e questo gli permette di usare anche, per es., *cor* breve seguito da *pia*, come anche in altri casi. Degna di nota, mi pare, la messa in evidenza della parola CRUX, nel *locus evidentiae* della pentemimera; in un altare dedicato alla crocifissione, tale

parola CRUX risulta della massima importanza. Per giunta, nei tre *loci evidentiae* del verso (inizio, cesura pentemimera, fine verso) il poeta ha posto tre elementi importantissimi per la vita del cristiano: STAT, CRUX, REDEMPTA: la Croce innalzata porta la redenzione.

L'esametro si presenta con una serie di quattro verbi, seguita dalla serie dei rispettivi soggetti e un complemento oggetto. Il pentametro si presenta con un monosillabo iniziale vocativo, che indirizza ai soggetti della serie seguente di quattro verbi all'imperativo, seguiti dai rispettivi complementi oggetti. Per comprendere e tradurre il testo, è necessario unire tra di loro gli elementi che compongono le singole brevi frasi: *Stat crux*; *flet fur* (il buon ladrone crocifisso con Gesù); *fit nox* (l'oscuramento alla morte di Cristo); *fert deus ipse redempta* (neutro plurale, 'gli elementi della redenzione', 'la redenzione' stessa). Il pentametro inizia col vocativo *gens* rivolto ai fedeli di Corigliano; seguono gli accostamenti *duc cor*; *dic pia* (accusativo neutro plurale: le cose pie, le orazioni); *fac vota* (fai voti o costruisci voti⁴); *fer preces*.

Chiariti tutti questi elementi, necessari per comprendere questo distico, è anche bene chiarire che qui si tratta di un genere poetico che ha altri esempi nella letteratura latina. Questo sarebbe un esempio di "versi rapportati"⁵, anche se l'autore coriglianese si prende qualche "licenza" che avrebbe forse potuto evitare. I poeti talvolta si creano le difficoltà per dimostrare la loro bravura nel superarle; in questo caso si hanno quattro frasi in un verso e altre quattro nell'altro verso, i cui elementi vanno raccolti secondo la loro funzione logica. Il lettore deve poi ricostruire le frasi.

In un'iscrizione che accompagna una "Crocifissione", questo genere di composizione costituisce solo un divertimento o una manifestazione di bravura da parte dell'autore? Il distico è pienissimo di sillabe lunghe

⁴ *Vota* (accusativo neutro plurale) può essere un termine ambiguo, ossia indicare "voti" come "promesse", oppure, come si trova spesso negli atti di Visite pastorali, può indicare quello che noi oggi chiamiamo "ex voto", ossia oggetti che i fedeli donano alla chiesa per una grazia ricevuta. Il verbo *facere* che precede, farebbe propendere per questo secondo significato. Ma preferisco lasciare la scelta interpretativa al lettore.

⁵ Il genere era popolare nel Medio Evo e nel Rinascimento, fino al Settecento in latino. Ma comincia già nell'antichità, come nello pseudo-epitaffio di Virgilio: *Pastor, arator, eques pavi, colui, superavi / capras, rus, hostes fronde, ligone, manu* (*Anthologia Latina*, ed A. Riese, 2 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1870), num. 872, p. 296). V. Alfred Liede, *Dichtung als Spiel. Studien zur Unsinnpoesie an den Grenzen der Sprache*, 2 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1963), pp. 158-160; Hans Weis, *Bella bulla. Lateinische Sprachspielereien*, Dümmler-buch, 4701 (Bonn: Dümmler, 1985), pp. 96-97 ('Trittverse').

(e quindi di spondei), con le sillabe brevi esattamente dove sono strettamente necessari i dattili secondo un'antica e ben consolidata tecnica esametrica. Tutte quelle sillabe lunghe, per giunta costituite da monosillabi quasi sempre allitteranti, creano un andamento nello stesso tempo doloroso, lento e solenne. E' quello che l'autore ha voluto fare, a mio parere.

Ecco allora la traduzione:

S'INNALZA LA CROCE, PIANGE IL (buon) LADRONE, SI FA NOTTE,
 QUESTO DIO PORTA LA REDENZIONE //
 O POPOLO, PORTA QUI IL TUO CUORE, MANIFESTA CON PAROLE
 LA TUA PIETÀ, FAI I TUOI VOTI, PORTA QUI LE TUE PREGHIERE.

Si potrebbe anche presentare una seconda interpretazione, più interessante e certamente più suggestiva. Ma tale seconda interpretazione presumerebbe un poeta valido sia per i contenuti poetici, sia per la conoscenza delle "tecniche" con le quali esprimere al meglio quei contenuti. Chi poteva essere l'autore di questa iscrizione? Intanto non si è firmato. Per giunta gioca su reminiscenze scolastiche, anche se raggiunge buoni risultati. Credo che sia stato un sacerdote del luogo.

Ma un vero ed elegante poeta latino avrebbe usato altri mezzi; o almeno avrebbe potuto usare le stesse parole con significati o funzioni un po' diverse.

E' infatti un po' strano l'uso di GENS in maniera così isolata e assoluta, che non troverebbe riscontri nell'uso classico. Nel distico in questione sono presenti numerosi accusativi plurali neutri (REDEMPTA, PIA, VOTA) che bisogna interpretare in maniera un po' forzata. Inoltre nella serie di 'parole rapportate', ci sarebbero irregolarità. Nella prima (esametro) si troverebbero verbi e soggetti, ma anche un singolo complemento oggetto (REDEMPTA). Nella seconda serie (pentametro), si troverebbe un vocativo isolato GENS, prima di verbi e oggetti.

Si tenti allora di unire i due elementi 'poco logici' delle due serie, (ossia REDEMPTA e GENS), che formerebbero l'espressione REDEMPTA GENS, al centro del distico, in forte *enjambement*; questa frase al vocativo collegherebbe le due serie di parole rapportate, dando loro un significato più ricco e più valido. L'autore dei versi si rivolgerebbe ai fedeli e li chiamerebbe GENS REDEMPTA, "gente redenta". La 'redenzione' costituirebbe un forte riferimento all'altare (crocifissione), già evidenziato dal CRUX in loco evidētiaē prima della pentemimera dell'esametro.

Resta il problema del FERT DEUS IPSE che, senza l'oggetto REDEMPTA, risulterebbe zoppicante e senza significato. Se però si tiene

presente la doppia presenza di questo verbo, FERT nel primo verso e FER nel secondo, si potrebbe pensare a una *variatio* di significato (caratteristica e spesso usata nella poesia latina): FERT potrebbe essere preso in senso assoluto e avrebbe il valore di *tolerat*, *patitur*, mentre FER sarebbe un *affer* con complemento oggetto (qui PRECES). Si avrebbe “È DIO STESSO CHE SOFFRE”.

Con questa interpretazione, avremmo un significato generale simile a quello presentato prima, ma un po' diverso è più efficace:

S'INNALZA LA CROCE, PIANGE IL (buon) LADRONE, SI FA SERA,
È DIO STESSO CHE SOFFRE //
O GENTE REDENTA, PORTA QUI IL TUO CUORE, MANIFESTA CON
PAROLE LA TUA PIETÀ, FAI I TUOI VOTI, PORTA QUI LE TUE
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UNE RÉÉDITION DE VERS LATINS DE RIMBAUD EN JUIN 1870

Le poème latin 'Tempus erat...', composé par Rimbaud en classe de rhétorique, a paru deux fois en 1870. Publié, sans titre, dans le *Moniteur de l'enseignement secondaire. Bulletin de l'académie de Douai*, 2^e année, n° 8 (15 avril 1870), pp. 62-63, avec une version latine, un discours latin et une autre pièce de vers latins du même élève (*Invocation à Venus, Verba Apollonii de Marco Cicerone et Olim inflatus...*), on le retrouve, pourvu d'un titre: *Le Jeune Charpentier de Nazareth*, dans un périodique de Montpellier, *Le Cahier d'honneur. Revue de l'enseignement secondaire*, 3^e année, n° 56, du 15 juin 1870, p. 47. Les vers sont signés 'A. Rimbaud, élève de M. G. Izambard, au Collège de Charleville (Ardennes)'. La présence d'une composition du collégien de Charleville dans cette revue, dont la diffusion était nationale, peut être interprétée comme une forme de consécration.

Le Jeune Charpentier de Nazareth

Le texte du poème, dans la version du *Cahier d'honneur*, comporte des variantes de ponctuation qui clarifient certaines articulations narratives: aux vers 1 et 3, des alinéas isolent un segment introductif; au vers 15, un point-virgule placé en fin d'hexamètre, à la place d'un point dans le *Moniteur*, rétablit une structure énumérative. D'autres corrections, dont la signification syntaxique n'est pas claire, traduisent vraisemblablement un usage souple des signes: aux vers 15 et 25, les deux points remplacent respectivement un point-virgule et une structure plus complexe, composée de points de suspension et d'un point-virgule. Cette dernière correction procède sans doute aussi d'une volonté de clarification.

Le poème de Rimbaud est surtout privé des seize derniers vers, c'est-à-dire de la dernière partie de la fable, où le Christ se blesse avec une scie. La coupe coïncide avec la matière de l'exercice, en vers français, qui avait paru dans le *Cahier d'honneur*, 2^e année, n° 43 (1869), p. 4.

Les treize numéros et les quelque six mois qui séparent la publication du sujet et du poème laissent penser que les vers ont été insérés pour leur qualité et parce qu'ils servaient, quoique tardivement, la cohérence éditoriale. Il n'est donc pas certain que Rimbaud ou Izambard soient intervenus dans cette publication. Une note accrochée au titre du poème, qui renvoie au *Moniteur* de Douai, permet de faire l'hypothèse d'une reprise sans intermédiaires. Voici le texte de cette note: 'La traduction complète de cette légende évangélique a paru dans le *Moniteur de l'enseignement [secondaire]. Bulletin officiel de l'académie de Douai*'. Par ailleurs, la revue montpelliéraine n'adressait pas d'exemplaires aux élèves dont la copie était publiée.

Une matière tirée des *Récits poétiques* d'Eugène Mordret

La matière du *Jeune Charpentier de Nazareth* avait été proposée par un enseignant du lycée Napoléon-Vendée (à la Roche-sur-Yon), Eugène Louis, à la mémoire d'un collègue du même établissement, Eugène Mordret (1830-1856), professeur de classe de logique (équivalent de la Terminale), collaborateur d'un périodique légitimiste, la *Revue contemporaine*, et neveu d'une figure de la cause républicaine, le député Jacques Dupont, dit Dupont de l'Eure (1767-1855). Son poème *Le Christ à la scie, légende* avait paru l'année de son décès, dans un recueil intitulé *Récits poétiques*.¹

Le texte de Mordret reproduit dans *Le Cahier d'honneur* est conforme à l'original, ce qui n'est pas le cas dans le *Moniteur* de Douai, où la ponctuation tend à souligner les pauses, à la rime: au vers 1, un point-virgule remplace une virgule; aux vers 6, 13 et 20, un point remplace un point-virgule ou les deux-points. Elle donne, ailleurs, une plus grande fluidité à certains vers: aux vers 6, 15 et 19, les virgules d'encadrement disparaissent autour du complément circonstanciel ou derrière la conjonction; au vers 14, un point-virgule remplace les deux points. Le texte du *Moniteur* comporte trois autres variantes: 'Il croissait en douceur' au lieu de 'Et croissait en douceur' (vers 2); 'un beau rayon d'argent' pour 'un doux rayon d'argent' (vers 10); 'un regard attendri' au lieu de 'ses yeux attendris' (vers 23).

¹ Eugène Mordret, *Récits poétiques* (Paris: Ledoyen), 1856, pp. 217-219.

Le Christ à la scie, légende figure dans la deuxième partie du recueil de Mordret, *Tableaux de genre*, qui regroupe un ensemble de pièces courtes et lyriques. Les cinq récits ou dialogues historiques en vers qui composent la première partie rendent mieux compte des affinités romantiques que le poète affiche dans *Meyerbeer*², où il se représente en compagnie de Hugo, son 'maître' (vers 11), Jules Barbier (1825-1901), Auguste Brizeux (1803-1858), Musset, Rodolphe Töpffer (1799-1846), Jules Sandeau (1811-1883)³, Balzac, George Sand et plusieurs compositeurs. La tonalité de ces récits est proche des vers de Rimbaud de 1870: le poème *Nicolas Flamel*, qui reprend le scénario faustien, prête à l'alchimiste des idées antimonarchistes⁴; Mordret accorde aussi à ses personnages féminins une sensualité à l'antique qui est proche de *Soleil et chair*:

Écoute-moi, Vénus, Érycine adorée,
Blanche, et voluptueuse, et douce déité,
Qui dans Chypre la molle et Paphos enchanté
Ris sous les sapins verts de la forêt sacrée,
Et verse mollement sur la terre enivrée
Des torrents de jeunesse et de fécondité!⁵

Le Cahier d'honneur

Le Cahier d'honneur a paru entre 1868 et juillet 1870 et de 1872 à 1874, avec des sous-titres variables, *Recueil de devoirs classiques et choix de lectures à l'usage des élèves*, puis *Revue de l'enseignement secondaire*, ou encore *Journal des collèges* et *Journal des professeurs et des élèves*, sous la direction de Jean-Alexis Marion dit Marion-Werner, professeur 'agrégé de l'université', en poste à Montpellier puis inspecteur d'académie. Bihebdomadaire, il connaît une déclinaison scientifique, mensuelle, jusqu'en 1870, *Le Cahier d'honneur. Recueil de devoirs. Mathématiques*,

² *Meyerbeer*, *ibid.*, pp. 211-212.

³ Plusieurs nécrologues présentent Jules Sandeau comme un protecteur de Mordret, notamment Alexandre Massé, 'Poètes normands contemporains', *Revue de la Normandie* (Rouen, 1866), VI, 355. Le romancier fit paraître des textes inédits du poète, à sa mort, dans la *Revue contemporaine*.

⁴ *Nicolas Flamel*, dans Mordret, *Récits poétiques*, p. 110: 'Que m'importe ton roi, tes vaillants et tes peux! | Que me font tes soudarts et tes hommes de guerre, | [...] Vidames et barons, qui me raillez peut-être, | Je suis votre seigneur et je suis votre maître'.

⁵ *Galatée, poème antique*, *ibid.*, p. 95.

physique, chimie, histoire naturelle. À la différence d'autres publications spécialisées dans le parascolaire, comme la *Revue de l'instruction publique*, de Louis Hachette ou la *Gazette spéciale de l'instruction publique*, de Jules Delalain, le périodique ne contient pas de partie officielle et ne publie pas de circulaires ou de textes de lois. Il ne se rattache pas non plus à l'ensemble des bulletins départementaux, qu'une circulaire du 14 septembre 1865 place sous l'autorité des inspecteurs d'académie et du ministère de l'Instruction publique et qui s'intéressaient essentiellement à l'enseignement primaire⁶. Il poursuit une tradition de revues latines dont le modèle est l'*Hermes romanus* ou *Mercure latin*, paru entre 1816 et 1819 sous la direction Joseph-Nicolas Barbier-Vémars (1775-183.?), professeur de rhétorique au lycée Bonaparte (actuel lycée Condorcet) puis conservateur à la Bibliothèque nationale, également collaborateur aux *Annales des arts et manufactures* et au *Journal général de la France*. L'*Hermes romanus*, qui fut diffusé dans toute l'Europe, fut aussi plusieurs fois imité.⁷ Il marqua les mémoires, comme l'atteste une lettre publiée dans la rubrique correspondance du *Cahier d'honneur*:

L'*Hermes romanus* a bien vieilli, et sa rédaction, qui date de 1816, nous semble un peu pédante en 1869! (...) Hélas! nous aussi, nous vieillissons; mais il nous faut réagir en pensant à la jeunesse que nous avons à former: c'est notre devoir de rajeunir pour elle cet enseignement classique que le vulgaire peut croire suranné, mais qui conserve au fond tant de verdeur⁸.

⁶ On peut se reporter à l'état des collections publié dans *La Presse d'éducation et d'enseignement, XVIII^e siècle-1940. Répertoire analytique*, dir. Pierre Caspard (Paris: INRP-CNRS, 1981), I, pp. 298-304.

⁷ Citons, en France, l'*Almanach des muses latines* (1817-1819) et l'*Apis Romana. Journal de littérature latine* (1821-1823). Le séminaire de Montlieu publia irrégulièrement, entre 1852 et 1878, un périodique intitulé *Apis Romana sive menstrua litterarum Latinarum collectanea e scriptis tum nostrae aetatis tum superioris aevi excerpta*. Si les revues latines du début du siècle comptaient déjà de nombreux liens avec le milieu de l'enseignement, celles de la seconde partie du siècle, dont *Le Cahier d'honneur*, s'inscrivent dans un marché parascolaire en plein essor. Sur les *Apis romana*, on peut se reporter à l'article de D. Sacré, 'An heir to Joseph Addison: Théodule Paillard-Fernel', *Camenæ*, 16 (novembre 2013), pp. 34-35.

⁸ Cette lettre de Jean-François Thénard, professeur au lycée d'Angoulême, fut publiée dans *Le Cahier d'honneur. Revue de l'enseignement secondaire*, 2^e année, n° 29 (1869), p. 8. Dans le n° 57 du même *Cahier*, le 1^{er} juillet 1870, p. 51, une note évoque les 'Muses de Juilly, – muses célèbres dès le temps de l'*Hermes romanus*', en référence aux nombreuses contributions signées de ce pseudonyme, que la revue latine publia. Sur l'importance de l'*Hermes romanus*, on peut se reporter aux articles de D. Sacré, 'An heir to Joseph Addison', qui s'intéresse au rapport de la revue avec l'Institution Sainte-Barbe; 'La poésie néo-latine en France au XIX^e siècle', dans *La Réception du latin du XIX^e siècle à nos jours. Actes du colloque d'Angers les 23 et 24 septembre 1994*, dir. G. Cesbron et

Le succès de l'*Hermes romanus* n'est pas étranger à la dynamique de valorisation des humanités classiques qui accompagna la Restauration. Celui du *Cahier d'honneur*, qui intervient dans un contexte moins favorable au latin, peut être relié à la décision de Victor Duruy, ministre de l'Instruction publique, de porter le concours général dans les départements, en 1864. D'abord autographe, la revue fut imprimée à Montpellier, chez Boehm et fils, dès le troisième numéro. Le bandeau placé sous le titre annonce sa diffusion en librairie, à Montpellier, Marseille et Nîmes, en 1868; à partir du n° 12, à Montpellier, Paris, Marseille, Orléans, Nîmes, Perpignan, Reims et Alger. Au n° 19, la même année, l'éditeur signale que les lecteurs 'de Suisse, de Belgique et d'Italie' peuvent payer leur abonnement en timbres locaux. En 1870, la revue est disponible 'chez les concierges de Paris, Lyon, Montpellier, etc.'. D. Guillot, le gérant du *Moniteur* de Douai, où furent publiés les compositions latines de Rimbaud, cite la publication montpelliéraine en exemple, dans son prospectus:

À l'exemple du *Cahier* de Montpellier, nous donnerons de temps en temps des sujets de composition pour les élèves de divers enseignements, primaire, spécial et classique. Nous publierons les meilleures copies, et un volume sera envoyé à l'élève qui aura le mieux réussi.⁹

Le Cahier d'honneur s'adresse en priorité aux élèves, à travers des leçons et des sujets à traiter, classés par niveaux. Les vers latins y occupent une place centrale. Les bonnes copies tenaient lieu de corrigés. 'Les manuscrits destinés à l'insertion', lit-on dans un cadre placé près du titre, devaient être 'signés et garantis par le visa d'un professeur.' La nécessité du visa est réaffirmée à plusieurs reprises, dans la correspondance du n° 42: 'Le visa du professeur nous paraît indispensable comme garantie contre toute tentative de surprise ou de plagiat'. Ce visa, auquel s'ajoutent à l'occasion des commentaires imprimés en notes, est la manifestation d'un lien privilégié entre un professeur et un élève. À ce titre, *Le Cahier d'honneur* donna peut-être, dans le milieu scolaire, une certaine publicité à quelques-uns de ces liens: Paul Deschanel (1855-1922),

L. Richer (Angers: Presses de l'Université d'Angers, 1996), pp. 67-77; voir également R. Jalabert – D. Sacré, 'Bibliographie intermédiaire des poètes et versificateurs latins en France au XIXe siècle', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 59 (2010), 286-287.

⁹ D. Guillot, [Prospectus pour l'année 1870 du] *Moniteur de l'enseignement secondaire*. Bulletin officiel de l'académie de Douai, Lille, [1870].

élève de Victor Cucheval au lycée Bonaparte¹⁰; A. Honnoré, élève d'Étienne Dumas au lycée de Marseille¹¹; G. Lombard, élève de Julien Duchesne au lycée de Nancy¹²; G. Mazure, élève de Jean-François Thénard au lycée d'Angoulême¹³; A. Pitavy, élève de M. Bonieux au lycée de Saint-Étienne.¹⁴

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¹⁰ Paul Deschanel, 'Bacchus aux enfers' [composition du 10 octobre 1868], *Le Cahier d'honneur. Recueil de devoirs classiques et choix de lectures à l'usage des élèves*, 1^{re} année, n° 23 et 24 (anno finiente 1868), p. 5; 'Le chien du mont Saint-Bernard' [30 octobre 1868], *ibid.*, 2^e année, n° 25 (1869), pp. 6-7; 'Cristophe Colomb découvre l'Amérique' [30 octobre 1868], *ibid.*, 2^e année, n° 25 (1869), p. 7; 'Satan fait la revue des anges rebelles' [janvier 1869], *ibid.*, 2^e année, n° 28 (1869), p. 6; 'Le vélocipède' [janvier 1869], *ibid.*, 2^e année, n° 28 (1869), p. 6; 'Amyntas seu viatores', *ibid.*, 2^e année, n° 34 (1869), p. 5; 'Entrevue d'Hamlet avec le fantôme de son père' [juin 1869], *ibid.*, 2^e année, n° 40 (1869), p. 5; 'Le sommeil et la mort', *ibid.*, 2^e année, n° 42 (1869), p. 7.

¹¹ A. Honnoré, 'Le camp de Cortez', *Le Cahier d'honneur. Revue de l'enseignement secondaire*, 2^e année, n° 42 (1869), p. 8; 'Describetur draco a Neptuno immissus contra Hippolytum, fragment de *Phèdre* de Racine', *ibid.*, 2^e année, n° 44 (1869), p. 5; 'Somnium Lucretiae, d'après un fragment de la *Lucrèce* de Ponsard', *ibid.*, 3^e année, n° 46 (15 janvier 1870), p. 7; 'Mazeppa', 'Aspiration vers l'inconnu', *ibid.*, 3^e année, n° 53 (15 mai 1870), pp. 38-39.

¹² G. Lombard, 'Incendie d'un navire', *Le Cahier d'honneur. Revue de l'enseignement secondaire*, 2^e année, n° 34 (1869), p. 5; 'La bataille des pyramides, voir Thiers, *Révolution française*, t. X', *Le Cahier d'honneur. Revue de l'enseignement secondaire*, 2^e année, n° 36 (1869), p. 6; 'Chant des pirates', *ibid.*, 2^e année, n° 37 (1869), pp. 5-6; 'Apparition de l'ange Gabriel à Godefroi de Bouillon, d'après *La Jérusalem délivrée*, chant I', *ibid.*, 2^e année, n° 40 (1869), p. 6.

¹³ G. Mazure, 'Ma mère, traduit de l'anglais' [avec F. Raballet], *Le Cahier d'honneur. Revue de l'enseignement secondaire*, 2^e année, n° 27 (1869), pp. 7-8; 'Amyntas' [avec F. Raballet et Béchade], *ibid.*, 2^e année, n° 28 (1869), p. 7; 'Le jeune Schiller', *ibid.*, 2^e année, n° 32 (1869), p. 6 [strophes alcaïques]; 'Robinson découvre des pas d'homme', *ibid.*, 2^e année, n° 36 (1869), p. 5; 'Le ranz des vaches' [composition du 11 mai 1869], *ibid.*, 2^e année, n° 37 (1869), p. 4; 'Samuel Morse rendant l'ouïe et la parole à une sourde-muette' [avec F. Raballet], *ibid.*, 2^e année, n° 37 (1869), p. 8.

¹⁴ A. Pitavy, 'Le dimanche des rameaux pour les enfants', *Le Cahier d'honneur. Recueil de devoirs classiques et choix de lectures à l'usage des élèves*, 1^{re} année, n° 21 et 22 (kalendis decembris 1868), pp. 5-6; 'Hymne de délivrance des Israélites', *Le Cahier d'honneur. Revue de l'enseignement secondaire*, 2^e année, n° 30 (1869), p. 6; 'Flore, la rose et l'enfant', *ibid.*, 2^e année, n° 32 (1869), p. 7; 'Chant des pirates de l'archipel', *ibid.*, 2^e année, n° 36 (1869), pp. 5-6 [strophes alcaïques].

INSTRUMENTUM BIBLIOGRAPHICUM NEOLATINUM

apparaverunt

Dirk Sacré, Gilbert Tournoy, Kris Delcroix

iuvantibus Michał Czerenkiewicz, Antonio Dávila Pérez,
Jeanine De Landsheer, Jan Papy et Toon Van Hal

Appellatio ad auctores

Auctores librorum et commentationum de rebus neolatinis enixe rogamus ut nuntium de novis opusculis nobis mittant (in Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae, Blijde-Inkomststraat 21 (Box 3311), B-3000 Leuven, Belgium [vel: Dirk. Sacre@arts.kuleuven.be]), quo citius in hoc instrumentum possint referri.

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SIGLA:

<i>AHSI</i>	<i>Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu</i> (Roma)
<i>AM</i>	<i>Archivum Mentis. Studi di filologia e letteratura umanistica</i> (Università del Salento – Università di Udine)
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte</i> (Gütersloh)
<i>BHR</i>	<i>Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance</i> (Genève)
<i>Camenae</i>	<i>Camenae</i> (Université de Paris – Sorbonne – Paris IV); vide interrete: http://www.paris-sorbonne.fr/la-recherche/les-unites-de-recherche/mondes-anciens-et-medievaux-ed1/rome-et-ses-renaissances-art-3625/revue-en-ligne-camenae/
<i>CamHung</i>	<i>Camoenae Hungaricae</i> (Budapest)
<i>CH</i>	<i>Les Cahiers de l'Humanisme</i> (Paris)
<i>CM</i>	<i>Colloquia Maruliana</i> (Split)
<i>CR</i>	<i>Calamus renascens. Revista de humanismo y tradición clásica</i> (Alcañiz – Teruel – Cádiz)
<i>DGP</i>	<i>De Gulden Passer. Tijdschrift voor boekwetenschap</i> (Antwerpen)
<i>ERSY</i>	<i>Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook</i> (Middleton, WI)
<i>GSLI</i>	<i>Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana</i> (Torino)
<i>HL</i>	<i>Humanistica Lovaniensia</i> (Leuven)
<i>IJCT</i>	<i>International Journal of the Classical Tradition</i> (Boston)
<i>IMU</i>	<i>Italia Medioevale e Umanistica</i> (Milano)

<i>JMRS</i>	<i>The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies</i> (Durham, NC)
<i>JWCI</i>	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i> (London)
<i>NJ</i>	<i>Neulateinisches Jahrbuch</i> (Hildesheim – Zürich – New York)
<i>RELat</i>	<i>Revista de Estudios Latinos</i> (Madrid)
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Réforme, Humanisme, Renaissance</i> (Lyon)
<i>RIN</i>	<i>Rinascimento</i> (Firenze)
<i>RnR</i>	<i>Roma nel Rinascimento</i> (Roma)
<i>RPH</i>	<i>Revista Portuguesa de Humanidades</i> (Braga)
<i>RPL</i>	<i>Res Publica Litterarum</i> (Roma)
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Renaissance Quarterly</i> (New York)
<i>RS</i>	<i>Renaissance Studies. Journal of the Society for Renaissance Studies</i> (Oxford)
<i>SCJ</i>	<i>The Sixteenth Century Journal</i> (Missouri, CO)
<i>SPV</i>	<i>Studia Philologica Valentina</i> (València)
<i>SUP</i>	<i>Studi Umanistici Piceni</i> (Sassoferrato)
<i>TAPhA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i> (Atlanta, GE)
<i>Vates</i>	<i>Vates. The Journal of New Latin Poetry</i> ; vide interrete: http://pineapplepubs.snazzystuff.co.uk/vates.htm
<i>WBN</i>	<i>Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten</i> (Wiesbaden)
<i>WRM</i>	<i>Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen</i> (Wiesbaden)

ABBREVIATIONES:

<i>British Isles</i>	Houghton Luke B.T. – Gesine Manuwald (eds.), <i>Neo-Latin Poetry in the British Isles</i> (London: Bristol Classical Press, 2012).
<i>Discourses of Power</i>	Enenkel Karl – Marc Laureys – Christoph Pieper (eds.), <i>Discourses of Power. Ideology and Politics in Neo-Latin Literature</i> , <i>Noctes Neolatinae</i> , 17 (Hildesheim, etc.: Olms, 2012).
<i>Diseases of the Imagination</i>	Haskell Yasmin (ed.), <i>Diseases of the Imagination and Imaginary Disease in the Early Modern Period</i> , <i>Early European Research</i> , 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).
<i>Drama, Performance</i>	Bloemendal Jan – Peter G. Eversmann – Elsa Strietman (eds.), <i>Drama, Performance and Debate. Theatre and Public Opinion in the Early Modern Period</i> , <i>Drama and Theatre in Early Modern Europe</i> , 2 (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2013).
<i>Dulces Camenae</i>	Luque Jesús – M ^a Dolores Rincón – Isabel Velázquez (eds.), <i>Dulces Camenae. Poética y poesía latinas</i> (Granada – Jaén: Sociedad de Estudios Latinos, 2010 [2012]).
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AMERICA (ORBIS NOVUS):

- vide infra 1.5: Aristotele (Priani Saisó – Rodríguez); 2.1 (Villalba de la Güida); 4.2: de León (Palomares), Waldseemüller (Lehmann).

ANGLIA:

- vide infra: Britannia.

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- vide infra 3.1 (Jakubcova – Pernerstorfer).

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- GLAMORGANENSIS COMITATUS: vide infra 2.1 (Davies).
- SCOTIA: vide infra 1.2: Scotia.

CECHIA:

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- BOHEMIA: vide supra 1.2: Bohemia.
- PRAGA: vide infra 4.2: Petrarca (Špička).

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- SILESIA: vide infra 1.2: Silesia.

GRAECIA:

- vide infra: Italia (Lamers); 2.2: Gemisthus (Lamers).
- CONSTANTINOPOLIS: vide infra 4.2: Posculus (Valseriati).

HELVETIA:

- vide infra 4.2: Glareanus (Korenjak).
- BASILEA: vide infra 1.5: Velleius Paterculus (Ruiz Castellanos).
- VALLIS ENIATINA: vide infra 2.2: Fabricius (Döpp).

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- vide et infra: Silesia (Kadłubek); 1.5: Biblia (Fernández Marcos); 1.8 (Shuger); 4.1 (Truman); 4.2: Erasmus (Lisi), Schoppius (Floristán-2).
- ARAGONIA: vide infra: Italia: Neapolis (Addesso); 4.2: Pontanus I.I. (Cappelli), Salutatatus (De Rosa).
- CASTELLA: vide infra 4.2: de Carthagenae (Fernández López), de Covarrubias y Leyva (Pérez Martín – Becedas González: González Alonso).
- COMPLUTUM: vide infra 2.2: Arias Montanus (Pascual Barea).
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- ESCURIALE: vide infra 4.2: Arias Montanus (Esteban).
- HELMANTICA: vide infra: Salmantica.
- HISPALIS: vide infra 1.5 (Beltrán Fortes – Peñalver Gómez).
- MOZONCILLO: vide infra 4.2: Lacuna (Nelson Novoa).
- SALMANTICA: vide infra 4.2: de Covarrubias y Leyva (Pérez Martín – Becedas González: Rodríguez San Pedro Bezares)
- SANCTUS CHRISTOPHORUS DE LAGUNA: vide infra 1.5 (Salas Salgado).
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- vide infra: Transylvania (Monok).

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- BONONIA: vide infra 4.2: Petrarca (Morelli).
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GUILLARD, CAROLA (ca. 1480-1557): vide infra 4.2: Erasmus (Boillot).

MINUTIANUS, ALEXANDER (ca. 1540-1522): vide infra 4.2 sub nom.

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PLANTINUS, CHRISTOPHORUS (ca. 1520-1589): vide infra 4.2 sub nom.

VIETOR, HIERONYMUS [dictus PHILOVALLENSIS sive DOLIARIUS] (ca. 1480-1546/7): vide infra 4.2: Erasmus (Kiliańczyk-Zięba).

1.10. Interpretatoria

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INSTRUMENTUM LEXICOGRAPHICUM

apparavit D. Sacré

1. NOVA LEXICA

Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources, XV: *Sal – Sol*. Prepared by D.R. Howlett – R.K. Ashdowne; XVI: *Sol - Syr*. Prepared by R.K. Ashdowne - D.R. Howlett (...) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012-2013)

De Kinder Guy, *ABC van het plantenlatijn. Betekenis van botanische namen* (Melle: ed. priv., 2010²)

Del Col José Juan, *Diccionario auxiliar español-latino para el uso moderno del latín* (Bahía Blanca: Instituto Superior Juan XXIII, 2007)

2. INDEX VERBORUM RECENTIORUM

Sequuntur verba quae neque in *Thesaurο Linguae Latinae* (ThLL) neque in *Lexico Totius Latinitatis Forcelliniano* (Forc.) reperiuntur. Ea autem quae in lexicis et glossariis mediae et inferioris Latinitatis leguntur stellulis (*) notavimus; cruciculis (+) quae in lexico neolatino Renati Hoven (Hoven), orbiculis (°) quae in indice verborum neolatorum Iohannis Ramminger (Ramm.) interretiali offenduntur. Uncinulos (I) eis praemisimus verbis, quae quidem reperiuntur apud veteres, at intellectu insigniuntur diverso. Nomina locorum virorumve et mulierum quaeque ex eis sunt derivata, aliaque id genus vocabula non nisi raro afferuntur.

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*+Alphabeticus, -a, -um (*habet ThLL inter voces dubias*): *alphabetical*: 311

*°Anagrammatismus, -i (*exhibet inter voces dubias Forc.*): *anagram*: 59

*+Antidotarium, -ii: *antidotary*: 463

*+°Archidux: *archduke*: 57

[*+Archigymnasium, -ii (*deest in ThLL*): *high-school, university*: 317

*+°Artista, -ae: *teacher of the liberal arts*: 244

*Asceticus, -a, -um: *ascetic*: 469

Aulicitas, -tatis: *courtierism*: 307

*+Baccalaureus, -ei: *bachelor*: 463

*Banc(h)arius, -a, -um: *having reference to the bank*: 294

[*+Banc(h)us, -i: *bank*: 292, 294

Baphice, -es: *art of dyeing*: 506

- [*+Baro, -onis: *baron*: 371
- *+°Bombardicus, -a, -um: *of a fire-arm*: 44
- *+°Breviusculus, -a, -um: *rather short*: 368
- [*+Bulla, -ae: *bull*: 317

- *+Canonizatio, -onis: *canonization*: 449
- [*Capellus, -i: *bonnet, hat*: 284
- [*+Capitaneus, -i: *captain*: 292
- *Categorematicus, -a, -um: *categorematic*: 236
- *°Cavillatorie, *adv.*: *sophistically*: 272
- *+°Chalcographus, -i: *printer*: 232, 268, 345
- *Chronologicus, -a, -um: *chronological*: 318
- *+°Columbula, -ae (*vox dubia secundum Forc., ThLL non habet*): *little dove*: 605
- *+Commensalis, -is: *commensal*: 139, 293
- *+Connotativus, -a, -um: *connotative*: 236
- *+Consarcinator, -oris: *packer, assembler*: 7, 47
- *+Consistorialiter, *adv.*: *consistorially, in a consistory*: 284
- *Contrafactura, -ae: *counterfeit, portrait*: 507
- *Contranaturalis, -is, -e: *unnatural*: 515
- *+°Cyclopaedia, -ae: *encyclopedia, general education*: 267, 274-275
- *Cydoniatum, -i: *quince jelly*: 307

- *+Declaratorius, -a, -um: *elucidatory*: 292
- [*+Delphinus, -i: *dauphin*: 546-547, 577-578
- *°Dialogisticus, -a, -um: *dialogical*: 310, 313-314
- *+Dicatura, -ae (*est vox pseudantiqua, cfr. Forc.*): *dedication*: 142, 169
- *+°Dictionarium, -ii: *dictionary*: 308, 312, 316-317, 514
- *+Dignotio, -onis: *perception, detection*: 372
- *+°Doctoratus, -us: *doctoral degree*: 464, 485
- *Doctrinare, -o: *teach*: 238
- Dominaster, -tri: *gent*: 307
- *+°Ducatus, -i: *ducat*: 293
- *+Dulcamarus, -a, -um (*est vox pseudoantiqua*): *bitter-sweet*: 484

- [*+°Elector, -oris: *prince-elect*: 286, 288, 291
- +Epimythium, -ii: *epimyth, moral of a fable*: 440
- °Epographia, -ae: *introduction*: 202-203
- *Excerptorius, -a, -um: *pertaining to a collection of excerpts*: 297-341
- *Excipuus, -a, -um: *exceptionally good*: 484
- *Excogitativus, -a, -um: *excogitative*: 517
- [*+°Excudere, -o: *print*: 56, 58, 61, 241, 312, 345, 348-349, 355
- *Exponibilis, -is, -e: *capable of exposition, admitting explanation*: 228
- *Extravagans, -ns, -ns: *extravagant*: 317

- *+°Fabulamentum, -i: *fable, tale*: 48
- Feminicruralia, -ium: *pants*: 307
- *+Formaliter, *adv.*: *formally, in respect of form*: 236

- +°Graecanitas, -atis: (*knowledge of*) *Greek culture*: 565
 °Graeculatio, -onis: *affected Greek manner*: 144
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- +Lexicographus, -i: *lexicographer*: 325
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 *+Logialis, -is, -e: *logical, pertaining to logic*: 230
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 Mehemetes, -is (?): *Mohammed*: 178
 *+°Merdosus, -a, -um: *shitty, crappy*: 609
 Milium Indicum: *maize*: 441
 *+Millecuplus, -a, -um: *thousandfold, millecuple*: 270
- [*novensilis, -is, -e: *consisting out of nine*: 485
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- Paen-: *see* Poen-
- *+Papalis, -is, -e: *papal*: 293
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 *+°Perbellus, -a, -um (*exhibet* Forc., *dubia est vox iuxta* ThLL): *very pretty*: 604
 *Poenitentiaria, -ae: *penitentiary, papal tribunal*: 450, 473, 476
 *+°Poenitentiarius, -ii: *penitentiary*: 479
 *+°Posta, -ae: *post*: 295
 *+Practicare, -o: *practise, carry out*: 292
 *+°Praeternaturalis, -is, -e: *preternatural*: 515
 *Prognosticator, -oris: *prognosticator*: 272
 *+Protonotarius, -ii: *prothonotary*: 284
 *°Protonotariatus, -us: *office of prothonotary*: 284
 *+Pruniceps, -cipis: *fire-irons*: 307

*Punctare, -o: *prick*: 23

+Pyrolabes, -is: *fire-irons*: 307

*+°Quitantia, ae: *receipt*: 285

*Radicatio, -onis: *deepening, fastening*: 270

*+°Realis, -is, -e: *real, realist*: 234, 238

*+Recompensa, -ae: *reward*: 284

*+Regentia, -iae: *regency*: 238

*+Reincidere, -o: *relapse*: 292

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*Resarciatus, -a, -um: *repaired*: 293

*+Respective, adv.: *respectively*: 293

*+°Rhetoristes, -ae: *teacher of rhetoric*: 271, 276.

*+Rocchettus, -i/ rocchettum, -i: *rochet (ecclesiastical vestment)*: 284

[*+Rota, -ae: *Rota, ecclesiastical court*: 449-450, 466, 473, 475

*+Schediasma, -atis: *draft*: 58

*+Scutifer, -eri: *squire*: 139

*+Simonia, -iae: *simony*: 295

*°Sostrum, -i: *payment for a doctor's cure*: 486

*+Subordinare, -o: *subordinate*: 518

*+Successive, adv.: *successively*: 284

*+°Supernaturalis, -is, -e: *supernatural*: 515

*Syncategorematicus, -a, -um: *consignificative, syncategorematic*: 236

Syncharisticus, -a, -um: *congratulatory*: 483

+Trisaecularis, -is, -e: *tricentennial*: 60

*+°Typographia, -iae: *printing office*: 20, 479

*+°Typographus, -i: *printer*: 300, 314, 317, 354, 374

*+°Typographicus, -a, -um: *typographical*: 318

[*+°Typus, -i: *character for printing*: 320, 325, 374, 449, 454, 456

*Vicecancellarius, -ii: *vice-chancellor*: 139, 157-158, 163, 168, 175, 180, 185, 188, 454

*+°Vocabularium, -ii: *wordlist, vocabulary*: 30.

NUNTII

Conventus Vindobonensis 2015

Societas Internationalis Studiis Neolatinis Provehendis Conventum sex-tum decimum diebus 2-7 mensis Augusti 2015 Vindobonae apud Aus-triacos instituet. Si quis ibi acroasim facere velit, summarium rei tractan-dae (verborum 150-200) praemisso titulo aut per litteras electronicas aut per cursum publicum ante diem 31 mensis Martii 2014 mittat ad *Prof. Dr. Franz Römer*, cuius est haec inscriptio cursualis: *Institut für Klas-sische Philologie, Mittel- und Neulatein, Philologisch-Kulturwissen-schaftliche Fakultät, Universität Wien, Universitätsring 1, A-1010 Wien, Österreich*, haec autem inscriptio electronica: ianls.vienna@univie.ac.at.

Schedulae ad summaria conscribenda aptae vel e nostra retis universa-lis pagina (<http://www.ianls.com>) depromi vel etiam peti possunt a Societatis secretaria, cuius est haec inscriptio cursualis: *Dr. Raija Sarasti-Wilenius, University of Helsinki, Department of World Cultures, Classical Philology, P.O. BOX 24, SF-00014 University of Helsinki, Finland*, haec autem inscriptio electronica: raija.sarasti-wilenius@helsinki.fi. Conventus titulus erit hic: "Contextus Neolatini". Ceterum accipientur oratiunculae ad omnes partes studiorum Neolatinorum spec-tantes. Plurimi aestimabuntur disputationes de litteris Neolatinis et ver-naculis, de adolescentibus litteris Neolatinis instituendis et de consiliis digitalibus captis vel capiendis. Accipientur etiam summaria indagatio-num ad litteras Neolatinas pertinentium, quae schedis vel tabellulis parietalibus proponentur.

* *
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The Sixteenth International Congress of the *International Association for Neo-Latin Studies* will take place from 2 to 7 August 2015 in Vienna, Austria. Abstracts (150-200 words) should be submitted to *Prof. Dr. Franz Römer, Institut für Klassische Philologie, Mittel- und Neulatein*,

Philologisch-Kulturwissenschaftliche Fakultät, Universität Wien, Universitätsring 1, A-1010 Wien, Österreich, e-mail: ianls.vienna@univie.ac.at, by e-mail or by letter, postmarked no later than 31 March 2014.

Forms for abstracts may be downloaded from the IANLS website (<http://www.ianls.com>) or obtained from the Secretary of the IANLS, *Dr. Raija Sarasti-Wilenius, University of Helsinki, Department of World Cultures, Classical Philology, P.O. BOX 24, SF-00014 University of Helsinki, Finland*, e-mail: raija.sarasti-wilenius@helsinki.fi. The theme of the Congress will be: “Contextus Neolatini. Neo-Latin in local, trans-regional and worldwide contexts / Neulatein im lokalen, transregionalen und weltweiten Kontext“. Papers on all aspects of Neo-Latin studies are welcome. Especially invited are contributions on Neo-Latin and the vernacular, on Neo-Latin and pedagogics, and on digital projects. The organisers also welcome proposals for posters on Neo-Latin research projects.

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NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

Humanistica Lovaniensia follows the *MHRA Style Book. Notes for Authors, Editors and Writers of Theses*, ed. by A. S. Maney - R. L. Smallwood, 5th edn (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1996), with a few exceptions as noted below. Accepted manuscripts that do not follow these rules can be delayed in publication.

1. bibliographical references

1.1. first reference

1.1.1. references to books

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Examples:

(1) Mark Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius* (Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991).

(2) G. Oestreich - N. Mout, *Antiker Geist und moderner Staat bei Justus Lipsius (1547-1606): der Neustoizismus als politische Bewegung*, Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 38 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1989).

(3) Leon Voet, *The Plantin Press, 1559-1589: A Bibliography of the Works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, 6 vols (Amsterdam: Van Hoeve, 1980-1983).

(4) *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, eds. G. Pignatelli et al. (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960-).

(5) *Indice Biografico Italiano, 3a edizione corretta ed ampliata*, ed. T. Nappo, 10 vols (München: Saur, 1999-2002), III (2000), 944.

1.1.2. references to articles in journals

The information should be given in the following order:

- author (cf. supra)
- comma
- title of the article, in single quotation marks; title and subtitle are separated by a colon
 - * The title of works of literature occurring within the title of an article should be italicized or placed within quotation marks.
- comma
- title of journal, in italics
 - * Only the main title should be given; an initial 'The' or 'A' and any subtitle should be omitted.
 - * In case of several references to the same journal, an abbreviated title should be indicated after the first full reference or in a preliminary list of abbreviations.
- comma
- volume number, always in arabic numerals
- year of publication, in parentheses
- comma
- first and last page numbers of article cited, without 'p./pp.'
- page number(s), in parentheses and preceded by 'p./pp.' in case of a particular reference

Examples:

- Godelieve Tournoy-Thoen, 'Le manuscrit de la *Biblioteca de Catalunya* et l'humanisme italien à la cour de France vers 1500', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 24 (1975), 70-101; 26 (1977), 1-81; 27 (1978), 52-85.
- Michel Oosterbosch - Gilbert Tournoy, 'Two Unknown Autograph Letters by Justus Lipsius (1547-1606)', *Lias*, 23 (1996), 321-326 (pp. 325-326).
- Perrine Hallyn-Galand, 'La "Praelectio in Suetonium" de Nicholas Bérauld (1515)', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 46 (1997), 62-93 (p. 87).

1.1.3. references to articles in books

The information should be given in the following order:

- author (cf. supra)
- comma
- title of the article, in single quotation marks (cf. 1.1.2.)
- comma
- the word 'in' (without colon) followed by title, editor's name, and publication details of the book, as in 1.1.1.
- comma
- first and last page numbers of article cited, preceded by 'p./pp.'
- page number(s), in parentheses and preceded by 'p./pp.' in case of a particular reference

Example:

- Jozef IJsewijn, 'The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries', in *Itinerarium Italicum: The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of its European Transformations. Dedicated to P.O. Kristeller...*, eds. H. A. Oberman - Th. A. Brady, Jr. (Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 193-305 (p. 260).

1.1.4. references to theses and dissertations

The titles of unpublished theses and dissertations should be in roman type within single quotation marks, capitalization following the conventions of the language in question. The degree level, university and date should be in parentheses.

Example:

- Robert Ingram, 'Historical Drama in Great Britain from 1935 to the Present' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1992), pp. 17-23.

1.1.5. references to manuscripts

Names of repositories and collections should be given in full when first occurring; an abbreviated form should be used for subsequent references.

Example:

First reference: Leiden, University Library, ms. Lips. 4.

Later reference: Leiden, UL, ms. Lips. 4.

1.1.6. references to classical authors

In references to classical authors and their works the system of abbreviations adopted in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae ... Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum ex quibus exempla afferuntur*, 2 edn (Leipzig: Teubner, 1990) should be followed, but with the (abbreviation of the) author's name in normal print, the (abbreviation of the) title in italics and comma's between all parts of the reference.

Example:

Stat., *Silv.*, 3, 1, 182.

1.2. *later references*

In all further references, the shortest, intelligible form should be used. This will normally be the author's name (without initials) followed by (the volume and) the page reference. When more than one work of the same author is referred to, the title should be repeated in a shortened form. Phrases as 'loc. cit.' and 'op. cit.' should not be used.

Examples:

- IJsewijn, 'The Coming of Humanism', p. 195.

- Voet, *The Plantin Press*, II, 234-139.

2. lay-out

2.1. quotations

- *Short quotations* (not more than about forty words of prose or two complete lines of verse) should be enclosed in single quotation marks and run on with the main text. If, however, there are several such short quotations coming close together and being compared or otherwise set out as examples, it may be appropriate to treat them in the same way as longer quotations.

* If two incomplete lines of verse are quoted, the line division should be marked with a spaced upright stroke l.

* A quotation within a quotation is enclosed within double quotation marks.

* If a short quotation is used within a sentence, the final full point should be outside the closing quotation mark; the initial capital may be altered to lower case.

* When a short quotation is followed by a reference in parentheses, the final punctuation should follow the closing parenthesis.

* The final point should precede the closing quotation mark only when the quotation forms a complete sentence and is separated from the preceding passage by a punctuation mark.

Examples:

- Clusius was generous with his advice and with gifts of plants, including the still rare and valuable tulips, a 'thesaurum hortensem' ('garden treasure'), as Lipsius called one gift in 1585.

- According to Peter Smith 'the seven newly discovered poems by Catullus are absolutely fabulous'.

- Michel Oosterbosch and Gilbert Tournoy inform us 'that in the *index* to that same *Inventaire* (p. 526) the questionable initial was resolved into "Nicolaus" '.

- Soames added: 'Well, I hope you both enjoy yourselves.'

- *Long quotations* (more than about forty words of prose or two complete lines of verse) should be broken off by an increased space from the preceding and following lines of type script. No quotation marks are needed. The quotation should also be distinguished from the main text by using a smaller size and indenting.

* Omissions within prose quotations should be marked by [...] (an ellipsis); omitted lines of verse should be marked by an ellipsis at the end of the line before the omission. An ellipsis at the beginning or the end of a quotation is not necessary.

* A reference in parentheses after a long quotation should always be placed outside the closing full point and without a full point of its own.

Example:

- Harvey does, however, provide several references to the Court of Arches as the locale. For example, he writes:

If we were wearye with walking, and loth to go too farre to seeke sport, into the Arches we might step, and heare him plead; which would bee a merrier Comedie than ever was old Mother *Bomby*. As, for an instance: suppose hee were to sollicite some cause against Martinists, were it not a jest to see him stroke his beard thrice, and begin thus? [...] O, we should have the Proctors and Registers as busie with their Tablebooks as might bee, to gather phrases, and all the boyes in Towne would be his clients tio follow him. (*Gabriel Harvey: His Life, Marginalia and Library*, ed. by Virginia F. Stern (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 81)

2.2. footnotes

- Footnotes should be limited to what is strictly necessary, e. g. for documentation and for the citation of sources relevant to the text.
- The number of footnotes can also be kept down by incorporating simple references (such as line numbers or page references to a book already cited in full) in the text, for instance in parentheses after quotations. Adjacent references to several lines of the same text or to several pages of the same publication can be grouped together in the same footnote.
- Neither should footnotes repeat information already clear from the text: if for instance a bibliography is added to a book or an article, the length of the footnotes can be reduced.
- Wherever possible a footnote reference should be placed at the end of a sentence so as not to interrupt the flow of the text. In this case the footnote reference number follows the punctuation mark.
- All footnotes should end with a full point, whether or not they form complete sentences.

2.3. general requirements

- The author's name should appear at the head of the article (first name in full, surname in small capitals), followed by the title in capitals. His or her affiliation should appear at the end of the body of the text, followed by his or her address and e-mail.
- Titles for chapters or paragraphs in the text should be put in bold and should be numbered in Arabic.
- Manuscripts should be double-spaced, except footnotes and long quotations. Manuscripts for publication should be submitted (in 2 copies) to a member of the editorial board.
- The authors are asked to provide an abstract of not more than ten lines which will appear on the website of *Humanistica Lovaniensia*.

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